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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE ENIGMATIC NETHERWORLD BOOKS OF THE SOLAR-OSIRIAN
UNITY: CRYPTOGRAPHIC COMPOSITIONS IN THE TOMBS OF
TUTANKHAMUN, RAMESSES VI, AND RAMESSES IX

VOLUME ONE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES
AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

JOHN COLEMAN DARNELL

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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This study may be said to originate with my interest in Ptolemaic and Roman period religious texts. I am most grateful to Prof. Ph. Derchain for first guiding me through the beauties and intricacies of late hieroglyphic texts during the time of my study at the University of Cologne. This study grew out of my interest in late Egyptian religion, and the Ptolemaic and Roman hieroglyphs--with their "normalized" cryptography--in which many of these have come down to us. As an undergraduate at The Johns Hopkins University, Prof. Hans Goedicke encouraged my interest in Egyptian religious texts of the Graeco-Roman, and suggested I pursue this interest under the tutelage of Prof. Derchain. Thus, in spite of his oft-expressed injunctions against dissertation topics dealing with Egyptian religion, Prof. Goedicke is in a sense one of the demiurges behind this study of ancient Egyptian enigmatic Netherworld Books.

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As the reader of this study will quickly discover, all work on Egyptian cryptography rests upon the prolific publications of É. Drioton, and the basic contributions of Fairman and Sauneron. This study is no exception, and is built upon their work. The names of Jan Assmann and Erik Hornung, two of the foremost modern expositors of the ancient Egyptian religion, and pioneers in the study of the Netherworld Books and the cosmographic texts, appear throughout the many footnotes of this dissertation. All who seek to understand the religious concepts of the ancient Egyptians must proceed from their writings, and my enormous debt to them is clear.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|---|
| AcOr | Acta Orientalia, Copenhagen |
| ADAIK | Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo, Glückstadt |
| ÄAT | Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden |
| ÄgAb | Ägyptologisches Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden |
| AJA | American Journal of Archaeology, Boston |
| ASAE | Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte, Cairo |
| ASE | Archaeological Survey of Egypt, London |
| AV | Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Mainz am Rhein |
| BdÉ | Bibliothèque d'Étude, Cairo |
| BES | Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar, New York |
| BibAeg | Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brussels |
| BIE | Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte, Cairo |
| BIFAO | Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo |
| BiOr | Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden |
| BSEG | Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Geneva |
| BSFE | Bulletin de de la Société Française d'Égyptologie, Paris |
| CdE | Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels |
| CGC | Catalogue Général des Antiquités du Musée du Caire, Cairo |
| CRAIBL | Comptes Rendus de l'Académie d'Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris |
| DE | Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford |
| DFIFAO | Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo |
| EES | Egypt Exploration Society, London |
| FIFAO | Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo |
| GM | Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen |
| GOF | Göttinger Orientforschungen, Wiesbaden |
| HÄB | Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim |
| JARCE | Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Princeton |

| | |
|-------|--|
| JEA | Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London |
| JEOL | Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap (Gezelshap) "Ex Oriente Lux," Leiden |
| JNES | Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago |
| JSSEA | Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto |
| KÄT | Kleine Ägyptische Texte, Wiesbaden |
| MÄS | Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin |
| MÄU | Münchner Ägyptologische Untersuchungen, Frankfurt am Main |
| MDAIK | Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Wiesbaden |
| MIFAO | Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo |
| MIO | Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin |
| MMAF | Mémoires Publiées par les Membres de la Mission d'Archéologie Française au Caire, Paris |
| MVEOL | Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap (Gezelshap) "Ex Oriente Lux," Leiden |
| OIC | Oriental Institute Communications, Chicago |
| OBO | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg and Göttingen |
| OINE | Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, Chicago |
| OIP | Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago |
| OLA | Orientalia Lovaniensia Annalecta, Leuven |
| OLP | Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Leuven |
| OLZ | Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Berlin |
| OMRO | Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Leiden |
| Or | Orientalia, Rome |
| PSBA | Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London |
| RAPH | Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie, et d'Histoire, Cairo |
| RdE | Revue d'Égyptologie, Paris |
| RdT | Recueil de Travaux, Paris |
| SAK | Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg |
| SAOC | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago |
| SASAE | Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte, Cairo |
| SSEA | Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto |

| | |
|----------------|---|
| StudAeg | Studia Aegyptiaca, Budapest |
| TTS | Theban Tombs Series, London |
| UGAÄ | Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Leipzig, Berlin |
| Urk | Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Leipzig and Berlin |
| Wb | Erman and Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, Berlin |
| YES | Yale Egyptological Studies, New Haven |
| ZÄS | Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin |

ABSTRACT

The ancient Egyptians at times employed a non-standard list of signs and phonetic values, and the resulting texts may be termed “cryptographic” or “enigmatic.” Inscriptions based upon these alternate sign lists, attested already during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, proliferate during the New Kingdom. By the Ptolemaic period, many of the formerly enigmatic signs and values had become a part of standard hieroglyphic texts of the time. Some of earliest hieroglyphic texts to be examined by Egyptologists, including the famous Rosetta Stone, were written in a form of hieroglyphic Egyptian that employed a form of normalized cryptography, and already by 1874 the cryptography of the New Kingdom royal tombs had been profitably examined. The emphasis in the Egyptological study of enigmatic texts soon shifted again to the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman period, and there, with a few notable exceptions, it has remained.

The exact principles behind Egyptian cryptography have remained obscure, and the debate, often vitriolic, has centered around the “normalized” cryptography of the Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions. The works of Étienne Drioton and H. W. Fairman define and best represent the two basic and opposing schools of thought on the subject. For Drioton, values for enigmatic signs are derived through acrophony, with a sign possessing the value of the first radical of a term somehow describing or determined by the sign in question. Fairman disagreed with the loose and subjective nature of Drioton’s approach, and preferred to see enigmatic sign values derived via principles of substitution and phonetic change (his “consonantal system”). Curiously, the earlier enigmatic texts, those which one might reasonably see as the progenitors of the later cryptographic hieroglyphic system, have not entered significantly into the discussion.

Egyptian cryptography of the New Kingdom divides into three basic types: 1) Normal cryptography, in which enigmatic values derive from substitutions of signs of similar appearance, alterations of normal signs, *pars pro toto* substitutions, etc; 2) Ornamental cryptography, employed primarily for monumental representations of the royal titulary, a type of cryptography favoring the use of elaborate figures of deities, arranged as though forming a procession of gods; and 3) thematic cryptography, in which the elements of the text may relate to one another, and to accompanying scenes,

in such a way as to impart an added level of meaning to the text. In none of these systems is there evidence of Drioton's acrophony; rather, they amply support Fairman's consonantal principle and the principle of substitution.

Some of the most lengthy enigmatic inscriptions of the New Kingdom occur in the royal tombs. The three most extensive occurrences of enigmatic writing appear on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and on the "enigmatic wall" in the tomb of Ramesses IX. This study is the first detailed examination of the texts on the Tutankhamun shrine and in the tomb of Ramesses IX and contains the first treatment of much of the Ramesses VI Corridor G inscriptions. The present investigation has found these three enigmatic treatises to be related, in theology, iconography, and physical layout. They are based on a common template, incorporating enigmatic texts, Book of the Dead extracts, and a figure of the giant unified Re-Osiris. Together they may be called the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

The treatises focus on the root of the eastern horizon, the place of the unification of Re and Osiris, the final triumph of the nocturnal sun and the lord of the dead, the place of the fiery birth of the newborn sun and the final destruction of the damned. All of the enigmatic texts describe and complement the accompanying depictions and often deal with obscure religious concepts. Among these otherwise shadowy beliefs are the inverted entry of the blessed dead into the Netherworld and their subsequent rising; the headless form of the blessed dead--*akephalos*--whose head journeys with the bark of the sun until it is reattached to the mummy at the eastern end of the Netherworld; the physically giant form of Osiris and the blessed dead at the eastern horizon, linking and filling heaven and hell. The Ramesses VI version of the treatise depicts and describes the pharaonic ancestor of the Hellenic-Egyptian magical being Abrasax/Abraxas, the giant, omnipresent personification of the blasting and avenging power of the sun. Best seen in the Ramesses IX version, the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity is an ancestor of many of the mythological papyri of the Third Intermediate Period. The treatises demonstrate that these later mixtures of Amduat and Book of the Dead are not the result of poor copying and degenerating religious beliefs.

Grammatically the texts are Middle Egyptian, and their exact dating is difficult. As the excerpts from the Book of the Dead appear to have been integral elements of the original template, the treatise in its surviving forms most likely dates from the Seventeenth-early Eighteenth Dynasty. The cryptography is essentially of the "normal" XVIII

type, with sign values originating in substitutions and through phonetic change. When these treatises are compared with the other examples of cryptography of New Kingdom date, one may say that New Kingdom cryptography has strong solar associations. The enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom are associated with the liminal area of the eastern horizon, and their cryptography may serve--like the flagmasts before the pylons of Egypt's temples--to warn the reader that the text he is reading deals in some way with the dangerous and awesome land in which Osiris and Re, yesterday and tomorrow, become one at the time of the solar resurrection.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Along with the signs and values commonly encountered in hieroglyphic texts, the Egyptians (from the Old Kingdom on through the Graeco-Roman period and the end of the hieroglyphic tradition) made use of alternative signs and atypical values for more commonly used signs. As opposed to texts in *Klarschrift*, those employing these variant signs and sign values are termed “enigmatic inscriptions,” or “cryptography.”¹ Beginning during the Old Kingdom² and continuing through the First Intermediate

¹For a brief introduction to Egyptian cryptography, and some basic bibliography, see H. Brunner, “Änigmatische Schrift (Kryptographie),” in *Ägyptische Schrift und Sprache (Handbuch der Orientalistik Abt. 1, Bd. 1, Abschnitt 1*; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973) pp. 51-8; and H. G. Fischer, “Hieroglyphen,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977) col. 1196, §H. See also E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad Publishers, 1961) pp. 36-7, and n. 27, p. 148. In this study the terms “cryptic” and “enigmatic” are used interchangeably. Strictly speaking, the latter term could be used with the nuance “tantalizing”--meant to be studied and read -- whereas “cryptic” would signify intentional concealment.

²É. Drioton, “Un rébus de l’Ancien Empire,” in *Mélanges Maspero* vol. 1 *Orient ancien* (MIFAO 66; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1935-8) pp. 697-704.

Period³ and the Middle Kingdom,⁴ cryptography abounds in the New Kingdom, occurring in royal titularies,⁵ in inscriptions from private tombs,⁶ in private graffiti,⁷ and

³H.G. Fischer, "Two Neograms of the Eleventh Dynasty," in *idem*, *Egyptian Studies* vol. 1 *Varia* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976) pp. 55-8.

⁴É. Drioton, "Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire," *RdE* 1 (1933) 193-229; H.G. Fischer, "Notes on the Macclesfield Collection," *GM* 95 (1987) 38 (and n. 8); P.E. Newberry and G.W. Fraser, *Beni Hasan* vol. 2 (ASE 2; London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893) pls. 14 and 17; on the Beni Hasan cryptograms representing *mrī*, see W. Westendorf, "Schiessen und Zeugen," in E. Endesfelder *et al.*, eds., *Ägypten und Kusch (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 13; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977) p. 486; there is also a passage on the Rhind mathematical papyrus which is written in enigmatic script (see B. Gunn, review of Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, in *JEA* 12 [1926] 136-7; for the mathematical associations of cryptography, compare the as yet undeciphered enigmatic orthography of a personal name as a series of fractions in a demotic graffito from the Valley of the Queens in W. Spiegelberg, *Demotica* 2 [*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*; Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1928, Nr. 2] pp. 26-7, pl. 6 [copy by Černý]). These mathematical associations take precedence in the numerological cryptography in Coptic (on which see F. Wisse, "Language Mysticism in the Nag Hammadi Texts and in Early Coptic Monasticism, I, Cryptography," *Enchoria* 9 [1979] 101-120; J. Doresse, "Cryptography," in A.S. Atiya, ed., *The Coptic Encyclopaedia* 8 [New York, etc.: Maxwell MacMillan International, 1991] pp. 65-9, and bibliography given there; *idem*, "Cryptographie copte et cryptographie grecque," *Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte* 33 [1950-1951] 215-228).

⁵Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 (1940) 305-427; the sportive writing of *īwn.tyw* in an epithet of Antef II on a column from Karnak--T. Zimmer, in F. Le Saout, A. Ma'arouf, and T. Zimmer, "Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: *Varia* 1," *Karnak* 8 (1982-1985) 294-97 (particularly 295), and 314--is probably not a precursor of later enigmatic titularies.

⁶Cf. É. Drioton, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie," *RdE* 1 (1933) 1-50; K. Sethe, "Die aenigmatischen Inschriften," in the Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London: Archibald Constable and Co, Ltd, 1908) pp. 1*-12*, pl. 34 (henceforth Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*); S.J. Seidlmayer, "Eine Schreiberpalette mit ägyptischer Aufschrift," *MDAIK* 47 (1991) 319-30.

⁷For example, F. Hintze, W.F. Reineke, *et al.*, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1989) p. 160, no. 529: the man Djehutyseneb is called (*dd n=f*) *P3-nḥḥ*. This latter nickname is written in cryptography,

throughout the Netherworld Books preserved in the royal tombs (see chapter 2). During the Late Period and throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, reaching a complicated height in the texts of the temple of Esna, a number of signs and sign values occurring earlier only in cryptographic texts became common in all hieroglyphic texts. As Sauneron has summarized:

Le procédé [cryptographique] fut généralisé à l'époque <<ptolémaïque>>, et les textes acquirent alors une densité épigraphique jamais atteinte par le passé; mais *ce n'était que la continuation d'une évolution amorcée longtemps auparavant*.⁸

During late antiquity the number of those who commanded the hieroglyphic writing system dwindled, and those who dealt with hieroglyphs at all were increasingly the higher echelons of the priesthood.⁹ The earlier cryptography became an acceptable and

although this was not recognized by the editors. The initial *hw.t* sign substitutes for the courtyard *pr*-sign (compare Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 425), deriving the value *p* from the use of the *pr*-sign for *p* (see Roccati, A. Roccati, "Remarques sur le graphème au Moyen Empire," *RdE* 21 [1969] 151-3; compare also the use of the *p*-socle for the *pr*-sign in É. Drioton, "Amon, refuge du coeur," *ZÄS* 79 [1954] 6). The aleph-vulture retains the normal value 3; the first two signs of the cryptographic nickname thus write *p3*. The two striking men have the value *h*, from *hwi* (see Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. *8), while the sign of the seal between the striking men substitutes for the sun disk--compare the use of the *šn*-ring for *r*, substituting for the pupil for *r*, in the tomb of Ramesses IX (see chapter 5 below); compare also the use of the *mi*-sign for *n* (Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 101)--the seal may also be seen as substituting for the *nīw.t*-sign for *n* (compare *ibid.*, p. 105; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. *11). The striking men flanking the seal substitute for the *h*-wicks flanking the disk in the common writing of *nḥh*. Compare also Hintze, Reineke, *et al.*, *Felsinschriften*, vol. 2, p. 61, no. 192, in which the name *6.nw* is written as six strokes followed by the determinative of the seated man, who holds before his face the *nw*-pot that is the final sign in writing the name (the editors, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 61, do not read this element--compare the name *7.nw* as seven strokes + *nw*-pot in *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 59, no. 188).

⁸S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* (*Esna* 8; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1982) p. 52 (with Sauneron's italics; henceforth Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*).

⁹In the Address to the Living on a funerary stele of the time of Hadrian, a priest from Akhmim closes with a plea to priests not to forget the hieroglyphic writing--see A. Scharff, "Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim," *ZÄS* 62 (1927) 86-107;

even indispensable part of the standard hieroglyphic system, and true cryptography became even more difficult.¹⁰ At no time, however, do the Egyptians appear to have considered hieroglyphic cryptography as something other than an extension of the normal hieroglyphic system, for they do not appear to have employed any separate term for “cryptography.”¹¹ As demotic Egyptian and Greek came to replace hieratic and non-religious hieroglyphic texts, the few who could yet deal with the hieroglyphs expanded cryptography.¹² A text that was difficult for an acolyte would hardly confound or perhaps even interest the upper levels of the priesthood. In spite of the dwindling numbers of hieroglyphically conversant scribes, cryptography survived until the end of hieroglyphic Egyptian. Even in the latest datable hieroglyphic inscription, accompanying a dated demotic text and a figure of the god Mandulis at Philae, cryptography survives as an uncommon but meaningful sign substitution in the hieroglyphic orthography of a personal name.¹³

Ph. Derchain, *Le dernier obélisque* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1987). By then, even hieroglyphically literate priests must have been few in number.

¹⁰Compare the text composed of subtly altered ram hieroglyphs in S. Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna* vol. 2 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1963) pp. 203-204 (no. 103), and the text composed of similarly manipulated crocodile hieroglyphs, *ibid.*, pp. 234-235 (no. 126).

¹¹The term *ṯtnw* (*Wb.* I 146, 1-3) refers to difficult passages of texts, not to some specific genre such as “mysterious writings”—see D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (SSEA Publication 4; Mississauga, 1986) p. 85 n. 42.

¹²See the remarks of J. Baines, “Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society,” *Man* 18 (1983) 572-599.

¹³The demotic portion of the bigraphic graffito Philae 436, on the north wall of the gate of Hadrian, dates that graffito to 394 A.D (F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecascheon* [Oxford: University Press, 1935] vol. 1, pp. 126-127; vol. 2, pl. 69). In writing the hieroglyphic name *Ns-mtr* (corresponding to the demotic double name *Ns-mtr--Pa-n3-ḥt.w-twt*--see E. Lüddickens, W. Brunsch, G. Vittmann, and K.-Th. Zauzich, *Demotisches Namenbuch* Band 1, Lieferung 9 [Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989] p. 678), the sign of the White Crown

The examination of cryptography dates from the beginning of Egyptology. Many of the texts to which the first decipherers turned their attentions--including the celebrated Rosetta Stone itself--were written in "Ptolemaic," the final stage of the hieroglyphic script, which grew directly from earlier forms of that script. The special character of Ptolemaic Egyptian was an increase in the number of signs in normal use and in the potential phonetic values of individual signs over what prevailed earlier in the hieroglyphic system. These increases in the numbers of signs and values resulted directly from the incorporation into the normal hieroglyphic sign list of sign values derived through principles earlier applied most freely in cryptography. For example, substitutions of one bird hieroglyph for another, earlier common only in cryptography, became an acceptable principle of normal hieroglyphic orthography during the Ptolemaic period. As Sauneron indicated, the majority of Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts were not intended to be cryptic, although they incorporated signs and values which in earlier hieroglyphic Egyptian occur only in enigmatic texts. Within a half century after Champollion's *lettre à M. Dacier*, written in 1822, pre-Ptolemaic enigmatic inscriptions came under Egyptological scrutiny, and several early studies deal with enigmatic inscriptions in the New Kingdom royal tombs.¹⁴

Egyptologists have long recognized the existence of early enigmatic texts, but the cryptographic principles underlying those texts remain somewhat obscure. The works of

writes the initial *ns*. Though the White Crown occurs with the values *ns* and *nsw.t* in cryptography (cf. F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* vol. 3 [Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1990] p. 617), this is not one of the more common values, and the appearance of the sign in Philae 436 suggests a knowledge of cryptography and an ability to manipulate enigmatic orthographies on the part of one of the last writers of hieroglyphic Egyptian.

¹⁴Conveniently cited by É. Drioton, "La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamon," *JEA* 35 (1949) 117 (notes 1-5).

É. Drioton¹⁵ and H.W. Fairman¹⁶ are important for the study of enigmatic and Ptolemaic sign-value derivations. Drioton dealt with texts from various periods; Fairman was a Ptolemaic specialist. Drioton's approach to the enigmatic writings was based on the principle of acrophony--that is, a sign could acquire the value of the first radical of a word describing or determined by the sign in question. Fairman attacked Drioton's methodology as entirely unscientific and disreputable, and espoused the "consonantal principle," according to which a multiliteral sign can reduce to a uniliteral value if that sign consists of a strong consonant and one or more weak consonants; the strong consonant would provide the new, uniliteral value.

As possible evidence of the working of acrophony at Edfu Fairman suggested only signs which were variants of the spewing mouth; the majority of signs derived their values from the Consonantal Principle or from Direct Representation.¹⁷ Fairman did not deal with the earlier texts which Drioton had worked through, and in fact did not apply the information provided by earlier cryptography to his study of later signs. Drioton worked on enigmatic texts from all periods, and consistently preferred acrophony over other explanations of sign values. Sauneron preferred to work with the consonantal principle, but saw some sign values in use in the Roman temple of Esna as examples of

¹⁵For a list of his more important articles on the subject, see the bibliography of his works which É. Drioton gives in "Les principes de la cryptographie égyptienne," *CRAIBL* (1953) pp. 355-364.

¹⁶H.W. Fairman, "Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu," *ASAE* 43 (1943) 191-310; *idem*, "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values," *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 52-138

¹⁷*idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 62-7; see also *idem*, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 287-305. Acrophony, which Fairman hesitantly allowed in *ASAE* 43 as possible for values of the spewing mouth, he presents as even less likely in his *BIFAO* 43 article.

acrophony.¹⁸ While acknowledging the functioning of Fairman's methods of enigmatic sign value derivations, D. Kurth has also allowed for the workings of acrophony at Edfu Temple.¹⁹ These arguments rage on as though Ptolemaic sprang unforeseen from the heads of Nectanebid and Ptolemaic priests. There has not been a detailed study of all pre-Late Period cryptography, the results of which one could with profit compare to an also needed but nonexistent detailed study of Late Period cryptography. Debate on the nature of Late Period cryptography cannot proceed from a firm base as long as it is unclear what principles were at work in earlier enigmatic texts. If there is no need to have recourse to acrophony to explain early enigmatic sign values, then it is unlikely to be so basic a tool of later Egyptian cryptography as Drioton suggested, if it even functioned in the Late Period.

This study of the three surviving versions of a little known cryptic Netherworld book began as a study of all Egyptian cryptography from before the Late Period. Such a study should demonstrate the origins of sign values in the early enigmatic texts, and with an examination of Late Period cryptography, allow one to characterize some principles as general to Egyptian cryptography, and others perhaps as peculiar to "Ptolemaic" hieroglyphs. Egyptian cryptography before the Late Period includes a few private secular texts, and a number of examples of enigmatic royal titulary. Cryptography appears to have been more popular in the religious sphere, both private and royal.²⁰

¹⁸Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 106. In this he is supported by M. Derchain-Urtel, "Esna, Schrift und 'Spiel,'" *GM* 27 (1978) 11-21; D. Kurth, "Zum Schriftsystem in den ägyptischen Tempeln der Spätzeit," *GM* 29 (1978) 63-8; *idem*, "Die Lautwerte der Hieroglyphen in den Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit-zur Systematik ihrer Herleitungsprinzipien," *ASAE* 69 (1983) 287-309 (he gives acrophony as a principle on p. 294).

¹⁹D. Kurth, *ASAE* 69 (1983) 294.

²⁰Cryptic substitutions occur already in the Pyramid Texts (see Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, §§ 155-58).

Bridging all of these categories are the cryptographic mottos of scarabs and seals.²¹ Many of the private religious cryptographs occur in XVIIIth Dynasty tombs at Dra Abu en-Naga; in the royal tombs, cryptography is scattered through the Netherworld Books, such as the Book of Amduat, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns, and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. In general, the cryptography in these texts from the Valley of the Kings is, like the cryptography of earlier texts, sporadic and seldom lengthy. Among the enigmatic texts composed in Egypt before the close of the New Kingdom there are, however, five religious treatises from the royal tombs which are wholly cryptographic or partially composed of long sections of cryptography. Two of these are cosmographic texts which incorporate substantial enigmatic passages, namely the Nut Book and the Book of the Day and the Night. The remaining three texts form the subject of the present work. They are distinct both on the basis of their subject matter and the form of cryptography which they employ, and all three are versions of a compositional template which one may call the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.²²

On the exterior walls of the second of the four gilt shrines of Tutankhamun there appears a religious composition, written in cryptography except for a few labels and

²¹For the cryptography of scarabs and seals, see the general comments in E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (*Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz* 1; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1976) pp. 173-180.

²²The term "Solar-Osirian Unity" was employed by A. Niwinski, "The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the 'State of Amun' in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty," *JEOL* 30 (1987-88) 89-106, to describe a theological concept expressed in primarily Theban texts and scenes of the early Third Intermediate Period. Many of these textual and pictorial images find their earliest clear expressions in the three New Kingdom cryptographic texts examined here, and the common template and source on which these three compositions from the royal tombs are based is here called the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

several quotations from the Book of the Dead in *Normalschrift*.²³ In content (as discussed below in chapter 3), composition, and cryptographic orthography, it forms a corpus with the enigmatic ceiling in Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI,²⁴ and the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.²⁵ These three enigmatic compositions from the Valley of the Kings have as their central theme the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon. Around the central figure of the giant deity of the eastern cusp of heaven--depicted in each treatise--there cluster concepts associated with the liminal areas of the horizons: the return of the heads of the blessed dead when they rest in the east after accompanying Re on his nocturnal journey, resurrection from the serpent Mehen, the final fiery punishment of the damned, and the turning over of the stellar Lords of the Netherworld to set them aright in the upper and lower skies. Many of the concepts which these compositions present may be but faintly traced in other texts, and some are explicable only by reference to Coptic literature of almost two millennia later.

A glance at the three compositions reveals that several iconographic features relate these three enigmatic works, even before any interpretation of these is attempted. Iconographic and compositional similarities would alone suggest a study of these three works as manifestations of a single original template. Large portions of each treatise are arranged in three registers. Each composition has a large figure of Re-Osiris--mummiform on the second shrine of Tutankhamun and the enigmatic wall in the tomb of

²³A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen* (MIFAO 72; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1951-2) pp. 29-39; A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 2; New York: Bollingen Press, 1955) pp. 120-5, 127-31, figs. 41-2, pls. 47-9, 51-3.

²⁴Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 178-82.

²⁵F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (MIFAO 15; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907) pls. 63, 77-81.


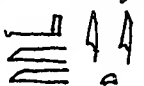
Ramesses IX, once snake-legged and once with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys forming his arms, on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Although they are not identical, the great mummiform deities of the Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX treatises are further associated by the presence in front of each figure of a horizontally laid out text in *Normalschrift* referring to the protection of the deceased king from the noxious influences of unwanted divine messengers. The head and feet of the Tutankhamun deity are surrounded by a Mehen serpent; the serpent Nehep takes up a protective posture behind the slanting, ithyphallic Ramesses IX deity; the feet of the giant deity on the lintel portion of the Ramesses VI ceiling are rearing serpents. Mounds figure in the Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX compositions, as do upside-down stars (right end of the middle register, main section of Ramesses VI; upper register of left half of Ramesses IX). In the upper right of the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, and in the bottom left section of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall there are beings rising to standing positions atop snakes, whose tails and heads rear up behind and before the rising beings. On the far left of the second side of the shrine, there are two bull heads and two back to back goddesses in parallel scenes to the top and bottom, the upper figures inverted; at the far left of the Corridor G composition, there are scenes similarly laid out, though with four bull heads each, rather than only two. The central solar disk of the lintel portion of the Corridor G book has a scarab to the right and left, heads facing away from the disk, similar to a scene in the lower right of the left half of the Ramesses IX wall, where the front half of a scarab emerges from each side of a disk. A line of netherworldly beings with their arms raised in adoration appear in the middle register of the left half of the first side of the Tutankhamun shrine, in the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI ceiling, and in the middle register of the left half of the Ramesses IX wall. In the upper register of the second side of the

Tutankhamun shrine there are headless mummies with disks shining down into their necks, each with a head atop a disk before him; in the upper register of the Ramesses VI ceiling there are seated beings with disks for heads; in the upper register on the left of the Ramesses IX wall, there are beings located wholly within large disks. Taken alone, many of these features are not of a peculiar or unparalleled nature; viewed together, however, within the corpus of pre-Late Period cryptographic texts, the iconographic similarities of these three texts are significant.



After working through all of the other enigmatic texts in the corpus of early cryptography, it became apparent that the three texts examined here were parallel representatives of a common template. The presentation of the necessary commentary to accompany a meaningful discussion of the other pre-Late Period enigmatic texts already required an enormous number of pages; the presentation of the three texts studied here requires almost an equal space. All three of the surviving versions of the treatise were only partially edited. They present important but often obscure religious concepts and are in fact the most important surviving sources for some of these concepts. As will be seen in the following chapter, the cryptography of these Solar-Osirian texts differs from that of the other enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom, and the layouts of these compositions foreshadow those of some Third Intermediate Period religious papyri. Just as the detailed study of pre-Late Period enigmatic texts is necessary to a study of Egyptian cryptography as a whole, so the detailed study of the three texts presented here is a necessary aspect of the needed study of pre-Late Period cryptography.


As already indicated, there are enigmatic texts which are accompanied by transcriptions into *Klarschrift*, a form of transcription prevalent in the 4th and 5th Hours of the Amduat, also occurring in the 5th and 6th Divisions of the Book of Caverns.





These “bigraphic” texts provide a point of departure for the study of early Egyptian cryptography. Most of these texts reveal a majority of enigmatic signs derived through substitutions, of kind (one bird for another,²⁶ one arm for another²⁷) and appearance (rectangle for a square, oval for a circle),²⁸ as well as *pars pro toto* substitutions (meat sign and tail sign for the headless animal, pupil for eye).²⁹ Some values derive from an exploitation of phonetic shifts and word pronunciations.³⁰ Although extended alphabetic orthographies of otherwise logographically written words abound,³¹ there is also a use



²⁶As in the enigmatic orthography of the divine name *ꜥmmy.t* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (6th Division):  transcribed as  (A. Piankoff,


“Le livre des Quererets, sixième division,” *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 146, no. 6).

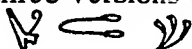
²⁷Compare  for  , *psd*, in *idem*, “Le livre des Quererets,


seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62. The arm with the hill-*q* above it () substitutes for the arm holding the conical loaf as *d > (r)dī* (cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 39).



²⁸The flat-*m*  substitutes for the hobble-*t*  on the basis of similar appearance in  for  (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 60).

²⁹Compare  for  in *ibid.*, pl. 62.

³⁰Cf. the use of  , *p.t*, for *p* (Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105), a value derived from the weakening and loss of the final *t* (compare the Coptic form of the word ΠΕ/ΠΗ--W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965-77) p. 144. For a Third Intermediate Period exploitation of pronuncional considerations in cryptography, see J. Černý, “Philological and Etymological Notes,” *ASAE* 51 (1951) 442-443.

³¹As is usual in the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, *nṯr* appears alphabetically as  , *nṯi*, in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 69.

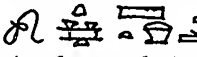
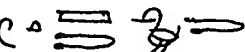
Compare also writings of *t3*, “land,” as  in Hornung, *Das Amduut* vol. 1, p.

94. In Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 146, divine name no. 5, *tp-R*,  writes ; *tp*, more commonly written as an ideogram, appears in an alphabetic

of logograms.³² There is a dearth of determinatives in the enigmatic texts.³³ The majority of cryptic texts, however, were not transcribed in antiquity. The royal titularies in cryptography are known from many standard inscriptions, however, and the private cryptograms are sometimes versions of known texts,³⁴ and often reflect the contents of inscriptions occurring in similar contexts.³⁵ Likewise the content of the cryptic portions of the Netherworld Books does not diverge widely in content from non-cryptic sections of the books, and the texts often accompany and describe a depiction. The cryptography of the Nut Book in the Osireion occurs in the context of a treatise known in other versions, incorporating texts in *Normalschrift*, and explanations of certain passages as demotic glosses in the version on P. Carlsberg I.³⁶ Portions of the cryptography of the Nut Book, and most of the cryptography in the enigmatic sections of the Book of the Day and the Night,³⁷ are obscure, and without clear parallels; the recognition that they belong to the same cosmographic genre as that in evidence in the "King as Solar Priest"

orthography in the enigmatic version of the name, whereas Re appears as a simple disk in that version.

³²Compare the orthography of *tp R* in the preceeding note.

³³Cf. , *w3.t št3.t*, "mysterious way," as  in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 94.

³⁴Cf. the Pyramid Texts parallels in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, pp. 4*-5*; an enigmatic version of a chapter of the Book of the Dead in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 2-14.

³⁵Cf. the enigmatic *hṭp-dī-nsw.t* formula in *ibid.*, 20-22.




³⁶A. de Buck, chapter 9, "The Dramatic Text," in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (Egypt Exploration Society Memoir 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933)* pp. 82-6, pls. 54-5; V. Vikentiev, "Quelques mots énigmatiques dans un texte astronomique," *ASAE* 43 (1943) 115-31; O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* vol. 1 (Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960) pp. 36-94.

³⁷See É. Drioton in A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit (BdÉ 13; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1942)* pp. 83-121.



texts³⁸ does, however, provide a point of departure.³⁹ Thus the context of the cryptography and a knowledge of parallels in the corpus of Netherworld Books and related compositions provide the necessary base for translations. Although the three compositions on which this study concentrates are unique in their emphasis, the individual statements of which they are composed are not without parallels. Study of the terms used elsewhere for the objects, figures, events, etc., described by cryptic annotations is also helpful.

The following study rests on a base of enigmatic sign values derived primarily from the cryptography of the Amduat, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns, the Book of the Day and the Night, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, royal

³⁸On which see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970).

³⁹In enigmatic text 2 in the Book of the Day and the Night, the jackal-shaped (*hpr.w=sn pw*  --Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 90 [misunderstood by Drioton]) spirits of the west are associated with a land   . Drioton, in *ibid.*, p. 90, read "Niou," which would be an otherwise unattested toponym (it has nothing to do with the eastern [Syrian] Ny, cf. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hieroglyphiques* vol. 3 [Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, 1926] p. 72). When one compares the enigmatic texts of the Book of the Day and the Night to other cosmographic texts, and to other texts dealing with the souls of the west, one may suggest reading the toponym *nīw* in enigmatic text 2 as an enigmatic orthography of *Rbw*, "Libya" (*ibid.*, p. 117; J. Osing, "Libyen, Libyer," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980] col. 1017, the toponym is attested since Ramesses II), the haunt of the spirits of the west, often occurring as the counterpart to Sinai, home of the turquoise gods and the spirits of the east (cf. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* [MÄS 19; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969] pp. 128 and 149; *idem*, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 50-51). The *n* for *r* is an example of the attested enigmatic exploitation of the common hieratic confusion between *r*, *t*, *d*, and *n* (for which see A. Gardiner, "The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic," *JEA* 15 [1929] 54); for the reed leaf as *b*, one may cite the use of the sign M2 for *b* in the Book of the Day and the Night (Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 106), and the use of the same sign for *īb*, "heart," in E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 7 and 8; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1979) p. 29.

titulary, and private texts, primarily those from Dra Abu en-Naga. As work on the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity proceeded, the application of a few known enigmatic sign values allowed partial readings. These partial readings led in turn to a partial understanding of the text, which suggested further enigmatic sign values for the remaining signs. When in 1897 Théodule Devéria presented the first treatment of a portion of one of the enigmatic texts to be studied here, a portion of the text accompanying the lower register of the left section of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, he stressed that he was assisted in his work on the cryptography “par l’étude d’autres textes purement hiéroglyphiques, mais dont le contenu est analogue à celui qu’on va lire.”⁴⁰ The processes of transliteration, translation, interpretation of the texts, and the deciphering of sign values must necessarily occur at much the same time. Translations cannot be divorced from sign values; values cannot confidently be assigned to signs in cryptic texts if the texts remain unreadable or incomprehensible. The keys to controlling this are:

1) The observation of the frequency of signs and values, both within individual texts and within the corpus of cryptic texts as a whole, necessary in weeding out spurious, *ad hoc* values. Certain enigmatic sign-values are found throughout the cryptic corpus (*e.g.* interchange of the cloth sign  for $\Pi = s$). At other times a sign will have a peculiar value not encountered outside of a single text, but the value occurs repeatedly within this text (*e.g.* mouth-*r*  for *p* in the “astronomical” ceiling in corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI;⁴¹ in other cryptic texts within the same corridor, this sign does not appear to have this value *p*). There are, however, values which--

⁴⁰T. Devéria, *Bibliothèque égyptologique* 5 (Paris, 1897) pp. 78-79.

⁴¹Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 178-82.

based on the known corpus of cryptographic texts--appear to occur only within a single enigmatic composition. A value proposed for a sign that is based on but a single occurrence is suspect; the occurrence of a proposed value within a single text, but often and consistently within that text, may prove correct. Attention must also be given to cryptic word-groups--consistencies in the cryptic orthographies of words and phrases may provide clues for translations and sign-values.

2) An understanding of the principles of sign-value derivations. The various values of individual signs, and the various signs representing a single value, must relate in observable and understandable ways (substitutions of signs of like appearance, confusions from hieratic, etc.). If the manner in which a sign acquired a peculiar value is not clear, that value for the sign must be suspect. Important are comparisons of signs and values in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity with known values from other enigmatic texts, preferably of the same genre and period, which are accompanied by *Klarschrift* transcriptions or for which the translations may be said to be beyond reasonable doubt.

3) Close attention must be paid to the relative positions of the signs, and the appearance of the original text. The copies on which studies of cryptic texts are based often ignore this. If the hand copy of a cryptic text rearranges the signs of the original, compressing and redistributing them in order to accommodate neat lines of hieroglyphs (in the style of Sethe's *Urkunden* and Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*), information necessary for the correct reading of a text may be lost. For example: Drioton's rendering of a particularly difficult bit of cryptography on the 2nd gold shrine of Tutankhamen was based on a neat,

linear copy of the hieroglyphs.⁴² In the text he proposed to read three signs as an otherwise unattested cryptic orthography of the word *îtn*, “disk of the sun.” Though the orthography is unexpected (taking into account the cryptic orthographies of *îtn* occurring elsewhere on this shrine), on the basis of Drioton’s copy the three signs could conceivably belong to a single word. However, when a facsimile drawing is consulted, Drioton’s reading is seen to defy the actual arrangement of the signs. The sign which he read as the third element of *îtn* actually is the second sign in the first word of a new line. This line also provides an example of the necessity of viewing each enigmatic text in relationship to an accompanying scene and a parallel text. Accompanying a scene of Isis and Nephthys on either side of a ram-headed post, the line is a cryptic annotation reading “they are around him (as protection).” A parallel scene just below this scene has the *Normalschrift* annotation “they are around him (as protection).” The text fits the scene and the parallel, and all explain the arrangement of the signs in the annotation--they are read in a counter clockwise manner, a circle of text, in which the verbal and pictorial capabilities of the script are merged. This demonstrates the necessity of studying the cryptic texts *in situ* or through photos and facsimile drawings, when available.

⁴²The text discussed here is found in the upper right corner of the exterior left panel of the second gold shrine of Tutankhamen (A. Piankoff, “Une Représentation rare sur l’une des chapelles de Toutânkhâmon,” *JEA* 35 [1949] 114, pl. 8, IID; É. Drioton, “La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhâmon,” *JEA* 35 [1949] 117-22; Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 30; 2, pl. 4; Piankoff And Rambova, *The Shrines of Yut-Ankh-Amon* p. 122, fig. 41; E. Hornung, “Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltbuch,” *JSSEA* 13 [1983] 30).

4) Content of the cryptic texts. The final and most important of the criteria for certifying the accuracy of the translation of an enigmatic text is that the content of the inscriptions must be consistent with the compositions and genres of which they are a part.⁴³

The interpretation of early Egyptian cryptography presented here is based on a thorough study of all pre-Ptolemaic cryptography. Segments of other enigmatic texts are treated in full here only when they are necessary to explain differences with earlier readings and explanations of sign derivations, or when they bear on the interpretation of the texts and scenes in the three texts studied here. Reference will be made to Ptolemaic sign values where they appear to help in reading these texts. Ptolemaic texts, even with all of their normalized cryptography, are much better understood than the earlier enigmatic texts, and evince the workings of methods of sign value derivation already attested in earlier religious cryptography (see chapter 2). The texts themselves should express concepts similar to those occurring in other texts concerned with mortuary and eschatological themes. The citation of parallel texts supports the interpretation of the cryptography.

The enigmatic texts of the royal Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom always accompany and often annotate representations. The texts frequently describe the nearby images, and the interpretation of an enigmatic text should coincide with the information which the accompanying iconography imparts. Not infrequently what at first might appear a reasonable rendition of an enigmatic text fails when seen in the light of the image the text should describe. The key to a text which at first defies interpretation may lie in the iconology of the accompanying depiction. Although the study of

⁴³According to Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 60, "The system of decipherment that habitually produces words, sentences, ideas and constructions that are unique or rare cannot command complete confidence."

iconography has frequently been relegated to insignificance in some studies of enigmatic texts, this examination of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity is as much a study of netherworldly iconography as a study of New Kingdom cryptography.⁴⁴



The three enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity have thus far been only partially examined for their cryptographic content, and little consideration has been given to their religious significance. Textual and iconographic parallels to these treatises have but rarely entered into the brief discussions of these compositions, and this has limited the previous attempts at reading bits of these texts to at best only partial success. The compositions examined here are three representatives of a hitherto unrecognized royal Netherworld Book of the New Kingdom, one which fathered the funerary papyri of the Third Intermediate Period. They depict the giant deity of the eastern horizon (human in the Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX works, the snake-legged Abrasax in the Ramesses VI corridor G treatise) and all three compositions deal with the turning over of celestial bodies in the Netherworld. The Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX compositions mention the messengers of the gods in a similar position in the two works, and contain Book of the Dead excerpts. Although the Ramesses VI ceiling is the most divergent, all three represent a common template, and stress the same features of the Netherworld.

⁴⁴A great many Egyptian iconographic elements have a long life, and the cliché of ancient Egyptian conservatism does have a foundation in fact. A basic premise of the present work is that the iconography of ancient Egyptian religious images is conservative, meaningfully influenced by a few priests and artisans who subordinate themselves to the traditions which they continue (very few signed their works); this conservative milieu suits a formalist approach (cf. E. Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology*, and his *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*). Following Aby Warburg's work on the art of the Middle Ages, the present work seeks to provide both iconographic and textual parallels for the iconography of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity (for an entertaining account of formalism in medieval art history, and Warburg's influence on Panofsky and others, see N.F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages* [New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991] pp. 161-204).

The following study of the enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity will begin with a discussion of the enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom, concentrating on the known religious cryptographs. A comparison of these enigmatic religious texts with the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity will show the unity of the Solar-Osirian texts and will demonstrate the general peculiarities of the enigmatic principles governing these texts. Each succeeding chapter will examine in detail one of the three extant recensions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. As the enigmatic texts which this work treats are for the most part annotations to often almost equally cryptic and unusual scenes, close attention will be given to explaining the iconography of the accompanying decoration. Only when the understanding of a particular text coincides with the interpretation of the associated images can one consider the translation of an enigmatic annotation plausible. The analysis of the religious concepts which underly the cryptographic texts must proceed alongside the interpretation of the enigmatic orthographies. Following chapters examine in detail two of the most important theological concepts which these texts espouse--the nature of the giant and unified Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon, and the inverted nature of entry into the Netherworld--putting together the relevant material from the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. A concluding chapter will summarize the enigmatic principles to which the Solar-Osirian texts attest and will review the theology which they express.

Chapter 2

Ancient Egyptian Cryptography of the New Kingdom

Early Egyptian cryptography divides into three basic systems:¹ 1) Normal cryptography: the normal appearance of a sign is altered, *eg.* by choosing an uncommon sign which represents the same object as a more normal sign (*ie.* the mouth viewed from the side  substitutes for the mouth seen from the front ); the potential phonetic values of a known sign are expanded--normal signs acquire abnormal values; new signs are created, often with logographic values; the rebus is used. The cryptic orthography of a word does not always correspond to that of the word in *Normalschrift*--determinatives are uncommon,² and ideograms abound; the normal reading order of signs may be altered for effect--"perturbation." 2) Ornamental cryptography: the decorative aspect of hieroglyphic inscriptions could be expanded, royal epitheta and lauds of gods being written as friezes of divinities and geniuses, carrying various

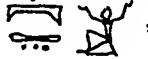
¹The following are the categories of cryptography which Brunner lists in "Änigmatische Schrift (Kryptographie)" pp. 51-8.

²Notable exceptions to the common lack of determinatives in enigmatic inscriptions are the enigmatic texts on the ceilings of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* [*Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 1; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954] pls. 178-82), noted by Hornung in his recent study of the "Schutzbild" in this corridor ("Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses' VI.," in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* [Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988] pp. 45-51).

objects; here words literally march across the stones before the reader.³ 3) Thematic cryptography: the figures and objects of a cryptic inscription may at times appear to relate to one another in the scene or text, with two, perhaps differing levels of meaning--one pictorial, one textual; such double entendre can also occur within the first and second types of cryptography. Enigmatic orthographies may at times allow for two readings of a word, one when viewed as a cryptogram, another when seen as *Normalschrift*.⁴ When an ideogram is involved, this may cross into thematic cryptography.⁵

Theoretically, almost any sign should lend itself to use in normal cryptography. In the second and third forms, ornamental and thematic, the cryptography is bound by

³Cf. É. Drioton, "Les protocoles ornementaux d'Abydos," *RdE* 2 (1936) 1-20.

⁴For a Ptolemaic example compare the writing of *bt₁nw/bdšw* in E. Winter, "Weitere Beobachtungen zur 'Grammaire du Temple' in der griechisch-römischen Zeit," in W. Helck, ed., *Tempel und Kult* (*Äg.Ab.* 46; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987) p. 71 (and other examples in the article). The cryptographically written word may at times form a depiction as well; compare the writing of the name of the god Ptah as ,

which visually expresses the concept of Ptah as creator separating heaven and earth (see W. Wolf, "Der Berliner Ptah-Hymnus (P 3048, II-XII.)," *ZÄS* 64 [1929] 28; J. Yoyotte, "Jeux d'écritures sur une statuette de la XIX^e Dynastie," *RdE* 10 [1955] 89 [and pp. 85-89 for a similar cryptogram of the name of Atum from the Nineteenth Dynasty]; S. Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte* [Bourges: Éditions du Seuil, 1957] pp. 130-133; E. Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine* [Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1984] p. 9). Compare also the theological implications of enigmatic writings of the divine names Neith and (Ptah-)Tenen in L. Kákosy, "Eine Frauenmaske im Medelhavsmuseet," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 15 (1980) 23.

⁵The use of the egg as a "playful writing or a semi-cryptogram" to write the final element in the name of the tomb owner *D₁hwt₁-ms* in a non-cryptic text in TT 32 crosses into thematic cryptography, with the suggestive second reading "son (*s3*) of Thoth" (L. Kákosy, "A Strange Form of the Name Djehutimes," *BSEG* 13 [1989] 69-71). The orthography of the toponym Tjaru in H.D. Schneider, "Gleanings in the Egyptian Collection at Leiden I, Four Stelae," *OMRO* 52 (1971) 20, the signs are chosen and arranged, and one substituted for a novel sign form, in order to achieve a thematic cryptography which conveys the theological significance of the place on several levels.

several criteria which limit the signs one could potentially utilize in composing a given text--for ornamental cryptography the signs must be ostentatious and aesthetically pleasing, alone and as a group; for the thematic type, the appearance of the text is bound up with the content of the text and the appearance of the accompanying scene. This does not necessarily limit the signs which could be employed for a given text, but would influence the choice and arrangement of signs for a given portion of the text. "Normal" cryptography can, however, make use of all the cryptic methods.

In his discussion of "the formation of alphabetic values" for Ptolemaic signs, Fairman recognized sign values originating:

1. By "direct representation by extension of the use of ideograms."
2. "By the Consonantal Principle."
3. "Phonetic change."
4. "Occasionally an old sign is depicted from a new aspect, or is replaced by a sign of the same general class but of different form."
5. "Through confusion or error."
6. "From the hieratic."
7. "By rebus."
8. "By convention."
9. "For graphic reasons."
10. "Signs whose origin is still unknown."

Fairman summarized the "characteristics of Ptolemaic writing" as "an increase in the signs in common use and in the values they could bear;" "a big increase in the number of ideograms and in the number of determinatives that are used as ideograms and phonograms;" "an increase, as compared with Classical Egyptian, in purely alphabetic writings;" "the deliberate employment of a variety of alternatives for known signs, values and spellings;" "the deliberate revival of archaistic spellings and odd values, constructions and usages;" and "a certain attempt, clearly based on real

knowledge, to indicate phonetic changes or the current pronunciation.”⁶ As Sauneron emphasized, the manner of sign value derivation in evidence in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts echoes and enlarges upon the principles on which the earliest Egyptian writing was based.⁷ An examination of early cryptography, namely those enigmatic texts composed before the end of the Ramesside period, shows these methods of sign derivation already at work.

The cryptographic principles behind sign values in the three texts studied here are not wholly unlike those of the cosmographic texts known as the Nut Book and the Book of the Day and the Night in that the signs employed are not unusual or novel. V. Vikentiev, commenting on a portion of the cryptography in the Nut Book in the Sety Cenotaph at Abydos, listed the following principles behind the enigmatic sign values there: 1) full phonetic value; 2) partial phonetic value, resulting from a weak final or initial sound; 3) replacement of a sign by another of similar appearance or function; 4) use of abusive determinatives, suggested by one of the signs with enigmatic value; 5) analytic values, derived from a more subtle description of a sign or word than that ostensibly represented; 6) and inversion, or perturbation.⁸ Vikentiev then recognized the consonantal principle, essentially the derivation of an “enigmatic” value for a sign through the loss of weak sounds, and saw no need in that text to have recourse to the acrophony which Drioton espoused. Describing the cryptography of the scene of the

⁶H.W. Fairman, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 56-7.


⁷For a convenient list of recent works on the nature of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing system, see Ph. Derchain, “Les hiéroglyphes à l’époque ptolémaïque,” in Cl. Baurain, C. Bonnet, and V. Krings, eds., *Phoinikeia Grammata (Collection d’Études Classiques* 6; Liege-Namur: Société des Études Classiques, 1991) p. 243 n. 1.

⁸V. Vikentiev, “Quelques mots énigmatiques dans un texte astronomique,” *ASAE* 43 (1943) 116-20.

Judgement Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, Hornung has listed a number of features of New Kingdom enigmatic texts, including: the interchangeability of signs of birds, signs of snakes, and signs of plants; the collapse of the dentals, allowing interchanges of *t*, *t̥*, *d*, and *d̥*; a general scarcity of determinatives; etc.⁹ The principles of enigmatic sign derivation which Vikentiev and Hornung have listed are those principles functioning in early Egyptian cryptography in general.

Acrophony remains a shaky and unproven hypothesis; even in the examples from the temple of Esna for which Sauneron thought only acrophony could provide an explanation, substitution at times provides a better derivation than the obscure word of uncertain application which acrophony often requires.¹⁰ According to Fairman, "It would appear to be a sound rule in attempting the decipherment of hieroglyphic texts of

⁹Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 8; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1980) p. 146.

¹⁰For example, Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 141 no. 137, the value *m* derives from a substitution for the *m*-owl, rather than through acrophony from *mk*; p. 151 no. 187, the value *s* derives from the use of this sign as a variant for the horned-viper for *s* (on which value see H.W. Fairman, "Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of , " *JEA* 36 [1950] 111); p. 124 no. 56, the head for *s* does not derive from *sḥ*, "seven," a number which the head indeed represents (because of the seven orifices), but rather from the use of the head as *pars pro toto* to write the man as *s*; p. 157 no. 212 has the value *s* from *š*, for the *š*-plant; p. 188 no. 387 has the value *t* from *t3*, after substitution for the normal *t3* earth-sign; p. 168 no. 272 has the value *w* from *wi3* through substitution with the normal *wi3*-boat sign. The divine trigrams at Esna and elsewhere (on which see also M.-L. Ryhner, "À propos des trigrammes panthéistes," *RdE* 29 [1977] 129-37) are on occasion more difficult, and may provide the only true applications of acrophony. They are bound by the theological concept of the triad (cf. J. G. Griffiths, "Some Egyptian Conceptual Triads," in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* [*Stud. Aeg.* 14; Budapest: La Chair d'Égyptologie de l'Université Eötvöl Loránd de Budapest, 1992] pp. 223-28; *idem*, "Triune Conceptions of Divinity in Ancient Egypt," *ZÄS* 100 [1973] 28-32; W. Westendorf, "Zweiheit, Dreiheit und Einheit in der altägyptischen Theologie," *ZÄS* 100 [1974] 138), and the constraint of writing a divine name in three characters with thematically significant grouping, along with the desire to do this with as much originality as possible, may have required the use of acrophony.

any period never to have recourse to acrophony as an explanation of origins unless all other attempts at explanation have failed.”¹¹ This advice is followed here and, as will be seen, no sign value hints at the working of acrophony in these compositions. Acrophony is to be used only as an explanation of last resort, essentially as an admission of temporary defeat.

Most of the known Old and Middle Kingdom cryptic inscriptions are of the ornamental or thematic types, and all are individual words or short passages--none are lengthy texts.¹² Perhaps the longest of the early enigmatic inscriptions are those in tomb no. 17 at Beni Hasan; those texts contain a mixture of ornamental and thematic cryptography.¹³

In the New Kingdom, cryptography occurs in three major literary contexts. There are monumental texts, generally royal names and epitheta, employing primarily ornamental cryptography;¹⁴ there are private texts, generally of an eschatological

¹¹H.W. Fairman, “Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu,” *ASAE* 43 (1943) 304-5.

¹²J. Capart, “Un hiéroglyphe mystérieux,” *Kémi* 2 (1929) 1-2; É. Drioton, *MIFAO* 66 part 1 (1935-38) pp. 697-704; for references to the Middle Kingdom enigmatic texts in the tombs at Beni Hasan texts, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 210 n. 3 (the scenes on stele Louvre C15 which Drioton discusses in this article probably do not form a true cryptic inscription, but rather “simply” make up the complex tableau as explained by Moret [cited *ibid.* p. 210 n. 1]); Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* 1, *Varia* (New York, 1976) pp. 55-8 (discussing two enigmatic “monograms” of the early Middle Kingdom); H.G. Fischer, “Notes on the Macclesfield Collection,” *GM* 95 (1987) 38 (and n. 8). For the relatively rare appearances of cryptography in the Coffin Texts, see W.R. Faulkner, “Abnormal or Cryptic Writings in the Coffin Texts,” *JEA* 67 (1981) 173-74.

¹³P.E. Newberry and G.W. Fraser, *Beni Hasan* vol. 2 (*ASE* 2; London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893) pl. 14 (two vertical texts on the east half of the north wall in tomb no. 17). For a combination of monumental, ornamental, and thematic cryptography from the Nineteenth Dynasty, see Yoyotte, *RdE* 10 (1955) 81-89.

¹⁴Most of these are examined by Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 (1940) 305-427. The enigmatic inscriptions of Ramesses II from the temples of Amada and Amara in Nubia (A. Daneri Rodrigo, “An Enigmatic

content, most of the longer of these in tombs at Dra Abu en-Naga, employing primarily normal and thematic cryptography;¹⁵ and finally there is the use of cryptography in the royal Netherworld Books. The enigmatic religious texts of the royal tombs primarily employ sporadic bursts of normal and thematic cryptography. The three extant versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity contain standard hieroglyphs, used cryptographically with nonstandard values. Except for certain labels and embedded excerpts from the Book of the Dead in the example on the second shrine of

Inscription at Aksha," *JSSEA* 15 (1985) 68-71), and annotations on the rear wall of the Min shrine in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (E. Naville, *Détails relevés dans les ruines de quelques temples égyptiens* [Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930] pls. 35-36), are something between "monumental" and "netherworldly" cryptography. As discussed below, the associations of these texts and their locations with the liminal aspects of the eastern horizon suggested the use of cryptography, and they should probably be considered religious cryptography. Another blending of Netherworldly and monumental cryptography occurs in the marginal inscription beneath the cornice at the top of the north exterior wall of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. There (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 3 *The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III* [OIP 23; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934] pl. 182, l. 3), Ramesses III describes his temple in relationship to deities of the Netherworld, and uses the jackal for *st3* in *nb r3-st3.w*, "lord of Rosetau," the falcon eye for *m33* and the three falcons on standards for *ntr.w* in *r m33 nb-ntr.w*, "in order to behold the lord of the gods." The Netherworld references appear to have called forth the use of cryptography, associated with the boundaries of the solar cycle and the liminal areas between the world of the living and the world of the eternal. For later uses of monumental cryptography, see É. Drioton, "La Frise d'écriture énigmatique du tombeau de Padykam," in S. Gabra, *et al.*, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna El-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1941) pp. 29-37 (and the references cited there, particularly in n. 1, p. 31).

¹⁵Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 1-50; see also S.J. Seidlmayer, "Eine Schreiberpalette mit ägyptischer Aufschrift," *MDAIK* 47 (1991) 319-30. There are occasional "sportive" writings of a rebus or pseudo-enigmatic sort scattered throughout all genres of texts from the New Kingdom (*cf.* a playful writing, misunderstood by the editor, in A. Kadry, *Officers and Officials in the New Kingdom* [*Studia aegyptiaca* 8; Budapest: Université Loránd Eötvös, 1982] pp. 176-7--*wr*, "great," etc., written as a *wr*-foreign chieftain).

Tutankhamun, they are composed exclusively in a spare sort of normal cryptography. In the Solar-Osirian texts, alphabetic cryptic orthographies predominate.

Monumental texts utilize a form of cryptography designed for the maximum pictorial effect. Detailed and specific human and divine figures are preferred, and the texts become long vignettes, blurring the always faint line in Egyptian between text and scene.¹⁶ The following excerpt from the monumental titulary of Ramesses II demonstrates the ornamental and thematic potentials of this form of cryptography.¹⁷

On the interior surfaces of the architraves in his court at Luxor Temple, Ramesses II has his titulary and epitheta carved, repeated for the east and west halves. On the west, the titulary is in *Normalschrift*, on the east in cryptography. The portion given as *mry ïmn-R^c nb nsw.t-T3.wy hn.ty ïp.t -s.wt*, “beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak” appears in the enigmatic titulary as (plate 1, figure A):

mry ïmn-R^c nb ns.(w)t^a T3.wy hnty^b ïp.t-s.wt^c

^a Amun-Re sits upon the *mry*-sign.¹⁸ *Nb* is written as a standing figure wearing disk, horns, and plumes, a graphic representation of a “lord.”¹⁹ The headdress suggests

¹⁶See Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 305-427. For a detailed discussion showing the levels of meanings and nuance possible in these texts, see Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* vol. 1 (Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'Étude sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1968) pp. 52-5.

¹⁷Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 319-328.


¹⁸Whole lines of monumental cryptographic figures could stand upon one large *mr*-sign (cf. the writings of the name of Ramesses VI at the tops of the pillars in Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* pls. 63-70).

¹⁹*Nb* is the reading of this same sign in cryptogram no. 15 in the Book of the Day and the Night (A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* [*BdÉ* 13; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1942] p. 85), in the phrase *fdw hr.w r p3 nty m ss hr nhb.t w^c.t mī ssīm nb pn ïmy Dd.t*, “four faces (according to this which is in painting) upon one

Memphite associations, appropriate to the solar Amun as imperial god of Thebes as *ỉwnw šm ʿy*, the “Upper Egyptian Heliopolis.”²⁰ The more commonly occurring plural *ns.wt*, “thrones,” is here a singular throne, a cryptographic version of the attested *nb ns.t T3.wy*, “lord of the throne of the Two Lands.”²¹

b *Hnty*, “foremost,” is written as *hnty*, “to sail south.” The vessel is an elaborate royal barge, such as that which officiated at the towing of the Amun barge to Luxor from Karnak during the Opet festival, and the sign indeed faces south, as though the deity is journeying south to Luxor, sails set against the current. With Karnak written immediately to the left of the stern of the vessel, the bark literally sails from Karnak towards the southern rooms of Luxor Temple.


c *ỉp.t* is the sign of a female deity writing, from the verb *ỉp*, “to reckon.” The female deity herself may also invoke the name of the goddess Opet, reenforcing the enigmatic value *ỉp.t* for the sign of the accounting woman.

The *nỉw.t*-sign determinative of *ỉp.t-S.wt* is . In his detailed study of this text, Drioton²² incorrectly read the sign as the determinative of *W3s.t*, a word which is not in actuality present in the text. On the west architrave Amun is called *hnty ỉp.t-S.wt*, neck, like the image of this lord who is in Mendes,” a reference to the Mendesian ram, the *B3-nb-Dd.t* (*contra* Drioton, *ibid.* p. 106, who read *wr*).

²⁰C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* vol. 1, pp. 156-7 n. 110.

²¹K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929 Nr. 4) p. 13 (§12), and n. 5 on that page (Sethe also discusses writings of the title employing the dual *ns.ty*, “two thrones”); cf. also *Wb.* II 322, 8.

²²ASAE 40 (1940) 325-27.

which corresponds to the enigmatic group beginning with the sailing ship. Drioton understands the throne  as a graphic variant of the *s.t* -throne, reading the bread sign as the feminine *t*. So far there is no problem with Drioton's understanding of the cryptography of the Luxor architrave text. Drioton then proceeds to read the seated Amun as *m*, "par acrophonie de *mn h.t nb.t* . << Celui qui est stable en toutes choses >>, définition fréquente d'Amon, ici représenté;" the middle figure he reads as *w* (from Shu as *wh3 n p.t*, "colonne du ciel"), the lioness as *s* (through acrophony from *Shm.t*). Drioton reads these signs as *m w(3)s* for *m W3s.t*, "in Thebes;" assuming the elongated *nḥw.t* sign to be the determinative of *W3s.t*. The values assigned to the signs, and their manner of derivation, are surprising: Amun as *m* alone is otherwise unattested; *wh3* from a depiction of Shu is unlikely, and were it allowed, a violent acrophonic process would be required in order to leave only *w*; the lioness, were she simply Sekhmet, would similarly require acrophony to be read as *s*.²³ More surprising is the absence of a plural indicator and city marker for *ḥp.t-S.wt* in Drioton's rendition of the text.

With this in mind, and adhering to the normal text on the west architrave, one may read the text as follows: The throne for the *s.t* -throne, and the bread for the feminine *t* ending, as Drioton correctly recognized. The elongated city determinative, rather than belonging to *W3s.t*, actually belongs to *ḥp.t-S.wt*, and the three seated divinities serve as the plural strokes.²⁴ These three are specifically the deities

²³One might expand the use of direct representation in which a female figure can represent a first person singular suffix pronoun and a second person feminine singular suffix pronoun--see Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) p. 217; even if through this process the value *s* for the seated lioness figure were allowed, the values *m* and *w* remain impossible here.

²⁴Compare the use of the goddess determinative as one of the reed-leaves of *sh.t* in the divine name *Sh.t*--see J.-C. Grenier, "L'édition des textes du temple de Tôd," in *L'égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No. 595; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982)* vol. 2, p. 77.

worshipped at Karnak--Amun, Khonsu, and Mut. Khonsu appears as a seated god with a feather on his head. Drioton interpreted the feather as that of Shu; considering the solar form taken by Mut, the deity with the feather atop his head is most likely have here Khonsu-Shu, the solar manifestation of the son of Amun and Mut.²⁵ Mut is depicted with the head of a lioness, as she is on the door jambs leading into the Colonnade Hall in Luxor Temple.²⁶ In this form she is the eye of sun god, Mut-Bastet-Sekhmet, appropriate to the solar aspect of Amun as Amun-Re. The seated deities above the elongated city determinative are Amun, Khonsu, and Mut,²⁷ and at the same

²⁵On whom see Ph. Derchain, "Mythes et dieux lunaires en Égypte," in *La lune, mythes et rites* (*Sources orientales* 5; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962) pp. 43-4; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §51. In the tomb of Ramesses IX, Khonsu-Shu is depicted as a hieracocephalic figure with the lunar crescent and orb on his head, a uraeus with horns and disk emerging from the lunar crescent (F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* [MIFAO 15; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907] pl. 48). An alternative reading of the feather would be as the Maat-feather, which is also associated with Khonsu (Maat and Khonsu both as the "Keule" see J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis, Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretologien* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, *Historia Religionum* 3; Uppsala, 1968] p. 184 n. 2; in the Coffin Texts Chons is referred to as "Chons Schreiber der Maat" [CT VI 272c]--see B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* [GOF IV vol. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975] p. 168). In a text of Herihor on the west face of the first western architrave in the court of Khonsu Temple (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 2 *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* [OIP 103; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981] pl. 134 A:1), the name of Khonsu-Shu is determined by a simple seated god with beard, however, there being neither lunar disk nor feather on his head.

²⁶Unpublished; see the plates in The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple* vol. 2 (OIP; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, forthcoming).

²⁷The more usual order in which these deities appear in two-dimensional representations is Amun, Mut, and Khonsu (cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* vol. 4, *The Battle Reliefs of King Seti I* [OIP 107; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1986] pls. 14 and 32). In sculpture, however, the king as the son of the god and goddess sits between his parents (compare a statue group of Amun, Thutmosis III, and Mut in Room XXXVIII of the 3^d-*mnw* Temple at Karnak [R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, et al., *Les temples de Karnak* (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1982) vol. 1, p. 154, fig. 76; vol. 2, pls. 190-191]; compare also the group of Amun, Tutankhamun, and

time Atum, Shu, and Tefnut; together the readings of the group emphasize the solar aspect of the deity as Amun-Re.²⁸




The *nīw.t* sign is the determinative of *īp.t-S.wt*, elongated to fill all of the space below the triad; this was recognized by Drioton. Above the elongated *nīw.t*-sign sit the figures of the triad of Karnak, which represent the plural strokes of *S.wt*. The elongation of the city determinative clearly fills more successfully than would the normal city sign the space occupied by the seated figures, which occupy more space than plural strokes.²⁹ By being elongated in this manner, the *nīw.t* -sign resembles, but for the vestiges of the internal road markings, the outline of the N 18 sign of a body of water. This water sign can cryptically have the values *nt* and *n*, as could the city sign.³⁰ The elongation of the city sign is thus further legitimized by the interchangeability of the city sign and sign N 18 for representing the value *n* in cryptography,³¹ although in the text on the Luxor Temple architrave the city sign is not employed phonetically.

Mut, Cairo Museum 42097, J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* vol. 3 *La statuaire égyptienne* [Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et C^{ie}, 1958] pl. 118, fig. 1). As the son of Amun and Mut, Shu appears between his parents in the Luxor Temple cryptographic titulary.

²⁸The Opet scenes and texts within the Colonnade also emphasize the solar nature of Amun-Re and his entourage--see The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1* (OIP112; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994), and this author's forthcoming study).

²⁹According to Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) p. 326, the sign is "aplatis et allongé de façon à pouvoir servir de divan à la triade fantaisiste des dieux représentés."

³⁰Water sign: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; Gunn, *JEA* 12 (1926) 136-7; city sign: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit* p. 105; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. *11.



³¹Note also the substitution of *p* and *š*, based on elongation (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 146). Such substitution is the origin of the use of the sign  for *h* at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 167 [no. 268]  for , with *š* for *h*).

The private cryptography of the New Kingdom is not concerned with such tableau-like groupings of figures and elaborate signs, but it did lead to the creation of signs peculiar to private cryptography and often carried the thematic cryptography farther.³² In the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Parennefer at Dra Abu en-Naga (to be published by Karl-Joachim Seyfried and Friederike Kampp) a text begins “Adoration of Amun-Re” (plate 1, figure B):³³

$hft^a h^c \phi = f 3 h.ty^c sn/ss(?)^d = f idb.wy$

“... when he appears, Akhty traversing the Two Banks.”

^a The child is for h , from h/hy , “child” (*Wb.* III 217, 3-8).³⁴ The cat is for f (see below), and the $t3$ -sign is for t (through loss of the final aleph).³⁵

^b The top () of M12 () for h , from $h3$, occurs in É. Drioton, “Un cryptogramme relatif aux souffles de vie,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien (Deutsche*

³²An obscure, boundary-crossing example is the cryptography which Senmut developed, apparently only for his own use, for writing the name of Hatshepsut (on Senenmut’s use of the hieroglyphic system, see P.F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut, Problems in Historical Methodology* [London: Kegan Paul International, 1988] p. 175; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, “Hommage d’un poète à la princesse lointaine,” *Kêmi* 11 [1950] 34-45).


³³I thank Dr. Karl Seyfried for permission to reproduce and discuss these as yet unpublished texts.

³⁴Attested Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) p. 36; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8; A. de Buck, chapter 9, “The Dramatic Text,” in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (Egypt Exploration Society Memoir 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933) p. 84 n. 25; and on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (in the divine name $i3hy$, pl. 7 B).*

³⁵Attested on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (*ie.* in the name of the deity Tatenen, fifth from the right in the lower right portion of the first side). There could also be a purposeful confusion with the long bread sign for t (see Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] p. 49).

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 29; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955) p. 49 no. 21 (cited here without endorsing all of Drioton's readings of the scarabs; see also chapter 3, n. 144; and chapter 4, n. 74). The final 3 falls away through the workings of Fairman's consonantal principle. The pustule as ʿ is not uncommon;³⁶ on the origin of this value, see below in chapter 3 (on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, pp. 69-72).

^c The aleph-vulture following *3h.t* apparently substitutes for the *tyw*-bird, here functioning as a phonetic complement to the *ty* ending of *3h.ty* already written above.

^d The verb of the action which Akhty is here said to perform is the *sn* of *Wb.* III 455, 16, “über ein bestimmtes Land hinausfahren,” a verb also written as *sš* (*Wb.* III 482, 27, “to spread out”).³⁷ For the fish for *s*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 414; Sethe, *Northampton*, 10* (in the divine name *Wsir*). The use of  for *š3* as *š* presents no difficulty, with the acceptable loss of the final aleph, as in *h3* for *h*, through the application of the consonantal principle; *š* as *n* also occurs, as a substitution of one water sign for another.³⁸ For this portion of the text there is the suggestive but not quite parallel example in J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (*Theben* 1; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983) pp. 198-9, text 152, l. 10: *sš nhtw=f ht idb.wy*, “his power traversing the Two Lands.” As Akhty, the sun, travels over Egypt from east to west, it is the two banks, the eastern and western halves of the land, which

³⁶*ibid.*, 49; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 249.

³⁷On this problematic verb see R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe from a Hieratic Papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1977) p. 15 n. 7.

³⁸*ie.* Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 409; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 46; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 11*, etc.

he crosses. The writing of *sš* here in the tomb of Parennefer purposefully allows a second reading *bsi*, “come forth,” appropriate to the sun’s emergence from the Netherworld;³⁹ the choice of signs suggests an aquatic environment, appropriate for dawn as the recreation of the day.⁴⁰

The cryptography of the tomb of Parennefer belongs to a system of enigmatic writing best attested in private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Dra Abu en-Naga.⁴¹ For the horned viper, the Dra Abu en-Naga texts can employ the longer, writhing snake, a sign uncommon as a substitute for the sign of the horned viper, but a sign attested elsewhere. For the sign *f*, the Dra Abu en-Naga tombs can also employ a cat killing a snake, or just a cat alone. The cat slaying the snake for *f* is Re as the *mīw*-‘3 slaughtering Apep in the vignette to chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead. This cryptogram derives from representations of ritually killed snake signs.⁴² Elsewhere this

³⁹Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak ...* (OLA 32; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1989) pp. 147-202; M. Malaise, “Bes et les Croyances solaires,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990) pp. 691-2 (on *bsi* and sunrise).

⁴⁰Recalling the primeval, aquatic landscape of the Egyptian Temple (R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* [Studies in Oriental Religions 10; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985] p. 13; E.A.E. Reymond, *The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969] pp. 69, 80-1). The possibility of a primary reading, and a further, more obscure second reading, also appears in much later Coptic cryptography--cf. S. Jakobielski, in K. Michalowski, *Faras, Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Artystyczno-Graficzne, 1974) p. 287.

⁴¹The cryptography of the Dra Abu en-Naga enigmatic texts may have originated during the Second Intermediate Period--compare the text in H. Ranke, “Ein Wesir der 13. Dynastie,” in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien* (MIFAO 66; Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1935-1938) p. 362 (l. 1).

⁴²Cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (OIP 102; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980) pl. 7, l. 2. R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993) pp. 164-5 discusses some other “killed” snake signs.

cryptogram is developed further, the snake--as a noxious being--disappearing altogether and the cat alone representing *f*.⁴³

The Resurrection of Osiris scene in the Osireion and the royal tombs also contains this form of cryptography, employing unusual and complicated signs, often with possible thematic interpretations, as do the Ramesses II cryptic texts from the temples of Amara and Aksha,⁴⁴ and the Amun-Min chapel in his temple at Abydos.⁴⁵ The scene of the Judgement Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (scene 33), in its occasional use of unusual signs,⁴⁶ also appears to be more in this tradition.⁴⁷ For *nd*, "to protect," the Resurrection of Osiris scene, the Dra Abu en-Naga texts, and the Judgement Hall of Osiris scene of the Book of Gates all employ the grinding person.⁴⁸ The other private

⁴³T. Devéria, "L'écriture secrete, dans les textes hiéroglyphiques des anciens Égyptiens," in *idem*, *Mémoires et fragments* 2 in G. Maspero, ed., *Bibliothèque égyptologique* 5 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1897) 56; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 40; *idem*, "Procédé acrophonique ou principe consonantal ?," *ASAE* 43 (1943) 337; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 99--as the personal pronoun *f*, not *tf*, as Drioton.

⁴⁴See A. Daneri Rodrigo, "An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha," *JSSEA* 15(1985) 68-71; *idem*, "Aksha (Serra West): El templo de Ramses II, II, la inscripción enigmática del atrio," *Revista de Estudios de Egiptologia* 1 (1990) 47-52.

⁴⁵Naville, *Détails relevés dans les ruines de quelques temples égyptiens*, pls. 35-36; the texts are in Room XII = B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings VI Upper Egypt: Chief Temples (Excluding Thebes)* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1939) p. 38 (64).


⁴⁶Ie. the kneading man (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 192), the axing man, the scales (*ibid.*, p. 197).

⁴⁷M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, "De Gerichtsscene in het Egyptische Poortenboek," in M.S.H.G. Heerma Van Voss, Ph.H.J. Houwink Ten Cate, and N.A. Van Uchelen, eds., *Travels in the World of the Old Testament* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Company B.V., 1974) pp. 80-90; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 143ff.

⁴⁸Resurrection of Osiris--Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 183-85; H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos (Egypt Exploration Society Memoir 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933) pl. 74; Dra*

cryptograms of the period show similar sign uses, and even reflect the styles of monumental cryptography.⁴⁹ The cryptography of scarabs, subject both to the confined space of the surface available for inscribing and the uncertainties of copying such small and often indistinct signs, is a system of its own.⁵⁰

In the quotation from the tomb of Parennefer (above), there is a possible application of thematic cryptography. The three signs of *hft* and the first of *h*“ suggest the eastern horizon, the place of the birth of the sun (the child), the final destruction of Apep and the place of the ultimate fiery punishment of the damned (the cat killing the serpent), at the edge of the earth (the *t3*-sign), and the place where the sun emerges from the lotus (the lotus for *h*).⁵¹

Abu en-Naga--Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Judgement Hall of Osiris--E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 7; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1979) p. 192, vol. 2, p. 146. On the roots *nd*, see J.G. Griffiths, "The Meaning of  *nd* and *nd-hr*," *JEA* 37 (1951) 32-7.

⁴⁹Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 1-50; S.J. Seidlmayer, *MDAIK* 47 (1991) 319-30.

⁵⁰In spite of Schulman's optimistic acceptance of Drioton's work on amuletic cryptography (A.R. Schulman, "The Ossimo Scarab Reconsidered," *JARCE* 12 [1975] 16), the subject is poorly understood. The copies available are not always reliable, owing at least in part to the often rough appearance of the small signs on scarabs and related objects. The graffito (probably dating from the Amarna period) on block XE 63 of Amenophis IV from Karnak (J.-L. Chappaz, "Le premier edifice d'Amenophis IV a Karnak," *BSEG* 8 [1983] 33) bears an apparently enigmatic graffito, a graffito that shows affinities to the "lapidary" cryptography of seals and amulets.

⁵¹Place of punishment: J.-C. Goyon, "Textes mythologiques II: Les révélations du mystère des quatre boules," *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 364 n. 10, with references; see further, the discussion of the name of the goddess *htmy.t* on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (chapter 3, pp. 214-215). Final destruction of Apep: E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* (Äg.Ab. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) vol. 1, p. 202, l. 11: *ntsn hsf 3pp m i3bt.t p.t m-ht msw.t ntr*, "it is they who repel Apep in the east of heaven after the birth of the god." Sun emerging from lotus: H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte, eine ägyptische Kosmogonie des Neuen Reiches* (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 5; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1977).

On the opposite thickness in the same doorway, there is an address to the setting sun (plate 1, figure C):

dw3 R ʿ htp^a=f m d3.t itm^b nb^c ʿnh-T3.wy^d

“Adoration of Re when he sets in the Netherworld, Atum, lord of Ankhtawy”

^a The scarab for *t* is well attested in cryptography,⁵² but no one has yet successfully explained the origin of this value. In attempting such an explanation, Myśliwiec has cited the use of the beetle in writing the name of Khepri in orthographies of the name of the syncretistic solar deity Atum-Khepri.⁵³ He assumes that the beetle in this name lost its original phonetic value, came to be seen as an element in the name of Atum, and acquired the phonetic value *t*; Myśliwiec concludes: “Der Käfer geht also zur Zeit der 21. Dyn. in den Namen selbst als eine Form des Gottes über, und seine formelle Funktion als ‘Ersatzkonsonant’ für ‘t’ muss nachträglich entstanden sein.” Attractive as this explanation at first appears, it is at variance with the cryptographic use of the beetle for *t*, a value attested already during the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁵⁴

For the spewing mouth for *p* see chapter 3, pp. 63-67.⁵⁵

⁵²Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 414.

⁵³K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum* vol. 2 *Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie* (HÄB 8; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1979) pp. 46-48.

⁵⁴Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 414.

⁵⁵A sampling of references for this common cryptographic value: Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 39; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 424; Drioton, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; etc.

^b The prone mummy might represent *ỉ* if taken as an elaborate variant of the seated man.⁵⁶ More likely the mummy here has the value *ỉwty* which it has in the southern text of Pinudjem on the exterior of the small temple of Medinet Habu.⁵⁷ Specifically it has here the value $\Delta \top$ -,⁵⁸ and is used here to emphasize the nocturnal form of the sun addressed here.⁵⁹ The *t3* sign is for *t*. The flesh sign F 51 is found for the preposition *m* several times in tombs at Dra Abu en-Naga.⁶⁰

Alternatively, one could read the prone mummy as *m*, a value which the sign appears to have in an inscription of Darius I in the Temple of Hibis;⁶¹ the following two signs would then be *Tm*, and one would translate the three signs in question “as Atum.” As this doorjamb text is apparently parallel to that on the other jamb (see pl. 1, figure B), where the name of Akhty appears in apposition to [Re] without introductory preposition, the explanation of the prone mummy as *m* is less likely.

⁵⁶A standing mummiform figure has the value *ỉ* in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 327.

⁵⁷Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 335.

⁵⁸W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1984) p. 17 ($\Delta \top$), and p. 4 ($\Delta \Theta \Omega \text{M}$).

⁵⁹Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum* vol. 2 *Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie*, p. 60 attests the use of the standing mummy as a determinative of the divine name Atum.

⁶⁰Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*. See further below, chapter 3, pp. 99-100, and the discussion of the name *tms* of the fourth disk-headed being in the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22 B; see below, pp. 283-285). The *t* of the name Atum appears to be associated with two land signs in the writing of the divine name recorded for an unnumbered Louvre sarcophagus in Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum* vol. 2 *Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie*, p. 17. Three flesh signs occur for *mw* in the name of Atum in a writing at Dendera (see *ibid.*, p. 67).

⁶¹Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 364; Sauneron, *l'écriture figurative*, p. 120, also lists this value *m* for the standing mummy.

^c The seated king is *nb*.⁶²

^d The two herons here are a writing of *t3.wy*, the earliest attestation of this writing; this and an example in the tomb of Ramesses IX⁶³ are the only attestations of this cryptic usage known before two occurrences in the partially cryptographic texts of Pinudjem I on the exterior of the small temple of Medinet Habu.⁶⁴

Here the theme of the dying and setting sun is carried on by the use of the prone mummy for *iwty*/Δ.T - immediately following *d3.t*. The *t3* for *t* is the Netherworld, and the meat signs for *m* suggest the designation of the sungod in the Netherworld as *iwf*, “flesh.” Again, a complicated thematic orthography and arrangement of signs.

Another example of thematic cryptography influencing the Dra Abu en-Naga texts occurs as cryptogram 9 in Drioton’s text B (plate 1, figure D):

wp^a-rh.wy m rn=k p(w)y n k3^b-m3 ‘t
 “judge of the two companions in this your name of ‘Bull of Right Order’”

^a The two separate horns here substitute for the connected horns F 13 more common in writings of *wp*; the city sign following writes *p* (< *P*, “Buto”)⁶⁵

⁶²Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 37; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 106-7.

⁶³Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 79.

⁶⁴Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 328-29 and 334.

⁶⁵*Cf.* Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 46; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

^b The ithyphallic figure of Kamutef represents *k3*,⁶⁶ for in the name *k3-mw.t=f*, the designation *k3*, “bull,” refers to the image of the ithyphallic god (*mw.t* refers to the queen mother, and *f* to the pharaoh).⁶⁷

In the enigmatic orthography of *m3 ʿ.t* in this text the crocodile appears with the value *3 ʿ*,⁶⁸ apparently derived from *ʿ3 y*, “to ejaculate,” an action which the crocodile *Wnty* performs when he bears the sun.⁶⁹ The solar context in which this cryptogram occurs, and the use of the sign of the crocodile in a title of Thoth as judge between Horus and Seth and guarantor of the birth of the new sun Re-Horakhti, appears to have called forth this solar imagery in the choice of enigmatic signs.⁷⁰

⁶⁶Cf. the use of the same sign for *k3* in the royal epithet *k3-nht--É*. Drioton, “La cryptographie égyptienne” *CdE* 18 (1934) 196; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 415.

⁶⁷See the explanation of the name proposed by G. Haeny, “Zum Kamutef,” *GM* 90 (1986) 33-34.

⁶⁸*idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 15-6, notes only *ʿ*, which is possible; the crocodile as *ʿ* is perhaps the origin, through substitution, of the horned viper as *ʿ*, a Ptolemaic sign value about which Fairman wondered in *JEA* 36 (1950) 111; for the interchange of crocodile and viper in the Late Period, compare the use of the crocodile for *r* at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, pp. 146 and 163), derived from the serpent for *r* (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 43; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 413).

⁶⁹A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (*BdE* 19; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953) pp. 67-9; see also below, chapter 5, pp. 413-414.

⁷⁰The cryptography of New Kingdom private cryptography is not, however, divorced utterly from earlier enigmatic values. An enigmatic writing of *ntr.w* attested already in the Coffin Texts occurs in the New Kingdom tomb of Khaemhat (see A. Varille, “L'appel aux visiteurs du tombeau de Khaemhet,” *ASAE* 40 [1940] 605 n. 3). Something approaching thematic cryptography is possible in demotic through sportive uses of at times intentionally confused determinatives--see P.W. Pestman, “Jeux de déterminatifs en démotique,” *RdE* 25 (1973) 21-34. These examples show the ability of cryptography to distill in an enigmatic sign or group the “Quintessenz eines Mythos” (D. Kurth, “Die Lautwerte der Hieroglyphen in den Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit--zur Systematik ihrer Herleitungsprinzipien,” *ASAE* 69 (1983) 308).

The cryptography of private texts and of royal monumental inscriptions differs from that of the three works to be examined in this study. The often complicated thematic arrangements of the private cryptographic texts are absent in the Solar-Osirian compositions, as are the elaborate figural tableaux of the royal monumental cryptograms.

The cryptography of the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity also differs from the other occurrences of royal religious cryptography. The major differences between the cryptography of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity and that of the Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, and Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, is the absence of *Normalschrift* “translations” in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. There are also other differences. The use of figures, human and divine, often carrying an object, is common in monumental cryptography; they are occasional in the private cryptography of the New Kingdom, and in the cryptography of the Book of the Day and the Night.⁷¹ These figures are not a common feature of the cryptography of

⁷¹For monumental cryptography, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 305-427. For private cryptography, note the striking man A 24 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); the man with his arm raised A 26 (*ibid.* p. 8*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 36); the running man A 27 for *in* (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8* [also as *wn* and *in* in the Book of Caverns--Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, l. 1 and pl. 69, l. 3; attested as *mdw* in A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 2 (*OIP* 49; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938) p. 247c--Faulkner, *JEA* 67 (1981) 173]); the man with arms raised A 28 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37 [attested as *mdw* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, p. 247c--Faulkner, *JEA* 67 (1981) 173]); the seated deity A 40 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; two facing in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37; with head tripled for *ntr.w* in *ibid.* p. 37); seated king A 41 (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37; as seated king of Upper Egypt in *ibid.* p. 37 [compare also The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 3 *The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III* (*OIP* 23; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934) pl. 184a, plural for *ntr.w*]); king of Lower Egypt A 45 (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37); squatting man with stick A 49 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); prone mummy as *nb* (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 38 [and in the tomb of Parennefer--see the forthcoming treatment of these texts in the publication of the tomb by Karl Seyfried]); sleeping person A 35 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); man blowing a fire as *nb* (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 36 [see also Drioton, *CdE* 18 (1934) 194]); the man with arms hidden in a cloak (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37 [also in the tomb

the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, wherein the sign of the swimming man is the only human or divine figure out of the ordinary.⁷²

of Parennefer]); man with his elbows out from his sides (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); man holding a phallus (for *m b3ḥ*--Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37); man holding bread (for *it*, "father"--*ibid.* p. 37 [and see Drioton, *CdE* 18 (1934) 195]); man holding a *mr*-staff (for *smr*--Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37); man with missing headdress holding a staff before and the hand of a king of Upper Egypt behind (for *it̃*, "sovereign"--Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37); man holding an object no longer preserved (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); birthing woman B 3 (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); grinding woman (for *nd*--Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*); seated Ibis-headed deity (for *s*--Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 38); Min figure, ithyphallic with raised arm and flail (for *k*--*ibid.* p. 38); the goddess Mut, seated on a throne (for *m*--*ibid.* p. 38 [see also Drioton, *CdE* 18 (1934) 194]); the goddess Neith (for *n*--Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 38). These texts also have a number of examples of figures of deities representing themselves (*cf.* Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 38; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8* [Ptah, Tatenen, Sekhmet, Horus]), a feature which predominates in monumental cryptography. For the Book of the Day and Night, note the man with a staff A 21 as *ḥ* (Piankoff, *Livre du Jour et de la nuit*, p. 102); the striking man A 24 (*ibid.* p. 104); the seated deity A 40 (*ibid.* pp. 102 and 107; holding and *nh* in p. 104); seated king A 41 (*ibid.* pp. 106-7); the fighting man A 59 (*ibid.* p. 100); woman holding a child (*ibid.* p. 104); man holding a vessel (for *inw*, "bearer," *ibid.* p. 103); man with horns and plumes holding a staff (for *wr*--*ibid.* p. 106); standing man holding a staff, atop a *t3*-sign (*ibid.* p. 104); seated ram-headed deity (for *b3*--*ibid.* p. 100).

⁷²The man holding a basket on his head for *f* (A 9, along with a standing form, and a woman in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 36), common in the Late and Graeco-Roman periods, is attested in private (*ibid.*, 36) and monumental (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 421) cryptography, but is not widely used in religious cryptography of any sort before the end of the New Kingdom. In the private cryptography which Drioton discusses there is also a standing woman with arms raised to either side of her head (palms upwards) with the value *f* (*idem*, *RdE* 1 [1933] 38). The seated man A1 has a somewhat wider use (*i* in *in* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 69, 1 [Caverns]; *y* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 36; *f* in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; *wnm* in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 73); note also the man with hand to his mouth A2 as *m* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 36 (and see *idem*, *CdE* 18 [1934] p. 194). The man with his hands raised A 4 (and variants) is also more widely used (*w* in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 421; *imn* in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; *dw3* in the second shrine of Tutankhamun [shown as an adoring woman in the bottom right of pl. 4]--note also the variant standing man with arms raised before him in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37); *imn* in the second shrine of Tutankhamun and on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX (and also *idem*, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 421--note also the use of the variant standing man with arms raised before him as *imn* [*ibid.*, 421; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, ll. 1-3; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1]). The seated child is also well attested (*h/h* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 36; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Livre du Jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of*

The Amduat contains throughout short, compact writings which are not, strictly speaking, “enigmatic,” but also employs cryptography in the fourth and fifth hours.⁷³ Although the compact writings are not full cryptography, a look through the first three hours of the Amduat reveals random signs with values and uses common to other, cryptographic texts;⁷⁴ other, apparently cryptic, uses are surely no more than

Seti I at Abydos, p. 84 n. 25; Drioton, *JEA* 35 [1949] 115; H. Grapow, “Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern,” *ZÄS* 72 [1936] 24; Drioton, *CdE* 18 [1934] 193; E. Hornung, “Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch,” *JSSEA* 13 [1983] 34; as *ms/s3* in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis* p. 8; as *hp* in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1). The swimming man for *nb* is also fairly common (Tutankhamun Shrine 2, Ramesses IX, Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 37; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 70, ll. 1-3; Frankfurt, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; see further below).

⁷³On the compact writings not being true cryptography, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. xi, citing Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 23-9, and G. Steindorff, “Die Grabkammer des Tutanchamuns,” *ASAE* 38 (1938) 663. Hornung has suggested (*Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 90) that the prevalence of cryptography in the 4th and 5th Hours of the Amduat argues for a more recent date for those hours than the Middle Kingdom date suggested by Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 34-5. The compact writings are usually accompanied by a full “transcription,” except in the 11th and 12th hours, in which the names of the entities appear only in the *Kurzschreibung* (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 175, n. 1).

⁷⁴D 2 (*hr*-face): for *h* in writing of *H'py* in *ibid.*, p. 47 n. b, in R IX (3rd Hour); Attested in cryptography in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 38.

D 12 (pupil): for D 4 eye, as *ir̄*, in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53, l. 2 (3rd Hour); probably in *ibid.*, p. 56, n. a, in R VI (3rd Hour)--substitution of a part for the whole (Attested in cryptography in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 38; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, ll. 1-2; etc.).

D 21 (mouth-*r*): for *ir̄/ir̄.t*, in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 34, l. 8; for *iw* in *iw.t*, from *iw* “to come,” in *ibid.*, p. 40, l. 3 (2nd Hour); Compare the use of the mouth *r* and the grasshopper *r* for *w* in the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition.

G 1 (aleph-vulture): for G29 (ba-bird), in *b3, ibid.*, p. 20, l. 8 (1st Hour); Compare the use of the *s3*-bird G 38 for *b3* on the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

G 17 (horned owl): for G 1 (aleph vulture), in *ibid.*, p. 47 n. t, in Thutmosis III and Sety I (3rd Hour).

I 9 (horned viper): for I 10 (*d*-snake), in *ibid.*, p. 47 n. d, in S I, R VI, R IX, S II (3rd Hour); also in *ibid.*, p. 76, l. 7. Compare the use of I 14-5 serpents for *f* in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, l. 1.

unintentional mistakes from the original hieratic.⁷⁵ *Amduat*, the Book of the Day and the Night, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and the Nut Book all contain

M 17 (reed leaf): for mouth-*r*, *Auslaut*, in *npr* in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 31, l. 11 (2nd Hour), and for the preposition *r* in *ibid.*, p. 90, l. 6; for the *sw* plant in *ibid.*, p. 46 n. u (Amenhotep III version, 3rd Hour). This substitution is also apparently found in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 26, l. 7.

N 33 (three dots/pellets): for N 35, water ripple, in for *pn*, “this” in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 = p. 3, l. 1 (1st Hour) (or read as *ntr.w*?). Compare the use of one pellet for *n* (probably through substitution with the *nīw.t*-sign) in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 46.

N 37 (š-pool): for *īw* in *īw.t* from *īw* “come” in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 40, l. 3 (Thutmose III version, 2nd Hour). Compare the use of this sign for *īw* in the name of the goddess Isis at the beginning of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 4 B). Compare also the use of this sign for *r* (from *r* and *ī* substitutions) in Seti Cenotaph p. 52 n. 1; š-lake as *r* also occurs in the scene of Geb in the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 70, I (Osireion version), corresponding to the grasshoppers of the other versions, in *qrr.t*. The use of š as *r* is perhaps related to the use of the š-sign to write the eye above the seated deity in orthographies of *Wsīr* (ie. the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, horizontal line of text above the lower register, pl. 35). Note also the use of the *mr*-sign N 36 for *ī* in Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 66; *idem*, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 237; R.A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (*Analecta Orientalia* 37; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1958) p. 13.

O 34 (bolt-*s*): for suffix pronoun *f* in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 45 n. p, in R IX sub 1 (3rd Hour)

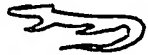
P 8 (oar), as a writing of *dpw*, “vessel,” in *ibid.*, p. 32, l. 6 (2nd Hour; see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 51), a *pars pro toto* substitution.

V 13 (tethering rope *t*): as Aa 13 *m* in *sšmw* in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 45, n. cc, R IX sub 2 (3rd Hour), often in the cryptography on the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

Aa 13 (*īm*-sign): for *t* for *t/tyw* in *ibid.*, p. 44, n. b, Merneptah version (3rd Hour)

⁷⁵D 21 mouth *r* for water-*n* in *ibid.*, p. 45 n. y, R IX sub 1 (3rd Hour); mouth *r* for D 46 hand in *ibid.* p. 50 n. ii, S I (3rd Hour); D 36 (arm): for *n* in *ibid.* p. 11, 10 (1st Hour); D 37 (arm with loaf): for the arm D 36, in *ibid.* p. 47 n. d, S II (3rd Hour); D 53 (phallus): for the hair D3 in *ibid.* p. 46 n. v, S I (3rd Hour); M 13 (papyrus stem): for the sail P 5, in *ibid.* p. 47 n. d, in S I, R VI, R IX (3rd Hour); in *ibid.* p. 53 n. q, in R VI (3rd Hour); N 35 (water ripple): for bolt *s*, in *ibid.* p. 9 n. y (1st Hour); *ibid.* 40 n. ee, R IX sub. 2 (2nd Hour); *ibid.* 45, n. i; in *ibid.* 46 n. p, R VI (3rd Hour); N 35 (water ripple): for *t3* land sign in *ibid.* 45, ff R IX sub 1 (3rd Hour); *ibid.* 53 n. b, in S I; O 34 (bolt-*s*): for water-*n*, in *ibid.* 22, 7 (n. aa) (1st Hour); in *ibid.* 34, 1 (2nd Hour); in *ibid.* 43, n. u (2nd Hour); in *ibid.* 46 n. l, R IX (3rd Hour); Z 2 (plural strokes): for *p* through a misinterpretation of hieratic *p* in *ibid.* 2, 8 (1st Hour; see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 5 n. 24)--compare the short version, p. 1, l. 5, for the *p* in *pw*; for other examples of this confusion





partial cryptography; only the scene of the judgement hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, and scattered sentences in the Book of Caverns, are in full cryptography. In the Amduat and the Book of Caverns, the cryptography is at times accompanied by transcriptions in *Klarschrift*.

Along with the cryptographic sections of the Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, and Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, there remains another group of religious texts in cryptography, employing, as do the works examined here, standard signs. This group consists of cosmographic texts, the Book of Nut⁷⁶ and the Book of the Day and the Night.⁷⁷ The cryptography of these treatises is somewhat sporadic, and the majority of words are either in *Klarschrift* or are only partially enigmatic, and there is a fairly widespread use of thematic cryptography influencing the choice of enigmatic signs which these cosmographies employ. Some examples will illustrate the nature of this cryptography: 1) According to Drioton, the crocodile in cryptogram no. 82 in the Book of the Day and the Night () has the value š through acrophony from šntī, “enemy;” he cites Wb. IV 520, a late term šntī referring to a crocodile.⁷⁸ This explanation is unlikely and unnecessarily convoluted. A term šwy, also written šy, is from hieratic, see chapter 3 (the enigmatic treatise on the second shrine of Tutankhamun) pp. 119-120 and 225.

⁷⁶De Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, pp. 82-6, pls. 54-5; V. Vikentiev, “Quelques mots énigmatiques dans un texte astronomique,” *ASAE* 43 (1943) 115-31; O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* vol. 1 (Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960) pp. 36-94, pls. 44-51; J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (YES 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) pp. 1-7, pp. 74-7, and pl. 1; E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Theben 11; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990) pp. 90-96.







⁷⁷Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*; Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 96-100 (Book of the Night).

⁷⁸Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108 and n. 4.

attested for a crocodile from the Old Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman period (*Wb.* IV 434, 8), and would easily have provided the Ramesside cryptographer with the value š for the crocodile.⁷⁹ The use of the crocodile as a cryptogram in the context of cosmic toponymy is an allusion to the Milky Way as a crocodile.⁸⁰ 2) Drioton supposed a value *n* for the sign  < *nḥb.t* in cryptogram no. 33 in *The Book of the Day and the Night*,⁸¹    *nḥb.t=f*, “son cou,” but the bread sign should not have the value *ḥ*

⁷⁹F. Traunecker, “La revanche du crocodile de Coptos,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1984) p. 224, and n. 40 (p. 228); A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux Théologie de Kom Ombo* (*BdE* 47; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1973) pp. 231-2 n. *b* and p. 252 n. *d*. According to Gutbub, *ibid.* pp. 231-2: “šwj (*Wb.* IV, p. 434), à lire certainement šj vu l’équivalence du signe de la plume avec le son simple š, est un ancien mot šjj (*Wb.* IV, p. 415, 6-7) qui signifie <<ce qui est dans le lac>>, pour désigner le crocodile caché dans l’eau.”

⁸⁰For the Milky Way as a crocodile *sšd/snk*, see Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 346-66, especially p. 352 with nn. 2-3. The use of the curled rope as determinative in *sšd* could easily have suggested the sign of the crocodile with the under-curved tail. Also on the crocodile in an astronomical context, see R.H. O’Connell, “The Emergence of Horus, an analysis of Coffin Text Spell 148,” *JEA* 69 (1983) 71 n. *b*; see also L. Kákósy, “Das Krokodil als Symbol der Ewigkeit und der Zeit,” *MDAIK* 20 (1965) 116-20, pls. 36-8. On the crocodile as a constellation see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3 (text) p. 193 and the references there cited. The words ‘bš and ‘b can be written with the crocodile determinative, perhaps suggesting a value š for the crocodile when it determined the term ‘b (see A. Piankoff, “Le livre de l’Am-Duat et les variantes tardives,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [*Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 29*; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955] pp. 246-7; K.C. Seele, “A Rare Grammatical Construction in a Neglected Egyptian Text,” *JNES* 8 [1949] 359-364).

⁸¹According to Drioton (*ibid.*, p. 106) the plant sign  M2 has the value *n* in cryptogram 126 of the *Book of the Day and the Night*. Drioton derives this suggested value by acrophony from *nḥb.t*, “flower.” Were the reading of the sign as *n* acceptable, we might, rather than admit such acrophony, see this as another example of the interchange of the liquids, the sign M2 acquiring the value *n* from its more usual cryptographic use as *r*. The cryptogram,   (A) /   (B) describes an object of electrum (*n ḏ‘m*) with which the *mshtyw* is attached to the two mooring posts. Drioton read the group as *nwh*, “chaîne” (*ibid.* p. 95), which well describes the depiction. To read *nwh*, however, Drioton not only has to read  for *n*, he further finds it necessary to read the entire group in retrograde. The reversed appearance of

< *ht3*.⁸² This word occurs in a text describing the form of the sun as the four-headed Mendesian Ram. The plant has the value *nḥb.t*,⁸³ and the bread, as expected, is *t* (ie. cryptogram no. 35), an elaborate variant substituting for the more mundane *t*-loaf. The animal head and neck is then either a substitution for the *wsr*-neck,⁸⁴ or--this is less likely--has the value *b* from *b3*. The signs of *nḥb.t=f* are, however, carefully chosen to convey the idea of the solar deity emerging from the lotus, *nḥb.t* (first sign), as the sun disk coming out of the lotus (the round bread atop the dish), the eye of the sun (the feline head), the final sign harking back to the primary meaning of the word--"neck."⁸⁵ In a description of the four ram-headed form of the solar deity this is then an elaborate expression of the image of the ram head, symbol of the night sun, emerging from the lotus at dawn,⁸⁶ a mixing of the forms of day and night, and an expression of the

𐩔 in (A) should in no way suggest this (𐩔 for 𐩔 is attested in the Pyramid Texts; see K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4 [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922] p. 127 [§157]).

⁸²Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 87, 105-6.


⁸³*Nḥb.t* of *Wb.* II 294, 2-3 refers both to the lotus flower (294, 2) and the closed bud of the lotus (294, 3).

⁸⁴For the origin of the sign 𐩔, see D.P. Silverman, "The Title *Wr Bzt* in the Tomb Chapel of K3.(j)-Pw-R 𐩔," in D.P. Silverman, ed., *For his Ka, Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (SAOC 55; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994) pp. 250-253.

⁸⁵The use of the leopard head as *b* from *b3* may also play on the identification of this four ram-headed manifestation of the deity as *b3-b3.w* (ie. tomb of Ramesses XI--R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* vol. 3 [Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1851] pl. 239) and *b3-ḫmnt.t* (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 27).


⁸⁶Compare the quartzite boat-prow terminal (?) in *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, Catalogue* (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 1979) p. 146, no. 221; the ring in N. and B. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1940) pl. 10, object no. 319; and the statuette of Chaemtore--P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* vol. 12 *Statuetten* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1925) p. 3 (no. 21) and pl. 4 (see also J.J. Janssen, "Kha'emtore, a Well-to-Do Workman," *OMRO* 58 [1977] 221-232); for the association of the lotus with the birth of the sun, compare also

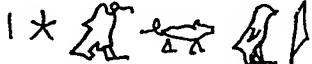
perpetuum mobile of the sun.⁸⁷ Thematic cryptography functions much as Horapollon believed all hieroglyphic text functioned. Thus most interpretations of thematic cryptography must remain speculative, however, and dangerously close to the work of Kircher and other early would-be decipherers of Egyptian hieroglyphic texts.

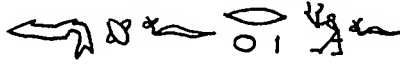

The cryptography of the Nut Book occurs in the portion known as the dramatic text, a portion of the composition concerned with the nature of stellar beings; in the dramatic text are passages in which the goddess Nut is described as a sow who eats her piglets. The enigmatic script appears in the Osireion version of the Nut Book; the version of the text in P. Carlsberg I does not make use of cryptography, and helps in establishing the values of enigmatic signs in the Osireion text. Although there are some portions of the dramatic text in which several words in whole and partial cryptography occur together, the cryptography is on the whole somewhat sparse.⁸⁸ Several of the signs are rare in New Kingdom cryptography, and do not appear in the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Thematic cryptography is present in the dramatic text. One brief section of the Nut Book's dramatic text will illustrate these features: the group , *iw šm sb3*, "A star goes," in P.

the lotus painted at the bottom of the belly of an image of a pregnant woman, in L. Keimer, "The Decoration of a New Kingdom Vase," *JNES* 8 (1949) 3 and pl. 6.

⁸⁷For other examples, see Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 94 n. 1.

⁸⁸Cf. Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 53, ll. 11-14; in the line "They are pure, they live, and their heads are placed for them in the east" (*ibid.* p. 68), only the word *i3bt.t*, "the East," appears in cryptography: . The use of the jackal in writing "East" (on the jackal for *i3b*, see E. Graefe, 'Bemerkungen zu zwei Titeln der Spätzeit,' *SAK* 3 (1975) 82 and n. 42; the final two *t*'s appear as two bread signs, each representing the standard loaf-*t*) alludes to the jackals as the souls of the west, the beings who tow the bark of the sun into the Netherworld; by writing "East" with the sign of a being of the West, the cryptography suggests the *perpetuum mobile* of the journey of the sun.

Carlsberg I, appears in the Osireion version as .⁸⁹ The sign of the pig represents $\check{s} < \check{s}3i$ (*Wb.* IV 405, 7-10) through the application of Fairman's consonantal principle ($\check{s}3i$ is Sahidic $\omega\epsilon$); the vulture is similarly $m < mw.t$. The rare use of the pig for \check{s} ⁹⁰ in writing $\check{s}m$ is not merely an exercise in erudite cryptography. The pig followed by the vulture in the group $\check{s}m$ makes visual thematic allusion to the dramatic text's depiction of the goddess Nut as the mother sow who eats her piglets.

In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, cryptography is even more rare, and what might at first appear to be cryptographic is often no more than the influence of the hieratic original,⁹¹ although there are a number of spellings recalling the characteristics of Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, which Fairman expressed as the "deliberate revival of archaistic spellings and odd values, constructions and usages." In the annotation  to a deity in the first scene in the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the mouth- r plus the praising, standing man appears as a writing of $dw3$ (in $h3.t=f dw3=f R^c$, "[it is] his corpse, he adoring Re").⁹² The mouth might belong to R^c , a divine name apparently spelled as  elsewhere in the same scene.⁹³ There is, however, an attested orthography of $dw3$ with an initial r .⁹⁴ The writing of the r over the disk can thus

⁸⁹Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 54, ll. 17-18.

⁹⁰This use of the sign does not appear in F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* vol. 1 (Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1988) p. 215.

⁹¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 2, citing also the good cryptographic writing of $qrr.t$ on pl. 31, l. 2.

⁹²*ibid.* p. 14; a corresponding figure is labelled $dw3 hr$, "praising of face."

⁹³*ibid.* p. 13 and n. 2.

⁹⁴*cf.* the two graffiti-stelae of Paser in the Wadyein (J. Černý, *et al.*, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine* vol. 1, part 2 *la Vallée de l'Ouest* [Cairo: Centre de Documentation et






















suggest a writing of *dw3*, and the first radical of *R*^c, a compact quasi-enigmatic orthography.⁹⁵ *Re* precedes the sign of the praising man--through perturbation, or simply through application of the non-cryptographic concept of honorific transposition, *Re* the object is placed before the verb *dw3*, in order that the figure of the man with raised arms might literally be shown as adoring the solar disk.

Separate from these enigmatic texts which the passages cited above represent are the three works to be studied here. Apart from external features, these texts are also associated through their extensive use of cryptography; a closer examination of the specific type of cryptography which they employ shows that they stand out as a separate group from the other enigmatic texts of the New Kingdom. The cryptography of these books is primarily alphabetic, using normal signs--primarily uniliteral signs--with abnormal phonetic values--primarily uniliteral. Logograms and determinatives are kept to a minimum. In the version of the treatise found on the "enigmatic wall" in the tomb of Ramesses IX, however, there are large portions of the text in only partial cryptography, and others in the *Normalschrift* of the reign. A significant feature of the cryptography of




d'Études sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1971] pls. 130-131 [and pp. iv-v]), apparently an "unorthographisch" writing deriving from *rd.t i3w*--see *Wb.* I 28, 4. As Prof. Johnson has suggested, *dw3* as *r* + adoring-man more likely has its origin in the hieratic confusion of mouth-*r* and hand-*d* (A. Gardiner, "The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic," *JEA* 15 [1929] 54). There is another example of *dw3* with initial *r* in Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* vol. 1 (*Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 33; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974) p. 22 (n. 2) and l. 1 of pl. 21 a and b (graffito of the King's Son of Kush Setau on the lower portion of the north face of pilaster 4 in the court of the southern temple at Buhen); and at Semneh--see H. Grapow, "Die Inschrift der Königin Katimala von Semna," *ZÄS* 76 (1940) pl. 3.

⁹⁵The compacting of the writing may also extend to the star below the mouth-*r*. As well as writing *dw3*, the star can also stand for the sun disk (compare the associations of sun disks and stars on the second shrine of Tutankhamun [pl. 12, pl. 13], on the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling [pl. 15 far left, middle register; pl. 16 far right, middle register]; and alternations of sun disks and stars on the Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling [pl. 17, figure A]), with the mouth-*r* a writing of the name of *Re*.

the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity is the use of a relatively small and repetitive repertoire of signs to represent a large variety of phonetic values. There is no great proliferation of strange or altered sign forms, a common feature of many Graeco-Roman hieroglyphic texts. The Solar-Osirian texts do not make use of marching files of deities, as occur in monumental cryptography. None of the more involved enigmatic signs of the private cryptography of Dra Abu en-Naga appear (*cf.* a cat slaying a snake for *f* [see above], a pair of copulating gazelles for *n=k* [unpublished fragment at Dra Abu en-Naga] etc.). Thematic cryptography is absent, with the exception of the use of perturbation on the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

Most of the enigmatic sign values encountered in the three texts which this study examines are based on substitution of kind--*ie.* plant signs and bird signs substituting for other hieroglyphs of their sort. There are also substitutions based on purposeful recreation in hieroglyphs of attested hieratic sign confusions--*ie.*  for  ;  ,  ,  , and  confusions. Other substitutions are based on graphic similarities--as  for  ;  for  ;  for  ; etc. Phonetic shifts also play an important role, as in the use of  for  in writing  , *hr*, with  =  through a substitution of kind (a vertical plant sign substituting for another vertical plant sign), with  as *hʒ* substituting for  based on the weakening and loss of the final *ʒ* (through application of the "consonantal principle" which Fairman⁹⁶ identified for Ptolemaic hieroglyphic values); the orthography of *shr*, "condition," as  +  (D 19), representing the weakened final radical as *shy*, also attested in non-cryptographic texts (for this see the discussion of l. 1 of upper register text no. 2 in chapter three). Spellings often reflect the pronunciation of a word and not the archaic orthographic models common in *Normalschrift*--*cf.* the common

⁹⁶BIFAO 43 (1945) 62-7; see also Fairman, ASAE 43 (1943) 287-305.

orthography of *ntr* as *nti* in these texts. Substitutions of kind, and the exploitation of potential hieroglyphic and hieratic visual confusions are the core of the cryptography in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Acrophony is absent, although the origin of  ,  for *p* remains uncertain, and  for *r* wholly obscure. Perturbation occurs twice in the version of the treatise on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, signs arranged so as to mirror what the text describes, but rebus, the figural tableaux of monumental enigmatic texts, and thematic cryptography, are absent. With the exception of the texts in the lower register of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the cryptographic texts in these treatises are wholly enigmatic, without an intermixing of words in *Normalschrift*. There are occasional labels and Book of the Dead extracts, etc., not written in cryptography; these are more numerous on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, and all but absent in the composition on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

Chapter 3

The Second Shrine of Tutankhamun

The second of the four golden shrines which enclosed the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun is now Cairo Museum number 1321. This shrine, in the form of the *pr-wr* shrine of Upper Egypt, has enigmatic compositions on the two exterior long sides (plates 2 and 3). All four shrines have been discussed in detail by Piankoff, and the cryptography on the second shrine has been briefly addressed by Drioton and Hornung.¹ According to Piankoff, "the representations on both panels probably portray extracts from an unknown cosmological composition dealing with the creation and the refilling of the solar disk with fire during the night."² Comparing the writings of Heraclitus and Diogenes Laertius with the Egyptian treatise, Piankoff suggests that the souls of the

¹A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen* (MIFAO 72; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1951-2); A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (*Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 2; New York: Bollingen Press, 1955); É. Drioton, "La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhâmon," *JEA* 35 (1949) 117-22; E. Hornung, "Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch," *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 13. W. Barta discusses this composition briefly in his *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitstexte für den verstorbenen König* (MÄS 42; Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985) pp. 52, 67-8, 128-30; Barta describes the text, which he terms the "Kryptograph," as: "Dieses uns nur fragmentarisch in zwei Abschnitten erhalten gebliebene Buch ist bisher nur aus dem Grabe des Tutanchamun bekannt geworden." On the shrines see also N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1990) pp. 100-105; on the construction signs on the shrines, see M. Bell, "Notes on the Exterior Construction Signs from Tutankhamun's Shrines," *JEA* 76 (1990) 107-24.

²Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 94. C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *The Life and Death of a Pharaoh, Tutankhamun* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1969) p. 262, reiterates Piankoff's summary of the content of the cryptographic sides of the second shrine.

dead rising up and following the sun are powers which refill and empower the sun during the night.

Hornung has interpreted the left portion of the second side as a closing scene.³ The closest parallel to the supposed closing scene occurs, however, at the beginning of the Corridor G Ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI, another of the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. This suggests that the left portion of the second side is another opening scene, corresponding to the right portion of the first side. The two scenes here interpreted as the opening scenes of the two halves of the composition (pl. 2 far right, pl. 3 far left) are in fact located at the end of the shrine in which the doors are placed. This conclusion regarding the presence of an opening scene for each of the two major divisions of the treatise on the second shrine is further supported by the ram-headed *b3*-birds in disks, travelling from left to right out of the leftmost portion of the second side; they begin their journey at the second opening scene. In spite of the elements of *perpetuum mobile*, Osiris above for night and the arm and disk of Re below for morning, the scene on the far left of the second side ultimately shows again the entry of the sun into the Netherworld. The scenes on the second side do stress, however, morning and the end of the underworld, with the return of heads to the headless corpses (upper middle), the final destruction of evil in the east (lower right), and resurrection (upper right). The east is also present on the first side, in the giant deity, but otherwise is not so ubiquitous as on the second side. The first side is in the style of the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates, with an opening scene recalling the beginning of the Book of Gates, and a giant central figure of Re-Osiris, recalling the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The other side is in the style of the “later” Netherworld

³E. Hornung, “Zu den Schlußszenen der Unterweltbücher,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 222-3.

Books--Caverns, Creation of the Solar Disk--and has an opening scene similar to a pair of scenes at the opening of the Corridor G ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The two sides are not, however, different treatises, given the parallelism of various elements on this shrine with the other versions of the Solar-Osirian Unity, the most conspicuous of these shared elements being the giant deity of the first side; the rising deities, upside down descending disks, and leftmost scene of the second side. Because elements from both sides find parallels in the other two Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, the two sides of the second shrine are treated as a single composition, as Hornung has done, and the side with the giant deity remains the first side.⁴ The treatise is thus divided into two sections, each consisting of three main divisions, recalling the overall layout of the Book of Caverns.

This composition consists of enigmatic annotations and texts, with a few *Normalschrift* extracts from the Book of the Dead interspersed.⁵ Most of these extracts are scattered about the first side of the shrine, the second side being composed almost entirely of enigmatic texts. The first side, divided as it is into two halves, suggests a reading from top to bottom in vertical sections, and then a move to the next section to the

⁴The second scene of section B of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk incorporates a number of the major iconographic elements of the two sides of the second shrine in one scene. In the middle is a large standing, mummiform figure, a disk within his breast. Before him are two uplifted arms, a female figure atop the rightmost hand, a human headed and torsoes, snake tailed figure atop the other; a scene recalling the leftmost scene of the second side. Behind the central figure two uplifted arms support a ram-headed staff and a *wsr*-staff; a scene recalling the opening scene on the first side of the shrine. This is further support for treating both sides of the shrines as parts of a whole.

⁵For the Book of the Dead passages, see H. Beinlich, "Das Totenbuch bei Tutanchamun," *GM* 102 (1988) 7-18; see also H. Guksch, "Totenbuchpapyrus vs. Grabbeigaben," *GM* 104 (1988) 89-90; A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (OBO 81; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989) pp. 192-211.

left. In the leftmost section on the second side (pl. 14), the parallelism is also between levels and not horizontal divisions, suggesting that one is to read top to bottom. The remainder of the second side does not correspond, however, to this order of reading; in particular the similarity of the two groups of representations in the middle register on the second side suggests a reading like that of the first hour of the Amduat.⁶ Consequently, the first side is read top to bottom in four vertical strips, these strips being read from right to left; the second side is read left to right, top to bottom, in horizontal strips.

First Side, with Standing Central Figure of the Solar Osiris (Plate 2):

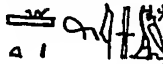
This is the beginning of the treatise, opening with a scene parallel to the initial scene of the Book of Gates, and ending in the lower left with the mysterious chest in the bowels of the Underworld. A horizontal tag precedes this first half of the composition, labelling the whole as a book of the Amduat (plate 4, figure A):

*ntr nfr nb-t3.wy Nb-hprw-R s3-R n h.t=f mry=f nb-h w Tw-t-nh-imn
 hq3-iwnw-sm y mry psd.t-3.t imy.t D3.t
 ir.t.n=f m mnw=f n it=f R Hr-3h.ty
 ir.t n=f imy.t-D3.t
 msw.t R w ntr m iwgrt*

The perfect deity, lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheperewre, the beloved, bodily son of Re, the lord of appearing in glory, Tutankhamun, ruler of the Upper Egyptian Heliopolis, beloved of the great ennead which is in the Dat:

It is what he has made as his monument for his father Re-Horakhty--
 the making for him of an Amduat,^a
 (namely) the birth of Re, and the tracks^b of the god in
 Igeret.

⁶See W. Barta, "Der Weg des Sonnengottes durch die Unterwelt in Amduat und Höhlenbuch," *GM* 100 (1987) 7-14.

^a On the label (t3) *md3.t imy-D3.t* as a heading to religious compositions during the Late Period, see A. Piankoff, “Quel est le <<livre>> appelé ,” *BIFAO* 62 (1964) 147-49; E. Hornung, *Die Grabkammer des Vezirs User (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. philosophisch-historische Klasse; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961 Nr. 5) p. 104 nn. 1 and 2, and the references cited there.*

^b Understanding ‘ as the term for a track,⁷ the ‘.w being the roads on which Re travels in the Netherworld, these roads being likened to desert tracks.⁸ Also possible would be reading ‘ of *Wb.* I 158, 1, “Zustand, Befinden einer Person.” This requires taking the plural strokes of ‘.w as haplographic, and supplying the plural of *ntr*, or assuming that plural was mistakenly left off. Alternatively, this could be “the actions of the god,”⁹ or less likely “the condition of the god” (*Wb.* I 158, 1), the single deity mentioned being Re.

⁷*Wb.* I 159, 4; S. Schott, *Kanais, der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I phil.-hist. Klasse; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961 Nr. 6) p. 141 n. 7. Schott reads ‘ nb hnd.w hr h3s.t* there as “jeder Fuß, der durch die Wüste zieht,” ‘ representing the foot.

⁸Brief comments on the routes of the Netherworld compared to roads are found in C. Jacq, “Les routes de l’autre monde dans les textes des pyramides et les autres textes des sarcophages,” in *L’égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No. 595; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982) vol. 2, pp. 27-30.*

⁹For references to ‘, “action,” see D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol. 1 1977 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1980-82) p. 54, no. 77.0544; *idem*, *Année lexicographique* vol. 2 1978 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1981) p. 59, no. 78.0598. Professor Wente also refers to A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960) p. 27 (‘ in Kadesh Poem 332).

upper far right (plate 4, figure B):

names:

Tp R ʿ “head of Re”

ʾs.t “Isis”

In reading the name of the goddess Isis, Drioton and Hornung have interpreted the first š-sign as *s*, the second as *t*. The similarity of the orthography of this goddess' name here and in Corridor G of Ramesses VI (pl. 15) might invite a comparison of the orthographies of the name of Isis in these two texts, and indeed the writing *st* in the Ramesses VI text might be taken as support of the Drioton and Hornung position. Although the š-sign as *t* is otherwise unattested, a possible route of substitutions could be charted through the signs of land and water to arrive at such a value. The path would be tortuous, however, and ultimately unnecessary.¹⁰ Although the š-sign for *t* is

¹⁰One could suggest š for *n* (É. Drioton, “Un cryptogramme relatif aux souffles de vie,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 29; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955] p.44; *idem*, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 [1940] 409), and *n* for *t3* (E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 [Aegyptiaca Helvetica 7; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1979] p. 63; and probably for *t3* for *d* in A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 78, 5; *t3* for *n* in E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* [Äg.Ab. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963] p. 77, l. 6). For š for *n* see *ibid.*, p. 81, l. 4; 95; H. Grapow, “Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern,” *ZÄS* 72 [1936] 28). The š sign could also be envisaged as acquiring a value *t* from *t3* through substitution with the *sp3.t* sign (see J. C. Darnell, “Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu,” in the *Festschrift* for Hans Goedicke [Baltimore, 1994] p. 38 n. 19). Also not unimaginable, but equally unattested in the corpus, would be a derivation of the value *t* for the š-sign through substitution with the *ʾw*-island sign, given the value *t* from its use as a determinative to the word *t*, “bread,” which could be used in Late Egyptian as a writing of the feminine ending *t* (see *Wb.* V 211, 1).

otherwise unattested, the š for the island sign is not unexpected,¹¹ but is an example of the complicated and not uncommon interchanges possible between land and water signs. The *mr*-sign, with which the š sign often alternates,¹² can have the value *ī* through substitution for the *īw*-island sign.¹³ This is based on the graphic similarity of the š, *mr*, and *īw* signs. Through substitution of the š-sign for the island results the use of the š-sign for *r* in the Cenotaph of Sety I.¹⁴ If one reads the first š-sign in the name of Isis here as a substitution for the island, *īw*, and one reads the second š-sign as *s*,¹⁵ a reading *īws* is possible. This corresponds to later writings of the name of Isis as *īwst*, in which the final *t* is a silent indicator of a weak final sound, the Coptic HCE.¹⁶

¹¹The island sign N 18 is attested with the value š in Drioton, in A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (BdE 13; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1942) pp. 100-101.

¹²cf. the use of the *mr*-sign in writing *tp-š* in line 8 of the Nitocris Adoption Stele (see R.A. Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela," *JEA* 50 [1964] 82).

¹³H.W. Fairman, "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values," *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 66; *idem*, "Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu," *ASAE* 43 (1943) 257; R. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (*Analecta Orientalia* 37; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1958) p. 13. From this use of the š for *ī* derives the use of the two š-signs for *rr* in Caverns pl. 70, a play on the use of *r* for *ī* and *vice versa* (ie. in *nīī* for *nīr* [so Caverns pl. 73, ll. 4-6]). The š-pool N37 for *īw* occurs in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 40, l. 3. The use of š as *r* is perhaps related to the use of the š-sign to write the eye above the seated deity in orthographies of *Wsīr* (cf. pl. 34, second horizontal line of text in the hand copy [enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX]).

¹⁴A. de Buck, chapter 9, "The Dramatic Text," in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (*Egypt Exploration Society Memoir* 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933) p. 52 n. 1; see also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 70, Osireion version of a text accompanying the scene of Geb in the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns, corresponding to the grasshoppers of the other versions, in *qrr.t*.

¹⁵See also the name of the entity *sšt3* in A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (BdE 19; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953) p. 39 n. 2.



¹⁶W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965-77) p. 46; W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue*

Nb.t-ḥyt “Nephthys”

The form *Nb.t-ḥyt* of the name of the goddess Nephthys is attested elsewhere, and in the enigmatic corpus the name is written similarly in the raised portion of the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 15).¹⁷ Here and elsewhere in this composition the feminine *t* ending is written as *t̄*, a writing not infrequently attested in texts composed in *Normalschrift* during the Ramesside period,¹⁸ and occurring

copte (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1984) p. 55b; on such orthographies see also J. Osing, “Isis und Osiris,” *MDAIK* 30 (1974) 102-7.

¹⁷Form *Nb.t-ḥyt*: Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 140 (citing A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* 3rd rev. ed. [London: The Griffith Institute, 1957] p. 493); attested later as well--cf. G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* (CGC; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939) p. 42 (name of the mother [*Nb.t-ḥyt*] of the owner of sarcophagus 29310 [Onnophris]); similar enigmatic orthography: A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 1; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954) pl. 179, left end of the middle register; note also the orthography designated “sp” in *Wb.* II 233, 6 margin. On the orthography of *nb* here, see also A.-P. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'Ibis, Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte* vol. 1 *Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources* (*BdE* 66 part 1; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1975) pp. 59-60, n. *m* to doc. 6.

¹⁸See W. Ward, “Late Egyptian ‘*r.t*’: the So-Called Upper Room,” *JNES* 44 (1985) 333-335, and note also the use of the “full bread” writing of the final *ty* ending in *Dḥwty* as a cryptogram for the name of Thoth--see J. Parlebas, “Sur l'origine de la valeur *Dḥwty* de  et la groupe  dans les noms de personnes,” *GM* 15 (1975) 39-44 (the full bread writing of *t* occurs early--cf. H.G. Fischer, “An Eleventh Dynasty Couple Holding the Sign of Life,” *ZAS* 100 [1973] 21 n. 11). The use of *t̄* as a feminine ending is probably unrelated to the use of the tall-*t* for the feminine endings of Semitic words (J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* [*Studia Pohl: Series Maior. Dissertationes scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* 4, 3rd updated edition; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984] p. 51), or the retained feminine ending supported by a suffix or other ending on a Late Egyptian word (K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum in Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen* vol. 1 [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899] §§292-3; see also J.C. Darnell, “A Note on ‘*rb.t*’ (and *3rb/ΔPHB*),” *Enchoria* 17 [1990] 87), as the enigmatic use of *t̄* for final *t* predates all but the most sporadic appearances of these orthographic tendencies in *Normalschrift* texts.

sporadically before the Ramesside period.¹⁹

annotation



nn^a m^b sh^c pn

šp tp^d

sn m-h^{3e}=f

These are in this fashion,
the head lighting up,
they being around him (as protection).

^a The value *n* for the Red Crown is a common usage in the New Kingdom, in both enigmatic²⁰ and *Normalschrift* texts,²¹ derived through the application of the consonantal principle from the word *n.t*, “Red Crown” (*Wb.* II 198, 4-8).

One should also note that by the Middle Kingdom final *t*, like final *t*, had fallen away (G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache* [Ägyptologischen Forschungen 21; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1960] p. 141, §270); both signs  and  might then be simply interchangeable in cryptography for writing final *t* or *t*, as they were at Edfu in the Ptolemaic period (see D. Kurth, “Zum Schriftsystem,” in D. Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Studien zu Ikonographie, Textgestaltung, Schriftsystem, Grammatik und Baugeschichte* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990] pp. 66-70, and note that his examples of *t* to write final *y* are attested as a cryptographic device during the New Kingdom--cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 12*, and Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 67, l. 3).

¹⁹Cf. C. Vandersleyen, “Une tempête sous le règne d’Amosis,” *RdE* 19 (1967) 136.

²⁰É. Drioton, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie,” *RdE* 1 (1933) 47; K. Sethe, “Die aenigmatischen Inschriften,” in the Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London: Archibald Constable and Co, Ltd, 1908) p. 11*.

²¹During the late XIIth Dynasty and during the XIIIth Dynasty, the Red Crown often substituted for the normal water-*n* in such expressions as *n k3 n* and *ms.n*--see Z. Szafranski, “Some Remarks about the Process of Democratization of the Egyptian Religion in the Second Intermediate Period,” *Études et Travaux* 12 (1983) 57.

^b The s3-bird for *m* is an expression of the general interchangeability of the signs of birds in Egyptian enigmatic texts.²²

^c The cloth sign for the cloth *s*, an element in the more elaborate and complete sign, is another example of substitution.²³ *Shr* is commonly spelled *shr* in these texts.²⁴

^d The value *p* of the spewing mouth is common in Egyptian cryptography of this and later periods, but the origin of this value remains obscure. Drioton argued that the

²²A few examples of this use of G 38 from New Kingdom cryptographic texts are:

as *b3* Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110.

as *m* *ibid.*, 110; de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 70, 1-3, pl. 74, l. 8.

as *w* *ibid.*, p. 110; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42; de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 74, ll. 4-5.

as *t* (from *tyw*) Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413.


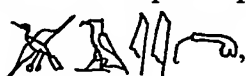


as *3* Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110; Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 120; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 27; de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 60, ll. 5 and 7-8.



Three s3-birds can stand for *m3w*: de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1, in *kkw-sm3w* in the lower right section of side 1 of this shrine (pl. 5 C), in the name *m3w-^c* in the lower left section of side 2 of this shrine (pl. 12), and in the name of the goddess *m3wtt* in the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition (pl. 24, l. 10). Three for *b3.w* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 60, l. 5, and pl. 127, l. 7.

G 1, normally 3, is not commonly employed in these texts (a few examples are as *w*: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*; Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 120; *m*: Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 120; *t* (from *tyw*): Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, l. 3; *htm*: Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 [1983] 34; ^c*q*: *ibid.*, p. 34), but predominates in the Ramesses VI Corridor G texts as a replacement for other birds.

²³Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 47; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 424; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 119; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24, 26-7; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis* p. 11*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34.

²⁴On *h-r* > *h-r*, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 225, additional note to §268 n. 401.

spewing mouth acquired its value *p* through acrophony from a verb *psg*, “to spit” (Wb. I 555, 4-14), assuming that the ancient Egyptians would have designated the sign as “ce qui crache.” Fairman was uncomfortable with this derivation, but would only suggest a possible origin from a hypothetical **p3i*.²⁵ Drioton in response pointed to a word *p3i* written , a variant of *p3i* , in a hymn at Medamud Temple.²⁶ Grdseloff²⁷ suggested that the hieroglyphic sign acquired the value *p* from the demotic word *p3/ i*, “to spit”: “le mot *p i* semble être un vocable tardif. Il s’agit donc d’un des rares exemples où le signe alphabétique est tiré d’un mot de la langue contemporaine de l’écriture ptolémaïque.”²⁸ Grdseloff assumes that the sign  for *p* can be characterized as Ptolemaic, and thus assumes that the origin of this value is at least roughly contemporary with the period of attestation of the demotic word *p3/ i*. *P3/ y*, “to spit,” is not attested in the hieroglyphic language at all, and not before the Roman period in demotic; as the sign  with the values *p* / *pw* is attested already in the Netherworld books, one cannot term the sign of the spewing mouth

²⁵Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 304; *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 82-3. One should note that the mouth from the side  for *p* is the origin of the use of the crocodile head with open mouth from the side  to write the toponym *P* in a late text, on which see P. Derchain, “Le crocodile et l’hippopotame,” *GM* 135 (1993) 27-29. Derchain described the symbolism behind this use of the sign, as a pendant to the hippopotamus head for *tp* writing the toponym *Dp* in the same text, but speculated that acrophony from *pth* might be the origin of the value *p* for the crocodile’s head.

²⁶É. Drioton, “Procédé acrophonique ou principe consonantal ?,” *ASAE* 43 (1943) p. 336 n. 1, citing É. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1925, les inscriptions* (*FIFAO* 3/2; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1926) p. 117; Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 83.



²⁷B. Grdseloff, “Deux remarques,” *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952) 482-4.

²⁸W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954) p. 130; see also R.K. Ritner, “Gleanings from Magical Texts,” *Enchoria* 14 (1986) 98-9; P. Gaboda, “A P-Prefix in Egyptian,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989) 99.

“Ptolemaic,” and Grdseloff’s proposal cannot be seen as a complete solution.²⁹ The normal mouth-*r* also has the value *p* in the texts in the enigmatic treatise of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.³⁰ This shows that either the mouth in general could be associated with the value *p*, or that the enigmatic value *p* of the spewing mouth was so well entrenched in cryptography by the time of Ramesses VI that further substitution was employed--normal *r*-mouth for spewing mouth--in order to strengthen the enigmatic quality of the mouth-for-*p* equation.




There is a term *b* ʿy attested in the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus and on the sarcophagus of Merneptah, which has the spewing mouth as a determinative, but this appears unrelated to the origin of *p* for the mouth.³¹ Even if demotic *p* ʿy is related to *b* ʿy, the value *p* for the spewing mouth and the normal *r*-mouth occurs in cryptography already during the XVIIIth Dynasty, whereas a value *b* appears thus far unattested for a mouth sign in an enigmatic text. This absence of a mouth sign as *b* in enigmatic texts from the pharaonic period also speaks against a linking up of the value *p* for the mouth

²⁹As pointed out by É. Drioton, “Encore l’acrophonie,” *RdE* 10 (1955) 91-92.

³⁰Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 179-80 (*i.e.*, the spelling  for ʿpp [from ʿpj, “pass through, by, ‘visit’”] in the second line of text above the second disk, lower register [P. le Page Renouf, “The Royal Tombs at Biban-el-Moluk and ‘Enigmatical’ Writing,” *ZÄS* 12 (1874) 105 mentions this text]; the spelling  for *pn*, “this,” above the head of the ram-headed sungod in the serpent bark, middle register).

³¹See J. Assmann, “Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah,” *MDAIK* 28 (1972) 62 text note 23; W. Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* (*Studia Pohl: Series Maior, Dissertationes scientificae de Rebus Orientalis Antiqui* 6; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978) §§ 278-80, pp. 139-41; *idem*, *ZÄS* 102 p. 64.

signs with the demotic word *b*, “oral cavity.”³² The spewing mouth in New Kingdom cryptography can have the values *pw* and *pi*,³³ suggesting that the value *p* is derived by the “consonantal principle” from a fuller value *pw*. The Egyptian root *pj* (found in *wp.t* and *p.t*), suggesting “opening,” is perhaps related to the Akkadian *pī’um/pûm/pû*, “mouth.”³⁴ As a determinative for words relating to spitting and actions of the mouth, the sign of the spewing mouth, in contrast to the *r*-mouth, may be called the “active mouth.” The value *pw*--and the value *p* ultimately derived from the value *pw*³⁵--for the spewing mouth may originate in an otherwise as yet unattested masculine noun derived from the root *pj* designating the “open mouth,” similar to the Akkadian *pû*.³⁶



³²R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual, P. Vindob. 3873* (OLA 50; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1993) pp. 92-3. Note, however, the writing  for  /  in the P version of the divine name *tp-b3* in A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, sixième division,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 147, which may be a Saite hieroglyphic attestation of the demotic term *b*.

³³See Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 82-3.

³⁴Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, §392 (p. 189) and n. 526 (pp. 189-90). On terms derived from the root *pj*, with the meanings “to raise, to differentiate,” see also W. Westendorf, “Die ‘Löwenmöbelfolge’ und die Himmels-Hieroglyphe,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991) 433-34.

³⁵For the “dissimilatorischer Schwund” of the *w* following *p*, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 49, §94.

³⁶Gardiner suggested that a sign derived from the Egyptian *r*-mouth writes *p* occurs in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (A. Gardiner, “The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet,” *JEA* 3 [1916] pl. 2), but this does not appear to be the case (B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* [Ägypten und Altes Testament 13; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988] p. 128); a mouth-like sign does, however, write *p* in Sabaeen (see Gardiner, *JEA* 3 [1916] pl. 2). For an Egyptian term for the mouth based on a root meaning “open,” similar to *pû*, Fecht (*ibid.*) compared Coptic ΠΔΕΙΘΕ, from *pg3*, “to open” (Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, 159a). For *pg3*, “open,” used of the mouth, compare demotic *sp.ty=f pky bn-pw ïr.t=f tî 3rm3*, “his lips open but his eye unable to tear,” perhaps a reference to someone in the extremity of grief, who yet grimaces in a cry but has no tears left, in P. Louvre 2380 vs. 1, 11 (R.J. Williams, “Some Fragmentary Demotic Wisdom Texts,” in J.H. Johnson and E.F. Wente, eds., *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* [SAOC 39; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976] p. 267; R. Jasnow, review of M. Lichtheim, *Late*

This suggested relationship between p for  and the root pi is little more attractive than assuming Grdseloff's $p3y$ to be an early word first written down only later. An alternative--simpler and thus more attractive and more plausible--explanation would be to suggest that the mouth acquires the value p because this sound is a plosive bilabial,³⁷ p derived from the sound made when spitting. Fairman unhappily suggested acrophony as the origin of the value p for ; perhaps slightly less unlikely, the possibilities of the root pi and onomatopoeia are proposed here. The working of onomatopoeia in the value p for mouth signs has little more evidence for it than the root pi , but perhaps requires less to be possible.

Through the interchangeability of serpents in cryptography, the many-coiled serpent in tp substitutes for the \underline{d} cobra.³⁸ Through the collapse of the dentals, the \underline{d} here represents d , standing for t . Through an hieratic confusion the sign of the horned viper can have the value $t3$, "earth, land," already in the Pyramid Texts.³⁹ In New

Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context, *BiOr* 44 [1987] 107; I thank Dr. Richard Jasnow for discussing this with me).

³⁷A possible further use of a sign for r with the value p is found in an enigmatic text in the mortuary temple of Sety I at Gurna. Drioton read a broken sign of a human head with a disk atop it as p in the area of the enigmatic text which should correspond to $\dot{s}ps$ in the *Normalschrift* (*ASAE* 40 [1940]). One might suggest $p < r < R$, except for the fact that there is more space between Drioton's signs numbers 15 and 16 (add roughly the space of the last five upper verticals of the cloth sign [his number 14]), leaving the exact reading of the sign uncertain.

³⁸Compare the use of the horned viper I 9 for \underline{d} in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 76, l. 7; for the many-coiled serpent for f , compare Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis* p. 10*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, l. 1; *etc.* A late expression of the substitution of the many-coiled serpent for the \underline{d} -snake occurs in demotic writings of $\underline{d}.t$, "eternity," for which see N.J. Reich, "An Abbreviated Demotic Book of the Dead, a Palaeographical Study of Papyrus British Museum 10072," *JEA* 17 (1931) 89.

³⁹K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922) p. 126, §156 (=Pyr. 814b [P]). Compare the use of

Kingdom enigmatic texts the horned viper writes *t3* in the Ramesses III version of the address of the Datan Horus to the stars in the lowest register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat, and *t3* in *wi3-t3* in the Sety I and Osireion versions of the middle register of the 3rd Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 11).⁴⁰ This use of a serpent for the horned viper as *t3* also occurs in line 14 in the second section of the lower register of the main portion of the ceiling in Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 24, l. 14).

^e Endless speculation would be possible for reading the signs in the second line of cryptic text in this scene (the hieroglyphs above the head of Isis), were there no parallel. As the signs are entirely set off from *tp*, the end of the upper line, these signs should form a separate section of the inscription. Piankoff's *stp=s s3 h3=f* is attractive, as this would be similar to the annotation *wnn=sn h3=k*, "they are around you (as protection)," written over the female personification of the Netherworld below. On the basis of the lower text, however, we might expect a reference to the activity of Isis and Nephthys above, not simply a reference to Isis alone (as suggested by Piankoff's *stp=s*).⁴¹ On

the horned viper to write *t3* (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63), based on substitution for the *d* cobra, and collapse of dentals.

⁴⁰Book of Gates: Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63, vol. 2, p. 85 (as a parallel for the reading *wi3 t3* Hornung refers to Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 24, ll. 6f); Amduat: *ibid.*, p. 129 n. u.

⁴¹The presence of Isis and Nephthys here recalls the group of Isis and Nephthys adoring the rising sun (see S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* [Esna 8; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1982] p. 123; A. Radwan, "Darstellungen der Aufgehenden Sonne auf einigen Stelen der Ramessidenzeit," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern 2 Religion* (Göttingen: Hubert und Co., 1984) p. 825 n. 11). For Isis and Nephthys as the mountains of the Netherworld, see J.J. Clère, "Fragments d'une nouvelle représentation égyptienne du monde," *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 30 n. 1, 31 fig. 1. In the scene of the united Re-Osiris worshipped by the two divine sisters in the tomb of Nefertari (G. Thausing and H. Goedicke, *Das Grab der Nofretari* [Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971] pl. 41), the god is on the *m3* socle; this is the deity as *hry-M3* *ˁ.t*, the sun about to rise up between the horizon hills (B. Bruyère,

the strength of the parallel $wnn=sn \text{ } h3=k$ in the lower register, we may be justified in seeing here an example of the cryptography of “perturbation.”⁴² Drioton discussed this feature in the context of scarabs, a different and less well founded branch of Egyptian cryptography, and examples of perturbation in the longer enigmatic texts are not well known. An excellent example of perturbation in a private cryptic text from the period of Tutankhamun is from the late XVIIIth Dynasty tomb of Parennefer at Dra Abu-el-Naga. In the south thickness of the entrance, at the bottom of the wall, there is an enigmatic text, beginning with an address to Re.⁴³ At the top of the second column of texts, the titles of the adoring man are given, beginning with the group in plate 1, figure E.

These are the titles $r-p \text{ } ^c.t \text{ } h3.ty-^c$. In the first title, $r-p \text{ } ^c.t$, the serpent is for r , from the word r , “serpent,” *Wb.* II 393, 7-10.⁴⁴ The city determinative has the value p from P , “Pe.”⁴⁵ The value c for the sign of the pustule (Aa 2) is found in at least one cryptographic text from the New Kingdom: the palette of $Nhm-^c y$ in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. There, in cryptogram B 35,⁴⁶ the word $b \text{ } ^c h$, “to make profuse,” is

“Neb-nerou et Hery-Mâat,” *CdE* 53 [1952] 36-42), there Isis and Nephthys. The use of Isis and Nephthys in the Netherworld, parallel to the personifications of the Netherworld, adoring an emblem of the setting sun at the beginning of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, suggest an allusion to *perpetuum mobile* (see Ph. Derchain, “Perpetuum mobile,” *OLP* 6-7 [1975-76] 153-61).


⁴²See with caution É. Drioton, “La cryptographie par perturbation,” *ASAE* 44 (1944) 17-33; see also B. Van Rinsveld, “Une cryptogramme d’Amon,” in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l’Égypte pharaonique et copte* (Ath, Brussels, Mons: Association montoise d’Égyptologie, 1992) pp. 263-268.


⁴³See the forthcoming publication of the tomb by Karl-Joachim Seyfried and Friederike Kampp in the *Theben* series.


⁴⁴Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*.

⁴⁵Drioton, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

⁴⁶Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 14-20, pl. 2

written , the pustule having the value ʿ. According to Drioton, this value is derived by means of acrophony from the word ʿ(n)d, “fat.”⁴⁷ ʿdj “fat” is, however ʿt in demotic (W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* [Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954] p. 74), ⲱⲧ, ⲱⲧⲱⲧ in Coptic (Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 295). Although according to Fairman’s rules a final d could fall away, it did not fall away in ʿdj, and again, a violent sort of acrophony would be required to derive the value ʿ for the pustule from ʿdj.

When discussing the value ʿ attested for the pustule in Ptolemaic texts at Edfu Temple, Fairman suggested a connection with the word  occurring as an apparent hapax in P. Leiden 345, Vs. G 4, 1.3.4.⁴⁸ The *Wörterbuch* as well considers the word a hapax, giving it its own entry (*Wb.* I 159, 12). Fairman does not offer either a translation or an etymology for the word, and his suggestion may at first appear tenuous at best.

In his publication of P. Leiden 345, Massart renders the word  as “bad influence (?).”⁴⁹ The context in which the word occurs--three times--is “a spell directed against the ʿhw which has established itself in the arm of a man.”⁵⁰ Twice (ll. 3 and 4) the ailment is addressed as p3 ʿp3 ʿhw. In line 1, it is addressed as p3 ʿp3 ʿhw mwt [mwt.t].⁵¹ In these passages, the unknown term ʿ is equated with the ʿhw-

⁴⁷*ibid.*, 49

⁴⁸Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 249

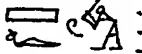
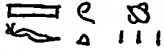
⁴⁹A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345 (OMRO Supplement 34; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954)* especially p. 108 n. 4

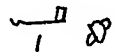
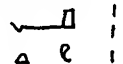
⁵⁰*ibid.* p. 107

⁵¹*ibid.* p. 108 n. 5

inflammation.⁵² According to Verso X 1, a bandage (*wt*) is to be applied to the afflicted area, along with a paste. A more useful synonym for *ʿ* is provided by Verso IX 12:

nn ʿh ʿn šfw=k im=f
 “Your swelling cannot stay in him.”

The suffix pronoun *k* refers to the disease, the *ʿ* / *ʿhw*. Massart translates “Thy ... doth not stand in him;” he notes only “ is not given in *Wb*.”⁵³ Although written  elsewhere in P. Leiden 345,⁵⁴ a reading *šfw(.t)*, “swelling,” provides a reasonable translation,⁵⁵ and suggests an interpretation of *ʿ*.

 , with the pustule determinative, called *šfw*, “swelling,” suggests the word *ʿ3.t*, a general word for swelling.⁵⁶ In P. Berlin 3038 there is in fact the orthography ,⁵⁷ with *ʿ3.t* written like the word *ʿ.t*, “limb,” *HOY* in

⁵²H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten* vol. 1 (*Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägyptern* 7 part 1; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961) p. 152.



⁵³Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345*, pp. 108, 109 n. 21

⁵⁴*ibid.*, p. 135; H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten* vol. 2 (*Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägyptern* 7 part 2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966) pp. 848 ff.


⁵⁵Bandaging (*wt*) is a common treatment for *šfw.t* (von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 2, pp. 849-50).

⁵⁶von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 123-28

⁵⁷H. von Deines, H. Grapow, and W. Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägyptern* 4 parts 1-2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958) vol. 1, p. 239; vol. 2, p. 186; H. Grapow, *Die medizinische Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägyptern* 5; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958) p. 412.

Coptic.⁵⁸ This shows the weakening of the initial ζ and final t .  is thus explicable as an orthography of $\zeta.t$, “swelling.” An $\zeta.t$ swelling is generally treated by burning or surgery;⁵⁹ however, the $\zeta.t$ of the god Chonsu in Eb. 874⁶⁰ is *not* treated. The exact nature of a “swelling of Chonsu” is far from clear. The connection noted in P. Leiden 345 between the ζ , the ζw , and the dead suggest a special $\zeta.t$, perhaps of the nature of the Chonsu swelling. In any event, the use of ζfw , “swellings,” as a synonym for the ζ suggests that  is indeed an orthography of $\zeta.t.p\zeta \zeta p\zeta \zeta w$ should be understood as “oh inflamed swelling.” Thus the sign of the pustule could easily have acquired the value ζ from the word $\zeta.t$.⁶¹

In the second title, $h\zeta.ty-\zeta$, the heart is $h\zeta.t$ through direct representation; the meat sign is for h (or perhaps $h\zeta$) from $h\zeta w$.⁶² The heart is for $h\zeta.ty$, “heart,” a pun on $h\zeta.ty$,

⁵⁸*KHWb* p. 47. That the word written  is indeed to be read as $\zeta.t$, “swelling,” is made certain by the parallel in P. Ebers 874 (*MT* IV 228; V 395): $\zeta\zeta\zeta w n \zeta.t nt Hnsw$.









⁵⁹von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 124 ff.

⁶⁰von Deines, Grapow, and Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*, vol. 1, p. 228

⁶¹Note that the sign in B 62 in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 17 and 41 is almost certainly not an ear, as Drioton suggests, but rather is a variant of the piece of meat for ζ .

⁶²Attested by Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42; for the single meat sign for $h\zeta$, see H. Satzinger, “Zur kryptographischen Beischrift eines ‘Gabenbringers’,” *GM* 86 (1985) 31-2. For the possible use of the meat sign for $h\zeta$, compare the discussion in J. Osing, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (*Äg.Ab.* 33; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976) p. 144 n. 118; but for $h\zeta.ty$, “heart,” written as a heart supported by an h and a t alone, see *Wb.* III 27 (top).

“foremost.”⁶³ The sign of the loaf represents the final *ty*,⁶⁴ misplaced in an example of perturbation so as to provide a visually chiasitic effect with meat signs and loaves around the heart; the meat sign is for *ʕ*, the arm.⁶⁵ This use of a complicated perturbation from a private tomb at Dra Abu-n-Naga dating to the late XVIIIth Dynasty suggests that a similar use of perturbation on the second shrine of Tutankhamun is possible.

Reading the signs on the Tutankhamun shrine in the order  +  +  +  + , in a circular manner, the reading *sn m ḥ3=f* is possible--“they being around him (as protection).”⁶⁶  for *ḥ3*, also read by Piankoff (see above), is paralleled by interchange of the signs  and  in non-cryptic orthographies.⁶⁷ This interchange is related to a more general substitution of three-pronged plant signs.⁶⁸ The text describing the goddesses as being protectively arrayed

⁶³Compare the orthography of *ḥ3ty.w* in P. Harris I 11, 1 (W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I, hieroglyphische Transkription* [Bib. Aeg. 5; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933] p. 14, l. 1).

⁶⁴Compare the use of the sign V 13 for both *t* (Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 [1983] 34), and for *ty* (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, 1-3; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 91, l. 3).



⁶⁵This value derived from *ʕ.t*, and attested by Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42.

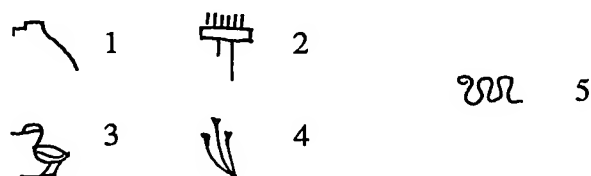
⁶⁶For the construction, see W. Barta, “Das Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbiellen Nominalsatz,” in *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 94-104, specifically p. 100; the forms discussed by Barta are well attested in the Netherworld Books.


⁶⁷See P. Vernus, “La stèle C3 du Louvre,” *RdE* 25 (1973) p. 228 n. *ad* for Middle Kingdom evidence; and The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 3 *The Calendar, the “Slaughterhouse,” and Minor Records of Ramses III* (OIP 23; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934) pl. 140, l. 60 (and elsewhere in the calendar); A. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948) p. 111; A.R. Schulman, “The god *Nḥj*,” *JNES* 23 (1964) 279 n. 21, for New Kingdom examples; note also the hieratic similarities found in the archaic hieroglyph--see B. Grdseloff, “Notice sur un monument inédit appartenant à Nebwa^ʕ, premier prophète d’Amon à Sambehdet,” *BIFAO* 45 (1947) 178-80.


⁶⁸*Cf.* *ḥ3* for *š3* in the word *š3s*--see Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 18; *idem*, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2 l. 5; compare the odd, hieratic-derived form of

around the *tp-R*^c is to be read in a circular fashion--verbal and pictorial capabilities of the script are merged.

Drioton proposed to read the group of signs  +  as an orthography of the word *îtn*; he transcribed the entire text as *nn m shr pn šp îtn msy=f*, translating “Ils sont ainsi: le Disque commence à naître (lit. ‘sa naissance’).”⁶⁹ Piankoff later read *nn m šh(r) pn šp tp stp=s s3 h3=f*, departing somewhat from Drioton’s rendering of the text.⁷⁰ For his new transliteration Piankoff gave no translation; apparently he read the five signs above Isis in the order:



If as seems likely he read the bird for *s3* for  *s3*, he understood “she/they making protection” (*Wb* IV 339, 16-340, 6).⁷¹ Shortly thereafter, Piankoff returned to Drioton’s understanding of the text, which he originally sanctioned, reading “They are like this: the




the *h3*-plant in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 35, ll. 2, 4, and 7 (3rd Division of the Book of Caverns); *ibid.*, pl. 40, l. 7 and pl. 47, l. 6 (4th Division of the Book of Caverns). The suggestion by Drioton (in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 99) that the value *h* for the sign  be derived through acrophony from *hn* is thus unnecessary and incorrect. For the *h3*-plant for the *hn*-plant, see A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, 1er tableau,” *BIFAO* 41 (1942) pl. 3, l. 5 (1st Division of the Book of Caverns).






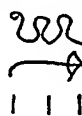
⁶⁹In A. Piankoff, “Une Représentation rare sur l’une des chapelles de Toutânkhâmon,” *JEA* 35 (1949) 114, pl. 8, IID (see also Drioton’s general study of the cryptography of the 2nd Tutankhamun shrine in *JEA* 35 [1949] 117-22)

⁷⁰A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, vol. 1, p. 30; vol. 2, pl. 4.

⁷¹Piankoff’s reading may be considered possible if one reads *s<n>*, a writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun without the final *n* (W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten* [Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter 8; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962] §84 [5] and n. 4).

Disk begins its birth.”⁷² Hornung follows Drioton except in the reading of the subject of the verb *šp*, translating “So sind diese beschaffen: sie empfangen die Sonne (*jtn*), (damit) sie (neu) geboren werde.”⁷³

The cryptic orthography of the first portion of the inscription, *nn m sh(r) pn šp*, poses no problems. Leaving aside for the moment the meaning of the verb *šp*, the reading of  as *jtn*, “Disk of the Sun,” is odd. The orthography is unexpected (compare the spellings  and  from elsewhere on

the shrine), and the manner in which the word would be divided up in the text is disturbing,  being so far removed from . The sign  is, in fact, the second element in the first word of a new line. The signs  are the final signs in the first line of the scene, following *šp*. They make up the word *tp*, “head,” which appears with the orthographies  *tp* and  *tp.w* elsewhere on the shrine. The Ram-headed post is called *tp-R*, “Head of Re,” and it is to this head (*tp*) that the *tp* in the cryptic text just above it refers.

Drioton, Piankoff, and Hornung agree that *šp* represents the verb *šsp*, “to receive, begin,” etc.⁷⁴ For this reading, cf. the enigmatic orthography of *šsp*, “to receive,” in the middle left portion of this first side of the shrine (pl. 7 B). Since *tp* is to

⁷²Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 122, fig. 41

⁷³Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 30; regarding his translation, Hornung notes only that “nach Drioton und Piankoff ist *jtn* Subjekt” (*ibid.* p. 30 n. 6).

⁷⁴The form *šp* of *šsp* is attested hieroglyphically *Wb* IV 530 (the form is there indicated as late), perhaps already by the time of the late Old Kingdom (see J. Allen, “The Funerary Texts of King Wahkare Akhtoy on a Middle Kingdom Coffin,” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* [SAOC 39; Chicago, 1976] p. 10). The word survives in Coptic as ⲱⲛⲧⲧ.

be read, and the signs above the head of Isis are part of a separate line of text, *šp* with the meaning “to commence” (so Drioton) is not appropriate (one would be forced to assume that the text is incomplete, and the infinitive following *šp* lost). Taking *šp* as an infinitive “receiving” is possible (Hornung read “sie empfangen”), since *šsp* is used both in reference to the setting of the sun in the West, and the birth of the sun in the east.⁷⁵ A reference to the *šsp*-reception of the sun would, however, be more appropriate as an annotation to the sun disk travelling in the middle register, between the two posts. However, the annotation under discussion should--as does the annotation to the parallel scene below--refer to the scene of the goddesses adoring the sacred post, and not to the solar disk in the middle register.⁷⁶

An alternative is to read *šp* as a cryptic representation of the verb *sšp*, “to shine.” Such a reading could find support in a scene in the third register of the second division of the Book of Caverns,⁷⁷ wherein *tp* and *wsr* posts of the sun god are depicted, each with

⁷⁵Setting: *Wb* IV 521, 10; birth: J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (MÄS 19; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969) pp. 202-3.

⁷⁶The actor is unlikely to have been other than the goddesses. If one were to allow that the sun disk in the middle register, between the “head” of Re and the *wsr*-neck of Re, might be the actor, the annotation could then refer to Re receiving his “mysterious head” in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 115 l. 6):

iw h3.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s sšp=i tp=i št3y

My corpse and my head are in her cavern, and I shall receive my
mysterious head.

⁷⁷Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 10 (within the niche). The posts also appear in the first division of the Book of Gates, with a different significance (E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 [Aegyptiaca Helvetica 8; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1980] pp. 29-44). In N. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 17; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953) pl. 4 (south wall of the sanctuary [A]), in the middle of register 6 (=section 17 on p. 12 of the description of the plates), a god and two flanking goddesses

a solar disk before it. These disks could be both reading elements (“the head/neck of Re”), and an indication that the posts are luminous. A more appropriate rendering of the cryptographic annotation on the second shrine of Tutankhamun discussed here is *nn m šh(r) pn šp tp*, “these are in this fashion, the head (of Re) shining.”⁷⁸ Grammatically, *sn m-h3=f* is circumstantial;⁷⁹ if it stood alone, it could be expected to take the form *wnn=sn h3=f*, occurring in the parallel scene immediately below as *wnn=sn h3=k*.

The head is the ram head, and may also be a reference to the sun disk itself, presaging the equation of head and sun in Ptolemaic texts.⁸⁰ The pillars located in the upper and lower registers at the beginning of this treatise recall the opening scene of the Book of Gates.⁸¹

lower far right (plate 4, figure C):

names:

| | | |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| to the left of the upper neck of the <i>wsr</i> -pole: | <i>Wsr R ʿ</i> | “ <i>Wsr</i> -Throat of Re” |
| to the right of the leftmost goddess: | <i>Dw3.t^a</i> | “Netherworld” |
| to the left of the rightmost goddess: | <i>Smy.t^b</i> | “Necropolis” |

are depicted within a disk, which rests on a large *šsp* -sign. This may be a parallel to what is depicted on the Tutankhamun shrine.

⁷⁸A probable play on the words *šsp*, “to receive,” and *šsp*, “to shine,” is found in the first scene of the middle register in the fourth hour of the Book of Gates (scene 18; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 111); *špw pn n dbn m ntr.w šsp=sn wī pr=i m tn m št3y.t*, “this light be to those surrounded by deities, when they receive me as I go forth from this, from Shetayet.”

⁷⁹See Barta, *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 101-102.

⁸⁰J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso* 3 vols. (Louvain: Orientaliste, 1992) p. 367.

⁸¹As noted by Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 31.

Normalschrift annotations:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| above the head of <i>Dw3.t</i> : | <i>wnn=sn h3=k</i> “It is around you (as protection) that they exist.” |
| above the head of <i>Smy.t</i> : | <i>‘nh=k mī R ‘r ‘nb</i> “May you live like Re every day.” |





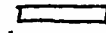


^a The woman with hands raised in adoration is *dw3*, a graphic variant of A30, the standing man with his arms raised in adoration.

^b This name has been read by Drioton/Piankoff and Hornung as *št3y.t*, and this is possible--compare the orthography of the name *št3y.t* in the second sarcophagus from the left in the upper left section of this side of the shrine. However, as noted already, this opening scene of the enigmatic composition parallels the beginning of the Book of Gates. There, the two deities kneeling to either side of the *wsr*-neck of Re are named *D3.t* and *Smy.t*, “Netherworld” and “Desert.”⁸² It would be desirable to find those names here, and such readings of the enigmatic names are indeed possible.








Through the numerous interchanges of land and water signs, the *t3*-sign here can have the value *m*. The initial, lake-š sign can have the value *s*.⁸³ The flat sign which follows can have the value *m*, through the numerous and often complex substitutions of land signs for water signs.⁸⁴ The lake š can have the value *m* through substitution with



⁸²*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 4.




⁸³Not from *st3t*, as Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 409.

⁸⁴A bewildering array of confusions and substitutions are possible, and these are not limited to cryptic texts. As an example, note the š-sign for the *sp3.t* sign is well attested for the First Intermediate Period: Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millenium B.C.*, p. 95 and n. 424 ( for ); p. 149 ( for  , and vice versa). To Fischer's examples add the following: *Sp3.t* is spelled with  in the inscriptions of Ankhtifi (see Vandier, *Mo'IIa*, p. 301). The š-sign for the nome sign is also found in Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* vol. 1, p. 46, l. 8. Further examples of  for the  sign may perhaps be found in Siut III. H. Brunner, *Die Texte aus*

the *mr*-sign, and can function as a substitute for the land sign N 23⁸⁵ The flatland sign (N 17) can have the value *w* through substitution for the island sign N 18.⁸⁶ N 18 can itself have the cryptic value *im*,⁸⁷ and can also alternate with the *mr*-sign, which can

den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut (Äg. For. 5; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1937) p. 22 n. 41, reads  in Siut III as “vielleicht nur eine graphische Variante zu ”; the land sign is, however, clear elsewhere in this inscription (i.e.  l. 10).  in lines 17 and 19 is an element in the orthography of the words *imntyw* and *i3btyw*, the “west” and “east districts” (see Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol. 2, no. 78.0334; so understood by W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben* [Äg. Ab. 12; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965] p. 79, citing Vandier, *Mo‘alla*, p. 200 [n. d]). In Ankhtifi and Siut III,  in this context probably stands for  (or perhaps for  [A.-P. Zivie, “Les carrières et la butte de Yak,” *RdE* 30 (1978) 153 n. 15]). In Siut III, line 18, we read:

tp-šm^c rdī.n=f n(=ī)  n rdī=ī dmī=f
 “The chief of the south gave me the , for I did not let him reach(?)...”

If it is land which is yielded,  here may stand for  (Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut*, p. 18 translates “Land (?)”).  could also be *š*, a portion of a waterway, either the main canal of an area (on this use see H. Brugsch, “Der Möris-See,” *ZÄS* 31 [1893] 19), or a portion of the river itself (Peasant B1.239; H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* [Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Band 56, Abhandlung 4; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1913] p. 32, where *š wr* indicates the portion of the Nile between Philae and the Abaton; A. Gardiner, and H.I. Bell, “The Name of Lake Moeris,” *JEA* 29 [1943] 39-40); see also the watercourses mentioned in the Book of Gates, not *š* “lake,” but “division of a watercourse” (see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 50-1 [n. 4]; Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, p. 79 reads “den See” in Siut III, 18, understanding [n. f] “das Hafenbecken ?”).

⁸⁵The sign *š* as *m*: attested in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; *š* as land sign: J. Vandier, *Mo‘alla, la tombe d’Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* (*BdE* 18; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1950) pp. 167, 301; H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979) p. 35; idem, *Denderah in the Third Millenium B.C.* (Locust Valley: J.J. Augustin, 1968) p. 95 and n. 424, p. 149 (*š*-sign for the *sp3.t*); K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1933) p. 46, l. 8.

⁸⁶Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108; Drioton, in *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 44.

⁸⁷Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 49

have the values *mī* and *m*.⁸⁸ The *īdb*-sign N 21 can also have the value *m*, derived apparently from *mr*.⁸⁹ Reading the land sign without the three pellets here for the *īw*-sign substituting for *mr*, a value *m* is possible, allowing a reading of the goddess' name as *smy.t*, "Desert."⁹⁰ These interchanges of land and water signs may appear somewhat unstructured, but they are attested in cryptographic texts, and are explicable through the principles of substitution of kind (land and water), and graphic similarity. The names of the two goddesses adoring the *wsr*-pole are thus the same as those of their counterparts in the opening section of the Book of Gates.

⁸⁸N 18 for *mr*--Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 409; *mr* as *m*--Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 409; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 46; *mr* as *mī*--*idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) p. 409; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 63, l. 6.

⁸⁹The water sign N 35 can alternate with the *t3*-sign for purely graphic reasons (*ie.* Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 77, l. 6; Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108 n. 6); there may also be connection with the word *mry.t*, "riverbank" (J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* [*BdE* 50; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1973] pp. 94-97; R. Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead* [*OBO* 69; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 1986] pp. 79-82 *et passim*; *idem*, *JEA* 73 [1987] pp. 159; A. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* [*Egyptologische Uitgaven* 5; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990] pp. 172-3, 348-52 [her rejection of Ventura's reading of *mryt* as covering an area wider than the actual bank of the river in the Deir el-Medina documents is incorrect--see Darnell, in *Goedicke Festschrift*]).

⁹⁰Though rare, full writings of the word *smy.t* are attested (*Wb* III 444); a possible cryptic version of the more usual, abbreviated form of *smy.t* perhaps occurs in the at the bottom of the first column of text from the right in the lefthand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 182; here pl. 30, lefthand text col. 5; for a discussion of the reading see chapter 4). A full writing may have been thought desirable here to avoid a possible confusion of an abbreviated form with *sp3.t* (note S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* 2 vols [*BdE* 105; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1991] 16).

middle far right (pl. 4, figure C):

The ram-headed *ba*-bird within the disk is the solar deity travelling within his disk; so in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the great god enters the Netherworld within the solar disk:⁹¹

ḫp.ỉn nṯr pn ʿ3 m ỉtn=f m-ḥt spr=f r mr.w/š.w št3.w...

“Then this great god enters in his disk, after reaching the mysterious domains...”

In order to express “Resident of the Disk,” Egyptian made use of the terms *ỉmy ỉtn*, “he who is in the disk,” and *nb ỉtn*, “lord of the disk.” The epitheta *nb ỉtn* and *ỉmy ỉtn* signify a solar deity as “lord of,” or “residing in the disk,” having reference to the nocturnal form of the sun, traversing the night in the womb-disk, to be reborn out of it in the morning.⁹² The forms *ỉmy ỉtn*⁹³ and *nb ỉtn*⁹⁴ are attested for Amun--Amun-Re,

⁹¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 16, ll. 5-6ff.

⁹²Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 39-40; on the solar disk at the beginning of the morning as the womb of the sun, see L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Boreas 14; Uppsala: Liber Tryck AB, 1986) p. 22, and further in the discussion of the term *ỉtny.t* in chapter 4, pp. 322-329.

⁹³Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 40 n. 6 (see also *ibid.*, p. 40 n. 9 for several examples of Amun depicted inside the disk of the sun in the solar boat, the pictorial expression of the epitheta *ỉmy ỉtn* and *nb ỉtn*).

⁹⁴Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 40. In line 11 of graffito Medinet Habu 47 (Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles* [OIP 36; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937] pl. 20), dated to year 15, the 21st of Payni, in the reign of Cleopatra and Caesarion, we read of a priest of *ỉmn-m-ỉp.t-S.wt nb ỉtmy* (H.-J. Thissen, “Zu den demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu II,” *Enchoria* 3 [1973] pp. 38-39; *idem*, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu* [Demotische Studien 10; Sommerhausen, 1989] p. 44).

lord of the disk/inhabitant of the disk, the night-travelling sun god who makes transformations.⁹⁵ The god Amun seated within the disk of the sun is the *ba* of Re.⁹⁶
middle right (plate 5, figure A):


The upper and lower section of the beginning of this treatise correspond to the upper and lower registers of the First Hour of the Book of Gates; this heraldic group may be expected to correspond then to the middle register of the first hour. As in the beginning of the Book of Gates, so here, the solar deity does not have a human body; in the first hour of Gates he is a scarab within a disk, here the ram-headed *ba*-bird within the disk. The groups of signs stretching out to the left of the disk are only partially enigmatic text. Primarily they are representations of the course of the sun through the Netherworld. Below the groups of signs are zig-zag lines which recall the vertical

⁹⁵For the writing of the name of Amun in the Hibis temple in Kharga oasis as



(Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, vol. 3, pl. 33 [south wall of hypostyle M; middle register of the plate, top of l. 7]; H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, Altägyptische Inschriften, gesammelt, verglichen, übertragen, erklärt und autographiert* 6 vols. [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1883-91] p. 633, l. 7 [translation p. 675]; B. Van Rinsveld, "Une cryptogramme d'Amon," in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte* [Ath, Brussels, Mons: Association montoise d'Égyptologie, 1992] p. 267), Drioton (*ASAE* 44 [1944] 21-22) read *im̄ n R*ˁ, which he would render as "l'Habitant du Soleil," a rebus for *imn*. Drioton's *im̄ n R*ˁ is impossible in Egyptian--the indirect genitive should not follow the nisbe *im̄y*. Because Amun is *nb itn* and *im̄y itn*, it is reasonable to see in the Hibis hieroglyph a reference to Amun. It is a pictorial representation of Amun as known from elsewhere (see the examples cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 40 n. 9), and is an elaboration of the use of the *n* "hidden" in an oval to write the name of Amun (see F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* vol. 3 [Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1990] p. 470).

⁹⁶See below, chapter 6, in the commentary to l. 8 of the hymn to Osiris in the tomb of Imiseba, MMA photograph T 1712. The disk may also be termed the seat of the god--see S. Tawfik, "Aton Studies," *MDAIK* 29 (1973) 77-86.


beams of light pouring down from the various groups of sun disks and walking legs on the second side of this shrine, and are thus likely to be another comparison of water and light.⁹⁷ As such, they suggest the sign () of water pouring down from the sky, and the word *šny.t*, “rain storm” (*Wb.* IV 502, 15-503, 4 [and the verb *šni*, “to storm,” *Wb.* IV 503, 5]). The encircling and enchanting movement of the sun around the cosmos is often expressed through the verb *šni*, “to encircle;” the light/water is here likely to be a pun on the verb *šni*, “to encircle, enchant” (see further below, the discussion of the annotations to the large, central figure on this side of the shrine).

The first column of two squares of signs can be read:

- 1) *‘q pr.t <m> imn.t* 1) “Entering and Exiting the Netherworld” (*Wb.* I 232, 1)
- 2) *‘q^a imn.t* 2) “Entering the Netherworld”

^a The arm over the walking legs is a writing of *‘q*, the *q* and walking legs confused, here most likely the purposeful exploitation of a recognized confusion of signs for cryptographic ends.⁹⁸ The arm over the walking legs could conceivably be a writing of

⁹⁷As in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 342e: “mon feu se répand, ma salive est brûlante sur ma bouche” (translation of P. Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* [Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 1986] p. 553). See further below, the discussion of the goddesses performing *nini* with light/water in the lower right scene of the second side of the shrine.

⁹⁸This orthography of *‘q* is found at the end of the first column from the right on the exterior foot of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV (the copy published by Lefébure, *Tombeau*, pl. 31, and reproduced by K. Myśliwiec, “La renaissance solaire du mort,” *BIFAO* 81 [1981] 96 fig. 2 and E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* [Theben 11; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990] p. 125, along with the photo in Hornung, *Königsgräber*, pl. 92, omits the bottom right corner of the sarcophagus, which has been restored; note also the unprovenanced writing  in E.A.W. Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary* vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1920) p. 138.

*n*ꜥy, if the arm is read as a haplography, once for *n*,⁹⁹ again for ꜥ (substituting for the ꜥ-arm); this is, however, more difficult and involved than the preferred reading ꜥ*q*.

There remain six columns, twelve squares total. All groups include the sign of walking legs except for the middle column, which contains only two feathers, apparently writings of š*w*, “light.” The walking legs are absent, suggesting a lack of motion, a standstill. In the middle of the groups, the presence of the two feathers without accompanying walking legs corresponds to the standstill of the bark of the sun on the spine of Apep in the middle of the day and night, the ꜥ*h*ꜥ of midnight and noon.¹⁰⁰ The column following that of the standstill incorporates the head and forelegs of a scarab. This suggests a change in manifestation by the sun around the time of the standstill and the battle with Apep. This *hpr hpr.w* is indeed attested for the sun when in the vicinity of Apep, and other potentially dangerous beings.¹⁰¹ The groups farthest to the left recall the opening line of the text accompanying the middle register of the enigmatic text on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22, fig. C, l. 1), apparently *īw R*ꜥ, “Re comes.” These groups appear to represent the twelve hours of the night, divided into six pairs recalling the six divisions of the Book of Caverns. They begin on

⁹⁹Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43.

¹⁰⁰J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (OBO 51; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983) p. 78. For ꜥ*h*ꜥ as a term for stars “standing,” see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970) p. 32 n. 2; *idem*, *Grabung im Asasif* vol. 2 *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole* (AV 6; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1973) p. 61 n. *a* to T 14. See further the discussion of *īr* ꜥ*h*ꜥ in chapter 5, pp. 426-427, and chapter 7.

¹⁰¹Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 167-8 (scene 27, 5th Hour of the Book of Gates), vol. 2, p. 130 n. 4. See further the discussion of *hpr hpr.w* in line 2 of the second column in the rightmost annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* in the Corridor G ceiling treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30, and chapter 4, pp. 352-354).

the right, nearest the ram-headed *b3*-bird entering the Netherworld between the two posts; they end on the left, towards the immense central deity, who ultimately represents the eastern end of the Netherworld, the end of the night.

Exact readings of these groups are difficult to give with certainty, and the groups appear to be more heraldic than inscriptional. However, some readings may be proposed. 2A is perhaps *ʿq šw*, “Shu entering,” and 2B *iw šw*, “Shu coming.” 3A and B may be the same, the reversal of the walking legs recalling that between row 5 and rows 6 to 7, reversals of direction mirroring the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun. 4A and B are *šw*, “Shu,” but without motion, perhaps to be read < *ḥ* > *šw*, “Shu <standing still>.” 5 A and B may represent *iw ḥprw šw*, “the manifestation of Shu coming;” 6A and B and 7A and B are all the same, perhaps *iw itn šw*, “the disk of Shu coming.” Grammatically these heraldic groups may be examples of the *sdm=f* as a synchronous present tense, the concomitant use of the *sdm=f*.¹⁰² A more certain example of this form of the verb occurs at the beginning of the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22, fig. A; cf. also the discussion of pl. 22, fig. C, l. 1 [chapter 4]). The verbs in the first two of these annotations, in the first column from the right, are infinitives, an observation that

¹⁰²Some references to this are M. Gilula, “Coffin Texts Spell 148,” *JEA* 57 (1971) 15; R. Hannig, *Die Schwangerschaft der Isis*, in *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath* (*HÄB* 30; Gerstenberg Verlag, 1990) p. 93 and n. 9; *idem*, “Zum mittelägyptischen Tempussystem,” *GM* 56 (1982) 45-46; F. Junge, *Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1978) p. 101 (brief discussion of the “dramatic” *sdm=f* in the third example, *Khakheperresoneb recto* 11); and L. Žabkar, “A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae,” *ZÄS* 108 (1981) 147 n. 47, and 168-71 (note that *inī* means “to fetch,” the *sdm.n=f* form meaning “to bring;” see also *idem*, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* [Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1988] n. 112, pp. 177-78). See also the examination of the synchronous present *sdm=f* in A. Baumann, *The Verb in the Underworld Books* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago, in progress).

supports the reading of the other groups as circumstantial *sdm=f* forms concomittant to the action depicted, employed as labels.¹⁰³

upper right (plate 5, figure B)

names:

št3y, “the mysterious one”

The solar deity is called *št3y/št3w* in the 52nd address in the Great Litany.¹⁰⁴ *št3* is the name of the fifth adoring, disk-headed being in the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition (pl. 22, fig. B). Those names are a reference to the corpse as *št3* (see below, chapter 5, pp. 428-435, text n. *e*).

imy-d3.t or *imn.ty*, “he who is in the Dat” or “he of the West”

In the third litany to the sun, the solar deity in the Netherworld is called *imn.ty*, “he of the West;” the figure to the 27th address is called *imnt*, “West.”¹⁰⁵ The sun is

¹⁰³For the infinitive and the circumstantial *sdm=f* used as labels, see E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System in Old and Middle Egyptian* (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme* 12; Geneva: Patrick Kramer, 1986) p. 26 and nn. 131-132.

¹⁰⁴E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 2 and 3; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1975-76) vol. 1, p. 59, vol. 2, p. 114 n. 141. This appellation is applied again in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 146. *št3y* appears in the texts accompanying the scene of the ithyphallic deity in the tomb of Ramesses IX (F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* [*MIFAO* 15; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907] pl. 92; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 64-5).

¹⁰⁵Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 32 and 124, vol. 2, p. 128 n. 292.

referred to as *imn.ty* on several occasions in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁰⁶

i'rw.ty, “he of the uraeus”

This is a name applied to the sun god in the 22nd address in the Great Litany.¹⁰⁷ The name is there determined by two uraei, suggesting the enigmatic orthography here.¹⁰⁸

n-hr, “turned of face”

The use of the bird for *n* appears to derive from the use of the duck for *m*,¹⁰⁹ which itself could at times alternate with *n*.¹¹⁰ *n-hr* is the name of one of the human-headed haulers of the solar bark in the concluding scene to the Book of Caverns.¹¹¹ In the second scene in the second register of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, a

¹⁰⁶Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 5, ll. 6, 7, and 9; pl. 6, ll. 1, 2, 3, and 5; see also pl. 6, ll. 2-3 and 5 (*pn-imn.ty*).

¹⁰⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 27, vol. 2, p. 106 n. 63.

¹⁰⁸In the Book of Caverns there is a cobra-headed female deity called *i'rw.ty* (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] 58 [pl. 78, l. 23], and pl. 66, l. 8; pl. 67, l. 6; in the text preceeding the 6th Division, Re addresses *i'rw.ty*: *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 80, l. 6, pl. 97, ll. 7 and 8, pl. 99, l. 1).

¹⁰⁹*i.e.* Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42.

¹¹⁰E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1 (*Analecta Orientalia*; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute) § 123; Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, p. 27, § 43, 6). See also below in this chapter, n. 164.

¹¹¹Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 46.

deity *ʿnn-ib*, called *ʿnn-hr* in the Petamenope version of the scene, is one of two beings who charm the *nik*-serpent for Re.¹¹²

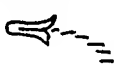
ʿpr-hr, “he provided with a face”

Drioton¹¹³ reads the entity’s name as *Dd3-hr*, which would mean “fat of face.” According to Drioton the spewing mouth can have the values *t* and *d*, in XVIIIth Dynasty and Ptolemaic “cryptography.”¹¹⁴ In his article, Drioton cites several examples of the spewing mouth having the value *t* in the XVIIIth Dynasty private enigmatic texts which he there discusses, but gives no example of the sign having the value *d*. Later, when discussing the cryptic writing on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, Drioton gives the spewing mouth the value *t* > *d*, in this name (his IIa, 5). Despite the fact that Drioton gives no example of the spewing mouth with the value *d* in the Ptolemaic period, this would not be unexpected, the dentals long having fallen together by that



¹¹²Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 32, pl. 148, no. 21. In the first scene in the third register of the 5th Division, a punished enemy of the sun is called *ʿnn-hr* (*ibid.*, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] 57, pl. 78 no. 22). The name also suggests *M3-h3=f* (D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten* [ADAIK 9; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1976]; Book of the Dead chapters 99 [Intro. §S 2-9] and 153 [§S 1] of the Book of the Dead), and *Hr=f-h3=f* (chapters 125 [§b S 27] and 153 [§S 4] of the Book of the Dead). In keeping with the solar context one might also compare the *3sb hr pr m htjt*, “burning of face who came forth going backwards,” one of the seven blessed in § S 13 of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead (E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Dead* vol. 1 [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd, 1898] p. 59 l. 8).








¹¹³*JEA* 35 (1949) 118 (and p. 114, in the article by Piankoff in the same number of *JEA*).







¹¹⁴Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) p. 39 (no. 43). For the value *d* for the spewing mouth in Ptolemaic usage, the Montpellier sign list (F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romain* vol. 1 [Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1988] p. 161) cites only the above mentioned Drioton reference.




time.¹¹⁵ Interchange of the dentals could also be allowed for the cryptic signs, and is attested on the second shrine of Tutankhamun.¹¹⁶ For  to have the uncommon value *d* here, however, *Dd3-hr* should be the only possible reading of the enigmatic name;¹¹⁷ it is not.



A name *Dd3-hr* is unattested in the Underworld Books, although the name, “fat of face,” is suggested by the appearance of the deity’s head. However, on the other side of the shrine, the middle row of mummiiform deities in the upper register has “fat” heads portrayed in front of the headless “mummies.” The heads are called *tp-Hr*, *hr-Hr*, *wsr.t-Hr*, etc.; their names have nothing to do with their “full” appearance.








¹¹⁵i.e.  for *t*--Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, 8 p. 187 [#377];  for *t*--*ibid.*, p. 128 [#76]) (According to J. Vergote, *Grammaire copte* vol. 1b, introduction, phonétique et phonologie, morphologie synthématique (structure des sémantèmes), partie diachronique (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1973) §§17-19, the collapse of *t* and *d* in Egyptian, apparently complete in Demotic, occurred sometime between the New Kingdom and the Saite period. See also A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1933) p. 25 (§54); Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 7 (§1.11); Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 78-79, 95. The examples given by E. Edel, “Zwei ägyptische Ortsbezeichnungen,” *Or.* 48 (1979) 88-89, of two foreign toponyms for which Thutmoside *t* is replaced by early Ramesside *d*, appear to represent attempts by the Egyptian scribes more correctly to represent the native pronunciations of the toponyms (see Vergote, *Grammaire copte* vol. 1b, pp. 18-19 [§19]). This suggests that the *t* and *d* were not at that time entirely collapsed in Egyptian; or, that is, at least the former distinction between *t* and *d* was correctly understood by the scribes of the time.

¹¹⁶On the second Tutankhamun shrine:  for *t* < *d* (see Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 [1983] 34),  as a writing for *tp*,  for  for  (upper right corner, in *šp tp*; see also É. Drioton, “Amon, refuge du coeur,” *ZÄS* 79 [1954] 9; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936] 29 [ for ]).






¹¹⁷  for *d* is possible ( for *d*;  treated as a variant of  is attested--Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 39; collapse of *d* and *d̲* is acceptable for the NK--J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* 2 vols. (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1976) vol. 2, pp. 790-792; Vergote, *Grammaire copte* vol. 1b, §22);  for 3 is also conceivable--see the spelling  of *d3t* in the lower left, 2nd shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 4).








The spewing mouth is not attested for the value *t* or *d* from the early cryptic corpus, although such values are not inconceivable.¹¹⁸ If  has here its more usual value of *p*,¹¹⁹ then another name is possible.  can be given its normal value *ʕ*, as in the enigmatic name immediately preceding the one in question on the Tutankhamun shrine--*ʕn-hr*. Reading *ʕp-* for the first two signs, and assigning the value *r* to the sign ,¹²⁰ the name can be read as *ʕpr-hr*, as Hornung has proposed,¹²¹

¹¹⁸Through hieratic confusion the mouth *r* could be used for *t*, but there is otherwise no evidence of this value being passed on to the spewing mouth in pre Late Period cryptography. According to É. Drioton, "Plaques bilingues de Ptolémée IV," in A. Rowe, *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria* (SASAE 2; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946), the sign acquires the rather uncommon value *t* through acrophony from   (Demotic *tp*,

Coptic ΤΩΠΕ), assuming that the mouth would be called "that which tastes." Such an origin of the value *t* for  seems unlikely, and is in fact unnecessary. There is a more reasonable explanation. A certain amount of confusion was possible in Late Egyptian hieratic between the signs , , , and  (see A. Gardiner, "The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic," *JEA* 15 [1929] 54). For example, the word *d3îw* is not infrequently written as though it were to be read *rw*, beginning with  (J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975] pp. 265 [and n. 61], 267 [n. 76]). Perhaps this is in fact the origin of the value *t* for , or at least a contributing factor.

¹¹⁹see Grdseloff, *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952) 482; C. De Wit, "Some Values of Ptolemaic Signs," *BIFAO* 55 (1956) 116, n. 1

¹²⁰Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933), 44; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24 (*j* > *r* in *ntr*  ); Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 69 (Book of Caverns, writing of *ntr*); *contra* Drioton, the sign  does not acquire the value *r* through acrophony from the word *rnpyt*, but rather from its use as *i*. In *ntr*, the final *r* is weak (Coptic ΝΟΥΤΕ), so in writings of *ntr*,  actually stands for the reed leaf (compare the orthography of *ntr* as 

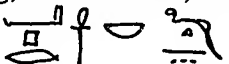




 in the tomb of Ramesses VI; for the reed leaf used to represent final *r* in other words, see *ZÄS* 72, 28). By extension from the use of  /  to represent final *r*, the reed leaf  can stand for the preposition  (ε) in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 90, l. 6 ( for ).




¹²¹Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 30; Hornung (p. 30 n.7) rightly termed Drioton's translation "unnötig kompliziert."

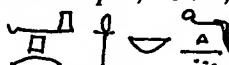


a name attested in the Amduat.¹²² The reading *pr-hr* is more certain than the reading *Dd3-hr*, for *pr-hr* is a name attested elsewhere. The possibility of an alternate reading of the name alone is enough to cast into doubt this supposed XVIIIth Dynasty example of the uncommon value *d* for the sign.

Hs3.ty, “he of the wild (face)”

This lion headed entity precedes *mīw.ty*, “cat-shaped one,” and recalls in its appearance the lion *mīwy* on the second side of the shrine (pl. 13 fig. A), there parallel to a cat *mīwy* (pl. 9, fig. B). In the fifth scene in the second register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, a crocodile headed entity who is said to unite with *pn-Hpry* is called *hs3*.¹²³ This suggests a personification of the eye of the sun, and recalls the epithet of Amun-Khepri in chapter 163 of the Book of the Dead as *hs3-dfd*,

¹²²Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 175 (#754). In the Ramesses VI version, the name is written , with  for . A use of  *h* for  is

attested, originating in the similarity between the two signs in Hieratic (De Wit, *BIFAO* 55 [1956] 116-117). the face can itself be used simply for *h* (Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 38; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943] 217 [#113a]; *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] 75; Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 1, p. 144 [E 17]).  for  for  is the origin of the

writing  (note that in Demotic *hr*, 𐤬𐤏, “upon” [Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 319-324], could be written as  or  --*h* alone [see for example

Graffito Medinet Habu Nr. 47, l. 2]; regarding the apparent abbreviated writings of *hr* “side” cited by Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 318, and the proposed meaning “region” for *hr*, see H.-J. Thissen, “Zu P3-*hr-n-îmn* = Πσανεμοῦνις,” *Enchoria* 1 [1972] 75-78, and P.W. Pestman, *Receuil de textes démotiques et bilingues* 3 vols. [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977] vol. 1 p. 76 n).

¹²³Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 51. The head of a group of punishing demons is called *hs3-hr* in chapters 163 (§S1) and 164 (§S2) of the Book of the Dead. For this name compare also the entities *h3y.w-hr.w* in the second scene in the third register of section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk.

“fierce of pupil.”¹²⁴ In the Book of the Day is a deity whose name may be *ḥs3.ty wr ḥk3*, also called *mīw wr (?)*.¹²⁵

Mīw.ty, “cat-shaped one”

This is the name of the solar deity in the 33rd Address in the Great Litany.¹²⁶ In the vignette to the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead, the solar deity as *mīw-ḥ3*, “the great tom-cat,” slays the serpent Apep. The gatekeeper of the final portal of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates is also called *mīw.ty*.¹²⁷

ī ḥry, “ascending/approaching one”

In the 11th and 12th Addresses of the Great Litany, the solar deity is one who draws near to things; the verb used is *ī ḥry*:¹²⁸

¹²⁴Compare also the deity *nh3-ḥr* in the fifth address in the Nu version of the Profession of Innocence in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead.

¹²⁵Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 7 (and n. 1). In the first name, reading the water sign as a dental causes no problem (N 35 as *t3* = Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63; as *d* = Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 68, l. 5), but Z 11 as *ḥk3* is otherwise unattested.

¹²⁶Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 38; vol. 2, p. 109 n. 93. There are also deities *mīw.ty* in scene 100 of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 402, vol. 2, p. 286), and in the fourth register of the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] 40 and pl. 48, l. 7).

¹²⁷Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 402, vol. 2, p. 286 (scene 100, end of the lower register of the 12th Hour).

¹²⁸Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 16-7, vol. 2, p. 103 n. 42.

11th Address: *ỉ ʕy r qrr.wt*
 who draws near to the caverns

12th Address: *ỉ ʕy r sšt3 inpw*
 who draws near to what Anubis has hidden

In the version of the litany in the tomb of Thutmosis III, the participle *ỉ ʕy* is given a divine determinative, implying that *ỉ ʕy* there refers to the personification *ỉ ʕy* shown on the second shrine of Tutankhamun. The head of the entity suggests the figure to the 53rd Address to Re, *wbn-ʕb*.¹²⁹ The choice of this head for the deity *ỉ ʕy* is perhaps a pun on the word *ʕy*, “horned animal.”¹³⁰ On the left side of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI there are entities *ʕy* (pls. 15-16; pl. 17, figs. A and B), who hold solar disks and are further representations of this solar *ỉ ʕy*.¹³¹

¹²⁹*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 61.

¹³⁰Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol. 1, pp. 67-8, no. 77.0692, noting H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* vol. 2 *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs Part 1 Reversals* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977) p. 129 and n. 429, who comments on the variant *ʕy* for *ʕr*.

¹³¹In the company of the punishing lion- and cat-faced forms of the sun, the name *ỉ ʕy* on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, written with two staircase signs may play on the word *ʕr* for stairway (*Wb.* I 208, 3), and suggest the Judgement Hall of Osiris, the deity as “he of the stairs (of judgement)” (for such a play on words in the seventh litany to Re, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 141 n. 459). There are also deities *ʕrt* and *ʕrt-wr.t* in the Book of the Day, written as though “horned animal/gazelle” (see Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 7 [and n. 8] and p. 11); as one is lion-headed (suggesting solar connections), the use of the determinative is probably playful. The second example, *ʕr.t wr.t*, is in the company of *b3 nkw n ʕr-wr*, *ʕr-šry*, *b3 nkw n R ʕ*; the entity is definitely solar. This is perhaps the being depicted by a wooden figure in the British Museum (no. 50703, said to be “probably from the tomb of Horemhab”), a horned, animal-headed demon housed in a case containing similar figures, at least some of which derive from the tomb of Ramesses I (J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* [New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1981] pp. 65-6; N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* [London: Kegan Paul International, 1990] p. 91 and n. 6 [p. 99]). On the exterior foot end of the sarcophagus of Tadikem, CCG 29317 (G. Maspero and H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* vol. 2 [CGC; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1939] pp. 108-109, pl. 32), a variant of the opening scene of the Litany of Re is flanked below by an antelope head facing out to each side. The beings of the upper scene are described

annotation:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

m qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt^a Hry(t) b

wnn h3.t (?)^c=sn m kkw^d

“These gods in this fashion

in their caverns which are in the Upper Region:

It is in the darkness that their corpses exist.”

^a The sign F 27 occurs for the value *im* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 16, this use of the sign a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *hn*-sign, which appears elsewhere with the value *imy*. This sign value originates in a “monogramic” writing of *m-hnw*.¹³²

^b Piankoff, Drioton, and Hornung read this group as *D3.t*. The word should be the same as that found in the name of the first mummiform figure from the left in the upper left division of this side of the shrine (there, the only difference in spelling is the addition of the hobble-*t* to indicate the feminine).

The lack of the final *t* in this suggested writing of *d3.t* would not be disturbing,¹³³ but Drioton’s derivation of a value *t3* for the road sign here, through interchange with a

as the *hntw*-crocodile and the *w3mmw*-serpent (the published copies are somewhat faulty; they were collated by the author in the Cairo Museum in September, 1994); both are said to be guardians of the portals of the Netherworld. The *ʿry*-antelopes are thus associated with the edges of the Netherworld, and with beings protecting these liminal areas.

¹³²Cf. A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 1 (*OIP* 34; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935) p. 54j; vol. 4, p. 124f; vol. 5, pp. 339b, 364e, 367c, etc. On the origin of the value, see W.R. Faulkner, “Abnormal or Cryptic Writings in the Coffin Texts,” *JEA* 67 (1981) 173, and already P. le Page Renouf, *ZAS* 12 (1874) 102.

¹³³Cf. P. Leopold II, 2.8 (there used for the substructure of a pyramid, into which thieves tunnel and through which they gain access to the burial chamber [J. Capart, A.

land sign (he suggests N 23),¹³⁴ is not paralleled elsewhere in religious or secular cryptography.¹³⁵ Similarly, his assumption of a value *t* for the final plant sign is inconsistent with the enigmatic syllabaries in vogue during the New Kingdom,¹³⁶ and at

Gardiner, and B. van de Walle, "New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies," *JEA* 22 (1936) 178; N. de G. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (No. 82) (*The Theban Tomb Series* 1; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1915)).

¹³⁴Repeated by Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34.

¹³⁵Of the group



in a copy by Gunn of the inscriptions on stele

Neuchâtel 428, J. Málek, "The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqâra," *JEA* 74 (1988) 128-129, pl. 20, reads 'r "to ascend," suggesting "𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏" presumably for 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 of 'r" (p. 129 n. i). Rather than an actual interchange of the signs, this could be simply an omission of the plants of the broad sign, due either to the ancient carver, the modern copiest, or erosion (the portion of the stele is now much damaged). Málek's reading 'r is itself not certain, requiring the insertion of an *n* not present on the stele after 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. Van Dijk suggested the reading *r-gs* to Málek, taking the copied 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 as 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏; this reading is to be preferred. In any event, this is hardly an example of a substitution of the canal sign for the road sign.

¹³⁶É. Drioton, "La stèle d'un brasseur d'Héliopolis," *Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte* 20 (1938) 234 n. 4, read the second plant sign in the name *itny.t* as *t* (see the chapter on the enigmatic texts on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI), but the parallel from the Tutankhamun shrine suggests that the final *t* is lost, and the two plant signs stand for the two reed leaves. Note that in the text of the stele which forms the subject of Drioton's article, the plant sign stands not for *t*, but for *m3* 'hrw (for the plant as *m3* 'hrw, see B. Gessler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von *m3* 'hrw mit der Blume," *GM* 116 [1990] 25-43; for the plant *m3* 'hrw not necessarily indicating death, see K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* [ÄAT 8; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985] vol. 1, p. 55, n. 45). The lotus could have the value *t* at Esna (S. Sauneron, "Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie, en marge des textes d'Esna," in *Mélanges Mariette* [BdÉ 32; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961] p. 237; *idem*, *L'écriture figurative*, pp. 90-91 and 155 [no. 202], probably derived from the use of the bloom as *m3* 'hrw, with an appearance similar to that of *t*, and often used after the names of women). Based on Drioton's proposed value *t* for the plant sign in the text on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 37 and 38 n. 3) has suggested reading





in the

text of the second scene in the first hour of the Book of Gates (*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 5) as *d3.tyw*, "Unterweltliche." Hornung notes that the text in Pedamenope gives *hn.tyw*,

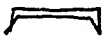

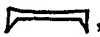
variance with the spelling of the similar name of the first goddess from the left in the upper left of this side of the shrine. A value *t* could be proposed for the road sign, derived from its use in writing the word *t3y/ty/dy*, “here,”¹³⁷ and a spelling of *d3.t* as though it were the word *t3y*, “here,” is attested.¹³⁸ The road sign for *d* or *t* or *d3.t* is,

“was (according to Hornung) keinen Sinn ergibt.” This could, however, refer to the denizens of the first chamber of the Netherworld, the *hn.t*, and deities *hn.tyw*, residents of this chamber, are mentioned in the 73rd Address in the Litany of *Re* (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 82, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 202; see further chapter 5). For the lotus as *hni*, see Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 2, p. 410 no. 325, and compare p. 400 no. 231. E.F. Wente (personal communication) has suggested a possible reading *nfr.tyw* for the Book of Gates term (for the lotus as *nfr*, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 344), a reference to the dwellers of the Netherworld as denizens of *nfr.t*, a term for the Underworld attested once in the *Amduat* (*Wb.* II 261, 12; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, 84, 11; vol. 2, p. 100). The always conceivable use of the reed leaf for *t* through hieratic confusion with the tall-*t* is not found in New Kingdom cryptography (see Drioton, *SASAE* 2 [1946] p. 105), although non-enigmatic confusions do occur (this is the origin of for *d* in *wdn* in *Wb.* I 392, 9 [cited by Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 2, p. 418, no. 467]). M24 and M13; M28 and M 16 as writings of *t3.wy* (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 410) do not appear ever to have lead to a value *t* for any one of the members of the groups (the single apparent occurrence of the value *t* for the *wd* sign at Edfu, which Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943] 232 no. 215, derived from *wd* > *wt* > *t*, may actually be *wd* for *wt* [the occurrence is in the word *msw.t*, “brood,” of *Wb.* II 140, 11-13, where the plant sign may represent *wt* just as well as *t* alone]). The *tr*-sign (M 6), though used for *tr* in *ntr* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 1, p. 20a (Faulkner, *JEA* 67 [1981] 173), does not appear to have been used for *t* in the New Kingdom enigmatic corpus (examples in later monumental cryptography based on a confusion of *tr* with the *rnp.t*-sign are found in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] p. 410).

¹³⁷Compare the orthography  in J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 9; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939) p. 22, l. 2 and p. 43, l. 3, and  in *ibid.*, p. 42, l. 15 (on *t* for *d*, see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §54, P. 25; Vergote, *Grammaire copte* vol. 1b, §§17-19; Edel, *Or.* 48 [1979] 88-9).

¹³⁸In F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* vol. 2 (London: H. Grevel and Co., 1921) pl. 17, l. 20, there is a pun on *ty.t* (THI), “underworld,” and *ty* (TΔī), “here.” Note also that hieroglyphic *t3 dsr.t* corresponds to demotic *dw3.t dsr.t* in G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg* (*Demotische Studien* 6; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913) pp. 42-3, p. 63*, p. 90 no. 154; see also chapter 5, n. 174.

however, unattested otherwise in New Kingdom cryptography. Another reading is possible, however, and it is one for which the sign values and word orthographies are paralleled elsewhere in the cryptic corpus; it also is better as a parallel contrasting with the designation of the lower area as *htmy.t* (lower right annotation).

In the tomb of Ramesses IX, the road sign is used as *hr* for  in the word *hry.t*, “the upper region,” the *d3.t hry.t* and the sky of the upper world. Reading the sign  here as *hr* for , the group in question can be read as *hry(.t)*.¹³⁹ This would be an instance of *hry.t*, “Upper Region,” perhaps a shortened form of *D3.t hry.t* (the full form appears in the Book of Caverns, in the Book of the Day and the Night, and in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk; the shortened form found here occurs in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and in the enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses IX).¹⁴⁰ A reading *hry.t* here is consistent with the position of the gods described, they being in the upper register of the scene. Their feet are in fact on a level with the *p.t* sign above the disk of the ram-headed *b3* of the sungod. This register

¹³⁹This is *hry.t* with the final *t* omitted, parallel to *hr.t* without the final *t* (see P. Vernus, review of the Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 1 *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, in *JEA* 70 [1984] 164 [= The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 1 *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* (OIP 100; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1979) pl. 9, l. 6; pl. 90, l. 12]).

¹⁴⁰Book of Caverns: Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) 10 and pl. 8. l. 5; Book of the Day and the Night: Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 25; Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 45 and pl. 25 (full), pp. 12-13 (shortened); Ramesses IX: Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 77. See C. Leitz, “Die obere und die untere Dat,” *ZÄS* 116 (1989) 41-57 for some references to *d3.t hry.t/hry.t*; also Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 357 n. 5. On *d3.t hr.t* see also A. Moret, “La légende d’Osiris à l’époque thébaine d’après l’hymne à Osiris du Louvre,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 735 n. (25). See further below, the discussion of the central figure on the first side of this shrine.

is at the level of the head of the Re-Osiris figure at the center of the scene, which also supports a reading *hry(.t)*, “Upper Region (of the Dat).”¹⁴¹

The reading of this group should be the same as that of the name of the first goddess from the left in the upper left section of this portion of the shrine (pl. 7 A). She is followed by the goddesses *št3yt*, “Shetayet,”¹⁴² *qrt(y)t*, “cavern dweller,” *db3t(y)t*, “sarcophagus dweller,” *nsyt*, “she relating to fire,” *mwyt*, “she relating to water,” and *t3yt*, “she relating to the earth.” Following *št3yt*, the name of the two goddesses *qrt(y)t* and *db3t(y)t* refer to the place of burial; the trio *nsyt*, *mwyt*, and *t3yt* personify elements of the Netherworld. The names would then appear to fall into a pair describing the Netherworld as a whole, followed by groups describing the components of the Netherworld: a pair personifying the burial place, and three goddesses representing the elements in the Netherworld. The name of the first goddess should then describe a large area of the Netherworld, and be parallel to *št3yt*. Reading the first name as *hryt*,

¹⁴¹*Hry.t* here may also refer to the upper way, the *w3.t hry.t*. According to the text in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 203 b:


w3.t hry.t p.t *w3.t hry.t t3*
the upper way is heaven, the lower way is earth.

(see also J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I* 348 [*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971] p. 182 n. 448; on the *w3.wt hry.t*, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* p. 30 text note 13). In the Tutankhamun shrine, the *hry.t* is above the sky sign, and in the Ramesses IX treatise, the hands of the ithyphallic Osiris in *hry.t* are in the area of the plummeting, stellar *nb.w-d3.t*. This suggests a survival in the cryptic Netherworld books of the early concept of the Dat as a starry realm (see E. Hornung, “Dat,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 1 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975] col. 994). The residents of both the upper and lower Dats could all be considered collectively as the “Westerners” (see J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* [Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1975] p. 111, no. 12 l. 6).

¹⁴²On a goddess Shetayet as a personification of the Netherworld, see Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 44 n. 5.

“Upper Region (of the Dat)” does this. It describes the upper register of the Dat, in which these goddesses are depicted on the shrine. The name *št3yt* for *štyt* is not a feminine nisbe, which would be **štytyt*; she is not “She of the *štyt*,” but literally *štyt*. The first goddess is not “She of the Upper Region (of the Dat),” **hrytyt*, with the road sign having the value *hr(y).t*, but “the Upper Region (of the Dat),” *hry.t*.¹⁴³

^c The three-pronged plant for *h* originates from the substitution of this plant for the *h3*-sign, itself used for *h*.¹⁴⁴ A variation of this cryptographic substitution of the *h3*-sign for the three-pronged plant is found in the use of the reed-leaf in a writing of *hnw* in cryptogram 78 in the Book of the Day and of the Night.¹⁴⁵

^d The plant for *k* here has its origin in the animal skin  for *k*,¹⁴⁶ derived through substitution from the *k3*-bull as *pars pro toto*, and a resulting exploitation--to cryptographic ends--of a similarity of the hieratic forms of the animal skin and the plant sign. For the *pars pro toto* use of the animal tail to represent the bull there is the parallel of the similarly derived use of the skin sign for *im* (and the resulting flesh sign for *m*). The flesh sign F 51 represents the preposition *m* several times in enigmatic inscriptions

¹⁴³Were one to insist on reading the first two names as feminine nisbes, this would be possible, understanding that the endings were omitted (compare the orthography of *h3y.t<y>*, parallel to the masculine *h3y.ty*, in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 25).

¹⁴⁴See R. El-Sayed, “Deux statues inédites du Musée du Caire,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984) 133 n. zz; for this use for the *š3*-sign, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44. For the *h3*-plant substituting for the reed leaf, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 341; used for *h*: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 45.

¹⁴⁵Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 90.


¹⁴⁶Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; A. Grimm, “Zu einer kryptographischen (änigmatischen) Schreibung des Substantivums *KKW* ‘Finsternis’ im Höhlenbuch (Livre des Quererets),” *GM* 32 (1979) 23-4; W. Westendorf, “Die Tierfell-Hieroglyphe mit dem Lautwert *k*,” *GM* 40 (1980) 57-58.

in private tombs at Dra Abu-n-Naga.¹⁴⁷ The flesh sign F 51 does not appear with the value *m* in other private New Kingdom cryptograms known to me, nor does it occur in the enigmatic Netherworld Books. A foreshadowing of this sign-value may be the use of the animal skin F 27 for *im* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 16, that value a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *hn*-sign for *imy* in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 54j; *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 124f; *ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 339b, 364e, and 367c; etc., originating in a “monogramic” writing of *m-hnw*.¹⁴⁸ For the interchange of the signs F 27 and F 51, one may compare the use of the sign F 51 for *k*, derived from that value of sign F 27, in the writing of *kkw* in the 3rd Division of the Book of Caverns.¹⁴⁹ The flesh sign F 51 has the value *m* in an enigmatic orthography of the divine name *itm* in the tomb of Parennefer at Dra Abu-n-Naga (see above, chapter 2, p. 39), and the name *tms*, the fourth standing, disk-headed figure in the middle register of the main section of the Corridor G ceiling treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22, fig. B; see chapter 4, pp. 283-285).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷K. Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*.

¹⁴⁸See W. R. Faulkner, *JEA* 67 (1981) 173, and already P. le Page Renouf, *ZÄS* 12 (1874) 102; for the animal skin F 27 substituting for the *hn*-sign, see A.I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi El-Hudi* vol. 1 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1980) p. 51, text WH 24, l. 6 (in the word *hnw.ty*).

¹⁴⁹Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 26, l. 8.

¹⁵⁰See also A. Daneri Rodrigo, “An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha,” *JSSEA* 15 (1985) 68-71 (reading *m*, not *im* as Rodrigo). The group  should be read *Pwn.tyw m ksw* or *h'cy*, etc. Compare the description of the Ptolemaic expedition encountering natives in the area of the elephant hunting grounds, apparently in the area of Kassala (see the author's forthcoming discussion of the location of Ptolemais theron):

wr bī3 n nsw.t m īb=sn
h3 n=f wr.w=sn h(r) īnw=sn
īw nr n nsw.t m īb=sn

So great was the awe of the king in their heart(s),
 that their leaders came down to him bearing their gifts,

The orthography of the name of the goddess *rkhy.t* in the lower right of the second side of the shrine (pl. 3) suggests that the scribes of this composition were indeed making use of a visual similarity between the hieratic forms of the signs of the animal skin and the three-pronged plant. The name of *rkhy.t* is written with a vestigial form of the skin sign on the second side of the shrine, a form derived from the hieratic, which looks like the central prong of the three-pronged plant. Interestingly, the interchange of the three-pronged plant with the skin sign appears more suitable for pre-New Kingdom hieratic,¹⁵¹ and the orthography of the animal-skin *k* in *rkhy.t* as a single-pronged plant recalls a form of the sign of the animal skin which is not uncommon during the First Intermediate Period.¹⁵²

lower right (plate 5, figure C):

names:

Hpry, “Khepri”

the fear of the king being in their hearts.

(K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* 1 part 1 [*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 2 part 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904] 102, ll. 13-15). The awe of Egypt and her king, without the need for coercion, leads the natives to abase themselves.

¹⁵¹Compare the similarity of signs 166 and 268 in G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie, die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit* vol. 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1927 [2nd revised edition]) pp. 15 and 25, with the same in *ibid.* vol. 2 (1927) pp. 14 and 24.

¹⁵²Vernus, *RdE* 25 (1973) 227 n. w. Note, however, that a derivation from a New Kingdom hieratic form of the animal skin sign is not out of the question (*cf.* Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2 [1927] p. 14).

Khepri is the name of the figure for the 2nd and 12th Addresses to the sun in the Great Litany of Re,¹⁵³ and name no. 501 in the Amduat.¹⁵⁴ The presence of *Hpry* in the company of *B3-htm* here suggests the opening of the second litany:¹⁵⁵

ihy irw n=i w3.t
iw=i 'p=i m-htw b3 R'
ihy ir n=i w3.t
pn Hpry
 “Oh make a way for me,
 for I travel after the *ba* of Re;
 oh make a way for me,
 this one, Khepri”¹⁵⁶

B3-htm, “Destroying *Ba*”

The name *B3-htm* occurs in the sequence of *b3*-plus-adjunct appellations of the solar deity in the fifth litany to Re in the Great Litany:¹⁵⁷

B3-htm pr m htm.t
 “destroying *ba* who comes forth from the place of destruction”

¹⁵³Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 6 and 17.

¹⁵⁴Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 122; vol. 2, p. 130 (interpreted as *hprwy*, “Der zu den Erscheinungen gehört,” a nisbe on *hprw*).

¹⁵⁵Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 94-5.

¹⁵⁶On this use of *pn*, see *ibid.* p. 100 n. 18; one should also compare the use of *pn Hpry* as a compound in the Book of the Craetion of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 30, 6), and note the extensive use made in that text of *pn* plus nomen (see the index under *pn*, *ibid.*, p. 81).

¹⁵⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 139; vol. 2, p. 131 n. 325.

The orthography of *htm*, the *s3*-bird for the *htm* bird with following *m* compliment, corresponds to the orthographies of *htm* in *htmy.t* in the annotation to this scene (hobble-*t* for *m* there), and to *htm* in the label *‘wy htm* at the left end of the second side of the shrine (hobble-*t* for *m* there also).

Hr-‘nh-hpr(.w), “Horus Living of Manifestation”

Reading the first scarab as *‘nh*.¹⁵⁸ This name is attested as a label to a falcon headed entity adoring the rising sun in the concluding scene in the Book of Caverns.¹⁵⁹

ik3 (?), “Ika (?)”

Piankoff, *JEA* 35 (1949) 114 n. 2, compares the name *ikk* of *Wb.* I 140, 10, noting that the name also appears in the Book of Gates.¹⁶⁰ Drioton suggested comparing the possible value *ik* of the scarab here to *ik*, “déterminé par un scarabée, *Pyr.* 806 b (P).”¹⁶¹ This latter is the *ikw-ı3* of *Wb.* I 139, 5-6. This is most speculative, although the suggestion may derive some support from the jackal’s head atop the scarab body of the being, which suggests the name *ıg3w* of *Wb.* I 140, 14, a name for Anubis attested in the Book of the Dead, a possible source of punning with the scarab as *ik/ikk*.

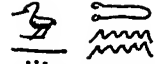
¹⁵⁸É. Drioton, “La cryptographie égyptienne” *CdE* 18 (1934) 194; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 119.

¹⁵⁹Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 47.

¹⁶⁰Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* vol. 1, pp. 279-80.

¹⁶¹Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 119.

B3-T3-tnn, “Ba of Tatenen”

This is a more fully cryptographic writing of this name, written  in the middle register of the seventh hour of the Amduat.¹⁶² On the Tutankhamun shrine the hobble-t of the Amduat orthography is written by the *t3* land sign for *t*,¹⁶³ the concluding *-nn* by two ducks.¹⁶⁴ In the 3rd Address to Re in the Great Litany, the solar deity is Tatenen; in the 66th Address he is the corpse of Tatenen, and the accompanying figure is labelled Tatenen.¹⁶⁵

Tms-ḥr, “Red of Face”

There is no exact parallel for this name, but two appellations of the sun in the 4th litany to Re are similar:¹⁶⁶

iw n=k ḥ w dšr.ty

b3 dšr wb3 imn.t

Jubilation be to you, oh one of redness,
red *ba* who opens up the west

¹⁶²Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 122; vol. 2, p. 130.

¹⁶³H. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen* (OBO 29; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1980) p. 163; compare the orthography with two land signs in the tomb of Ramesses III (*ibid.* p. 183).

¹⁶⁴Birds have the value *n* in cryptography (*cf.* Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 413; Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, pp. 140-141; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943] 225) based on the interchange of *m* and *n*.

¹⁶⁵Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesetn*, vol. 1, p. 7, vol. 2, p. 100 n. 20 (3rd Address); vol. 1, pp. 75 and 270, vol. 2, p. 118 n. 183 (66th Address).

¹⁶⁶Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 127-8, vol. 2, p. 129 nn. 300-302.

The name *tms-hr* suggests the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun, entering the Netherworld already in the form of the red *ba* rising in the east.¹⁶⁷ Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead, a version of which is found on the right interior panel of this second shrine of Tutankhamun, also describes the sun as red:¹⁶⁸

wr.t mr.wt=s dšr.t šny

ỉ hnty hr-ib hw.t dšrw

hm nfr n p.t rsy

hnm.t- nh ỉnsy.t

She great of love, red of hair;

oh foremost one residing in the mansion of the red one,

beautiful rudder of the southern sky,

she who is united with life, she of the red cloth

¹⁶⁷Re rises in redness, which P. Carlsberg I says is “the color which comes in the sun disk at dawn” (O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3 vols. (Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960-69) vol. 1, pl. 44, E, and pp. 48-9); Re also “swims in his redness” (=Sety I Cenotaph = Frankfurt, *et al.*, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* [EES 39; London, 1933] pl. 81, lower left). Horus as *b3 ỉmy dšr=f* is the rising sun (L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* [SAOC 34; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968] p. 8 and n. 21). The time of the sun’s rising is the *wnw.t tms.t*, “the red hour” (Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 422, no. 78.4673). On red as the color of the sun at the cusps of the worlds, see also L. Corcoran, *Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago, 1988) pp. 118-29, and the references cited there. See further below, the discussion of the ithyphallic Solar-Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX (chapters 5 and 6). For *tms-hr* compare also the name of one of the seven blessed in section S 13 of Book of the Dead chapter 17a: *dšr-ỉr.ty ỉmy hw.t ỉnsy*, “red-eyed one who is in the mansion of the red linen.”

¹⁶⁸Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 42, vertical columns 8-9 from the left. See also below, the discussion of *hbs* in the lower left section of the second side of this shrine, pp. 186-193.


One may also compare the name of the fourth disk-headed being in the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22, fig. B, 4th line from the left), perhaps to be read *tms*.

Šnbty

Zandee and Hornung read the name of the second of four falcon-headed beings in the upper register of the 12th Hour of the Book of Gates as the *šnbty* of *Wb. IV 514*, 1-3, a term for the solar falcon.¹⁶⁹ This designation of the sun as the mummiiform *šnbty* parallels the use of the term *šm/ hm* (*Wb. I 225*, 15-226, 5), also originally a reference to a similar mummiiform falcon image. In the 2nd Division of the Book of Caverns, Osiris is addressed as:¹⁷⁰

šm imy db3.t=f nb b.wy š m qrr.t=f

the divine image who is in his sarcophagus, lord of the two horns, great one in his cavern.

This describes the giant Osiris at the eastern horizon, as shown in the center of this side of the shrine, and in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX.¹⁷¹ The use of the designation *hm*  to refer to the Mendesian ram in the Late Period (*Wb. I 226*, 7) supports the conclusion that this description of Osiris from the Book of Caverns depicts him as the giant eastern mummy with the solar falcon's head, the unified Re and Osiris about to be reborn.

¹⁶⁹Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 382; vol. 2, p. 270.

¹⁷⁰Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 23, l. 3.

¹⁷¹According to chapter 185 of the Book of the Dead, the *hm.w* images of Osiris are installed in Heliopolis, suggesting the representation of the combined Re-Osiris.

inp(w), “Anubis”

In the solar context in which these figures occur, the presence of Anubis here, in a row of entities beginning with Khepri, recalls the 12th Address to Re in the Great Litany:¹⁷²

hkn n=k R ʿ q3 shm
ʿry r sšt3 inpw
tw t i s h3.t Hprri
 Hail to you Re, high of might,
 who draws near to what Anubis has hidden (buried)--
 you are the corpse of Khepri.

The accompanying figure is labelled Khepri.¹⁷³ Anubis also appears in the first scene in the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, guarding the mysterious chest;¹⁷⁴ as here, Anubis is there in the realm of *htmy.t*. The Solar deity passes through the cavern of Anubis and delivers a lengthy address to Anubis in the text preceeding the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns. As Anubis is here in the lower register, opposite the *ʿfd.t* containing the corpse of the solar Osirian deity, so Anubis is the hider of the corpse of Osiris in the 4th Hour of the Amduat.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷²Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 17, vol. 2, p. 103 n. 44. Note also, as regards the vocabulary of the 12th Address, the designation of the final deity in the upper left section of this side of the shrine as *i ʿry*, “the one who goes up.”

¹⁷³Note that the final figure in the upper right section is named *i ʿry*, “he who draws near.”

¹⁷⁴Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 22, l. 6. Anubis is also in the Book of the Night (*idem*, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 62 and 66).

¹⁷⁵Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 65, ll. 1-2. Note also the *inpw-hny*, “Anubis of the *hn*-chest” in the upper register of the 5th Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 343, vol. 2, pp. 96-7).

annotation:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
m qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt htmy.t
wnn h3.wt^a=sn m kkw-sm3w^b
<‘>pp R ‘
ii/iw^c b3.w=sn m-s3^d itn=f
st(w)t=f ‘q^e r qr(r).wt=sn

These gods are in this fashion

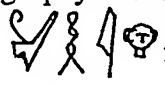
in their caverns which are in the place of destruction.

It is in the uniform darkness¹⁷⁶ that their corpses exist.

When (nom.) Re <pa>ses by,

their bas follow after his disk,

his rays having entered into their caverns.

^a The reed-leaf as 3 is an example of an enigmatic use of a not uncommon sound change found in texts written wholly in *Normalschrift*.¹⁷⁷ For the use of the reed leaf for 3 in a partially cryptic orthography in the Netherworld Books, one may compare the writing of the name *Nh3-hr* as  in the Book of the Day and Night.¹⁷⁸ The bird following the reed leaf writes the plural -w ending. Below the *t*, where one expects the plural strokes (compare the orthography of this word in the lower left section of this side of the shrine), there is another bird instead. This final bird may represent the plural strokes, through interpretation of the plural strokes as themselves indicative of the plural

¹⁷⁶Following J.Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian CReation Accounts* (YES 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) p. 74, in reading *kkw-sm3w* as “uniform darkness.”

¹⁷⁷For examples of interchanges of 3 and *i* see Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, pp. 10-11 (§ 22, 1).

¹⁷⁸Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 62.

-w.¹⁷⁹ Also possible is the use of the *w* to support the feminine ending, a not uncommon Late Egyptian orthography.¹⁸⁰ This orthography of *h3.wt* appears to occur in six of the eight preserved versions which Hornung copies for the 36th address in the Great Litany of Re.¹⁸¹

^b This writing of *m3w* as three birds occurs in the name *m3w-^c* in the lower left section on the second side of this shrine (pl. 12); twice in *kkw-sm3w* (pl. 21, ll. 26 and 38) and once in the name *m3wt.t* (pl. 24, l. 10) in the Corridor G ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI; and in *kkw-sm3w* in the Nut Book in the Osireion.¹⁸²

^c Piankoff and Drioton read *ṗ*, and take *iw* as “are,” not as “to come;” Hornung follows them.¹⁸³ There is no evidence for the plant sign here having the value *w*, as Drioton proposed. For his cryptogram 32 in the Book of the Day and the Night, Drioton suggested reading the *w3d*-sign as *w*, and one might from this suggest a simple substitution of the reed leaf for *w3d*, but Drioton’s reading is inaccurate, and there is no suggestion from the New Kingdom cryptic corpus of a plant sign for *w*.¹⁸⁴ For this

¹⁷⁹The opposite of this, the use of the plural strokes to write *w*, occurs in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 427; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

¹⁸⁰Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, pp. 61-62, §§139-41; Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 6, §1.9.

¹⁸¹Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 41.

¹⁸²Ramesses VI: main portion of the ceiling, upper register text no. 2, ll. 26 and 38 (*kkw-sm3w*), lower register text no. 2, l. 10 (*m3wt.t*); Osireion: de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 154 n. 1.

¹⁸³Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 30.

¹⁸⁴Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 87 and 98. The section in question is not to be read *wpš=f ḥpr ḥr.w fdw ḥr nhb.t=f*, but rather is a garbled version of the parallel text in *Medinet Habu VI The Temple Proper Part 2* pl. 420, §B 2: [*b3 Wsir b3 Gb*] *b3 Šw b3 Ḥpri ḥr.w fdw ḥr nhb.t w^c.t*, “[*ba* of Osiris, *ba* of Geb], *ba* of Shu, and *ba* of Khepri, four faces upon one neck” (see Assmann, *Re und Amun*, p. 263).

reason, a reading *īī* is to be preferred to Drioton's *īw*. The sign of the walking reed leaf (M 18) is little employed in cryptography,¹⁸⁵ suggesting that the two plant signs here are indeed a version of the optimal enigmatic orthography of *ii*--two plant signs, each with the value *i*.

For the *īī* as a circumstantial form, see H.J. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 2/5; Jerusalem, 1965) pp. 5-20; Gilula *JEA* 57 (1971) 15. Prof. Wente further suggests the examples de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 255d and 330c; Hornung, *Amduat* vol. 1, p. 95, l. 8.

^d In order to read *m-s3*, it is necessary to read the cloth and bird signs in reverse order. Alternatively, although somewhat less likely, one could read the cloth sign as *ms*--see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 424), the following bird for *s3*, together a writing *ms3* for *m-s3*.

^e The pouring vessel on its side: Piankoff¹⁸⁶ read *stwt.f 'q r qrrwt.sn*. Hornung's translation shows that he follows the same reading.¹⁸⁷ According to Drioton, "vase *Renversé sur son support* = '*q* (III b, 16), de '*q* 'chaviré'."¹⁸⁸ Hornung does not include


There is no evidence in the use of *ī* for *w* in the use of the running man, normally *īn* in cryptography (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 421; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 69, l. 3), for *wn* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, l. 1; this is rather derived from the word *wnī*, "eilen" (*Wb.* I 313, 10-314, 6).

¹⁸⁵The sign is attested as *īī* in cryptography at Dra Abu-n-Naga (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*); it can later substitute for the walking pot *īn* (H.W. Fairman, "On the Origin of 𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒," *JEA* 54 (1968) 238; compare also the use of the walking reed leaf for the walking *nw*-pot for *īn* in a *sdm.īn=f* form in the Pithom stela of Ptolemy II Philadelphus [Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 92, l. 12]).

¹⁸⁶*JEA* 35 (1949) 114; *idem*, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, p. 31.

¹⁸⁷Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 30


¹⁸⁸*JEA* 35 (1949) 119

the sign in his list of cryptographic sign values for the second shrine. On this same side of the second shrine, in the middle register of the left half, the pot--this time not pouring out--is found on its side over the sign of the stand:  (pl. 7, fig. B). There Drioton and Piankoff, followed by Hornung, read *kkw*, "darkness." According to Drioton:¹⁸⁹ "*vase Renversé* = *g > k*, par acroph. de *g33* 'chaviré' dans *kkw*, VI b)." Again, Hornung does not include the sign of the vessel on its side in his list of cryptic signs from the second shrine.

Drioton regards the vase and stand in pl. 5, fig. C as a bound group, and the signs do indeed touch, whereas the vessel and stand in pl. 7, fig. B are clearly separated. Drioton's derivation of different values for each vessel from two different words meaning "chaviré," neither word attested in a use describing a vessel,¹⁹⁰ strains credulity. The pouring vessel on its side is most likely a variant of the simple vessel on its side. The vessel appearing to rest on the stand in pl. 5, fig. C is likewise a sporting arrangement of the same signs as found in pl. 7, fig. B.¹⁹¹ Ideally, the groups in pl. 5, fig. C and pl. 7, fig. B should have the same reading.

¹⁸⁹*ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *q(w)/g3*: Wb. I 234, 22 (*q[w]*); 235, 9 (*g3*); Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol 1, p. 75, no. 77.0772; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (Berkeley: B.C. Scribe Publications, 1982) vol. 1, p. 93. Note the graffito of the Viceroy of Kush who says that he was *mī tsm g3 sw hr wnm=f*, "like a great dog who rolls himself over at his right side" (the king's; see E. F. Wente, in H. Ricke, G. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* [OINE 1; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967] p. 23, citing pl. 21). *g3* does not necessarily refer always to rolling over completely, but also threatening to roll over, listing--compare J. Černý and A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) 79 vs. 1: *īr g3=f īrt t3w-wr*, "if it lists over, make for *t3w-wr*." *G33*: Wb. V 149, 12; see also Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 2, pp. 169-70.

¹⁹¹For this playful pairing of a pot and the sign of the stand, arranged as though the pot is resting on the stand, compare the orthography of the label to a thurifying priest , *w b hry-hb*, in the Min Festival scenes in the second court of the great temple

The context is clearer in pl. 5, fig. C, where a reading ‘*q* for the group does indeed appear to be the most reasonable solution. Due to the collapse of the gutturals, the stand *g* could easily represent *q*.¹⁹² Compare the use of the stand for *q* in *srq*, “to breathe,” in the end of the enigmatic text accompanying the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 28, lower annotation, l. 10; see chapter 4). The vessel on its side should then represent ‘*q*, or simply ‘.


The sign of a pot on its side, and spewing forth liquid while on its side, is attested with the values ‘*b*, *w* ‘*b*, and *i* ‘*j*,¹⁹³ and the pouring pot most likely acquired the value ‘ from its use in writing the verb *i* ‘*j*. The prominent handles on the tipped-over pots on the Tutankhamun shrine would have reinforced the value ‘ through similarity with the (spewing) pustule. The sign may also have been treated as a variant of the spewing pustule deriving the value ‘ from that sign. The vessels here in question have slight necks, but no prominent lip; they are oval in shape with handles in the middle. These characteristics suggest the pustule, and its variant the spewing pustule. Confusions of pots and pustules are attested for the Old Kingdom.¹⁹⁴ In the tomb of Senenmut there


of Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 4 *Festival Scenes of Ramses III* [OIP 51; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940] pl. 201, l. 17, priest holding a censor before the *k3-ḥd* in the procession); cf. also M. Cramer, “Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover,” *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 101 and pl. 9, fig. 2, although there the pot does not quite rest on the stand.

¹⁹²Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*, § 66.3 (p. 43)

¹⁹³P. Kaplony, “Wasser,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 7 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989) col. 32 n. 91.

¹⁹⁴Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, p. 198 (and the page references in the sign index under Aa2, p. 240). The ear-like protrusions of the pustule lead to confusion with handled vessels, as well as with the *ḥr*-face and its ears (H.I. Amer, “L’offrande spécifique des bracelets-*h3drt* à Dendara et Edfou,” in *Hommages à François Daumas* vol. 1 [Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1986] p. 23 n. 13).

are versions of the spewing pustule which appear to be a hybrid of the pustule and the lips from the side which do suggest a vessel with a mouth and handles-- .¹⁹⁵

The value ‘ for the pustule is attested already in the cryptography of the XVIIIth Dynasty (see p. 34 and n. 36, chapter 2), which easily explains the use of the vessels on their sides for ‘ in pl. 5, fig. C and pl. 7, fig. B.  in pl. 5, fig. C reads ‘q, as Drioton, Piankoff, and Hornung have understood through context. For the reading of the end of pl. 7, fig. B, see below.¹⁹⁶

Standing Central Figure (plate 6, figure A):

The enigmatic annotation which accompanies this figure is repeated twice. Each annotation is arranged vertically, facing in towards the figure, one column in front and another in back. The columns of text are split between the upper and lower uroboroi which encircle the giant figure. The texts read:

Label to the upper uroboros:

mḥn “Mehen”

¹⁹⁵cf. P.F. Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut, the Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 24; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991) pls. 68-69, line SW4 (in *nḥh*). Note also that the spewing mouth substitutes for the pouring *wḥ* pot in Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis* vol. 3, pl. 33, ll. 5-6 (the suggestion by Guglielmi, noted in B. Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im Alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament* [ÄAT 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984] p. 27 n. b to text 28, that Davies’ copy is inaccurate is an unnecessary accusation). For the spewing mouth substituting for the pouring vessel, compare the writings of *wḥ* in PT §920b, §921b, and §2054 (compare the elongated shape of the *wḥ* vessel in A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas* [Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 5; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969] pl. 12 [§275b]). In the P version of the word *bš* in PT §426a, the spewing mouth is shown only as a stream of water, written over the *b*, suggesting the abbreviated version of the *wḥ* pouring-pot over the *b*-foot (cf. §264c).

¹⁹⁶The vessel may have derived the value ‘ from the term ‘, “Napf” (Wb. I 158, 13-18).

Label to the large standing figure:

dw3 wnw n R ʿi t n p w wnw n

Adoration of the circling one--the circling one is Re/the sun disk.^a


^a The annotations accompanying this central figure on the first side of the shrine, except for the label of the serpent *Mhn*, are somewhat difficult to understand. Piankoff read the label within the upper uroborus as *imn wnw.t*, stating that the two lower signs in each group “font allusion au verbe *wn*, *Wb. I*, 313 (10), *wnwn*. Ce dernier mot déterminé aussi par la mèche de cheveux *Wb. I*, 318 (1).” He does not offer an explanation of the texts within the lower serpent.

The first two signs of this lower annotation appear to read *R ʿ* or *i t n* for the disk, followed by a spitting head, which is most likely an elaborate version of the spewing mouth. This would allow one to read *R ʿi t n p w...*, “... is Re/the sun disk.” The three following signs reproduce the bottom two signs of the upper annotation, with a *rmn*-arm inserted between them. Along with the possible reading *imn*, the upper sign of the upper annotation could be read *dw3*.¹⁹⁷ The final word in the upper annotation is apparently, but for the minor variation of the added *rmn*-sign, the same as the final word in the lower annotation. Assuming that the two texts are related, as they both appear to annotate the figure of the giant deity, one could suggest a combined reading *dw3 ? R ʿ p w ?*, “Adoration of ?--? is Re.” This specifies a glorification of the standing figure through an epithet, and the equation of this epithet with Re. Piankoff read the unclear group in the top as *wnw.t* from *wnwn*; this latter is a possible reading, with the sign of the hair, otherwise a determinative to this word, standing for *wnwn*, with the addition of the

¹⁹⁷Compare the similarly truncated but ram-headed sign in *dw3.t* in F. Abitz, “Die Veränderung von Schreibformen im Königsgrab Ramses’ IX.,” in H. Altenmüller and R. Germier, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* (Hamburg: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Hamburg, 1989) p. 4.

walking legs to make this reading more certain. Nothing in the writings indicates the admittedly small jump to reading *wnw.t*, “hour.” Piankoff’s reading *wnwn* is, however, reasonable. Reading *wnwn* in the top and bottom portions of the text (with the *rmn*-arm in the lower portion an optional *n* complement),¹⁹⁸ one may render the enigmatic annotations as proposed here. There is a use of *wnwn* for referring to the writhings of the uraeus on the brow (*Wb.* I, 318, 7). There is also a term *wnwn.t*, “She Who Writhes About,” as the name of a serpent (*Wb.* I 318, 15). Reading *dw3 wwnn*, “adoration of the encircling one,” is attractive, given the fact that each half of this enigmatic annotation is surrounded by a Mehen uroboros.

The use of the verb *wnwn* is appropriate to the annotation’s proximity to the uroboroi encircling the head and feet of the giant deity, and a description of the sun as one circling about recalls the image of the cosmos as *šnn.t itn*, “that which the disk encircles.”¹⁹⁹ The statement that the disk is the one which performs the motion *wnwn*

¹⁹⁸For the *rmn*-arm as *n*: J. Dümichen, “Neuentdeckte Nomoslisten aus den Zeiten der Ptolemäer-Herrschaft,” *ZÄS* 1 (1863) 5 and 7; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43. For the single and final *n* complement of *wnwn*, compare the writing  (Wb. I 318). For the arm as *ny/n*, note the use of the arm for *n* (apparently deriving from the use of the negative arms for writing the preposition *n*--see H.G. Fischer, “Five Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom,” *ZÄS* 105 (1978) 57.

¹⁹⁹*Wb.* IV 493, 4-6. On the enchanting circular movement *šnī*, for which *wnwn* appears to be used here in parallel, see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993) p. 57 n. 266 and p. 59 n. 271. The hair sign could in fact be read as *šnī*, from the word for hair (*Wb.* IV 499, 9-501, 3); the verb *šnī*, “to move around,” etc. (*Wb.* IV 489, 1-491, 5), does not, however, appear to have employed the sign of the walking legs. The word in the lower portion of the annotation might, with the *rmn*-arm, be taken as a writing of the verb *šn* ‘, “to drive back” (*Wb.* IV 504, 5-12 [and 13]). The sense “it is Re/the disk who drives back” requires the understanding of an undefined evil, and results in the loss of meaningful parallelism with the first portion of the annotation, which the similar enigmatic orthography implies (the presence of the *rmn*-arm in the rare word *šny* of *Wb.* IV 503, 11-12 should not, in view of that word’s rarity, be considered in an examination of the cryptography here). For the Solar-Osirian deity going around and enchanting the Netherworld, see also the section on the *Schutzbild* in chapter 4.

also alludes to the motion *wnwn* of the sacred uraeus, the eye of the sun, also called *wnwn.t*, as it circles about and entwines itself on the brow of the ruler (*Wb.* I 318, 7). The annotation thus equates the encircling uroboroi with the disk of the sun, itself often represented as the fire-spitting uraeus. This depth of meaning should assure the accuracy of the proposed reading.²⁰⁰

The cryptography of the annotation accompanying the giant central figure is atypical for the other enigmatic texts on the second shrine of Tutankhamun. Only the sign of the *rmn*-arm substituting for the normal 𐀀-arm is to be read phonetically; the other signs are ideograms. The iconography of the figure supports the interpretation offered here. The encircling Re is Re as the solar ruler of the cosmos (see further below, chapter 6).

The large, central figure on the first side of the shrine, Osiride in appearance and labelled as Re, is a depiction of the unified Re-Osiris. This is the image of the gods Re and Osiris at the moment of their combining at the eastern horizon (see the discussion of the images of the giant, unified Re-Osiris, common to the three known versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, in chapter 6 below).

upper left (plate 7, figure A):

names:

Hry.t, “the upper region,” and *št3yt*, “Shetayet”

²⁰⁰The use of *wnwn* in association with uroboroi at the head and feet of the giant, in the firmament and in the Netherworld, may also be intended to pun on the term *wnwn.t* as a place of the stars, which can be located both in heaven and in the Netherworld (see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 149 n. 550).

On these personifications of the Netherworld, see above, the discussion of *hry.t* in the upper right section of this side of the shrine.

Qrt(y)t, “cavern dweller”

In the 28th Address to Re in the Great Litany, and at the beginning of the concluding lines of the same composition, the deity is called *qrr.ty*, “cavern dweller.”²⁰¹

Db3t(y)t, “sarcophagus dweller”

This is the feminine form of the name given to Re in the 35th Address of the Great Litany.²⁰²

Nsyt, “she relating to fire”

This name occurs with a similar cryptic orthography in the Ramesses VI version of Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 78, no. 25 (5th Division); there is also a goddess named *nswt* in the cavern of *t3y.t* in the same division.²⁰³

Mwyt, “she relating to water”

²⁰¹Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesetn*, vol. 1, pp. 38 and 272, vol. 2, p. 108 n. 81 (28th address); *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 85, vol. 2, pp. 121-2 n. 209 (conclusion to Great Litany).

²⁰²*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 40 and 268, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 98 (citing the *h3.t db3.ty* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk).

²⁰³Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) 58 and 61; pls. 78, 25 and 79, 33. These are the same name (compare the hybrid of these two forms as *nswty* in *idem*, *La création du disque soalire*, p. 56).

This name recalls that of the entity *mw.ty* mentioned near the end of the VIth Division of the Book of Caverns, who appears shortly after reference is made to the *ba* of *db3.ty*, “the one of the sarcophagus.”²⁰⁴

T3yt, “she relating to the earth.”

This goddess is mentioned several times in the Vth Division of the Book of Caverns.²⁰⁵ For the orthography with initial *t*, there is a similar orthography of this name in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 74, l. 1.

annotation:

nn n ntry.t m shr pn

m db3.wt=sn

sn m33=sn h3.wt itn=f

b3.w=sn ‘pp=sn^a htw=f

h3.w<t=sn mn m s.t=sn>b

These goddesses are in this fashion

in their sarcophagi:

they behold the light of his disk,^c

and their *ba*’s enter after him,

<their> corp<s>es <remaining in their places.>

^a Drioton and Piankoff read simply ‘*p=sn*, taking the plural strokes following ‘*p* as otiose. This passage is parallel to a portion of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk;²⁰⁶



²⁰⁴*idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 142, ll. 5 and 9. For goddesses *mw.t* and *nsy.t* together, compare the association of fire and water, discussed below regarding the fire as water in the *nini*-greeting.



²⁰⁵*idem*, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pls. 71, l. 1; 73, ll. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9; 74, l. 1; 79, l. 31.



²⁰⁶*idem*, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 18, ll. 6-7.

$b3.w=sn$ ꜥpp () = $sn m-ht=f$
 $h3.wt=sn mn m s.t=sn \dots$

Their *ba*'s enter after him,
 their corpses remaining in their place ...

There and in the passage on the shrine, ꜥ + plural strokes appears to be a writing of ꜥpp, the second *p* misinterpreted as plural strokes.²⁰⁷ There are, fortunately, a number of certain parallels from the Netherworld Books for ꜥpp written as ꜥ + plural strokes. In a portion of the concluding text to the First Hour of the Amduat, all surviving versions but one have: ꜥpp ntr pn hr=sn; the version in the tomb of Sety I has  .²⁰⁸


In the Ramesses VI version of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, text XVIII on the right wall of the sarcophagus hall reads ꜥp () = $f b3=sn m-htw=f$,²⁰⁹


²⁰⁷ie. Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, p. 43 n. 4 = pl. 30B; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8; vol. 2, p. 5 n. 24 (compare the short version p. 1 l. 5 for the *p* in *pw*); *ibid.* vol. 1, p. 75 n. ff; vol. 2, p. 93 n. 5; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 50, 5. A confusion of plural strokes and *p* might also explain the odd compression of the plural strokes of š.w in š.w n š.t ht in the version of chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead on the north wall of room 27 in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6 *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* [OIP 84; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963] pl. 473 l. 5). There is a possible occurrence in the Osirieion version of a portion of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, "Le Livre des Quererets, sixième division," *BIFAO* 43 [1945] 35 n. 2). A single stroke appears to write *p* in a text in the First Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8=p. 3, l. 1, in  for  , unless the latter version is to be read *ntr.w*.

²⁰⁸E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat* vol. 1 *Kurzfassung und Langfassung, 1. bis 3. Stunde* (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 13; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1987) p. 169.

²⁰⁹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 9, l. 4.

the version of this text in the tomb of Ramesses IX reads $\text{'pp} \left(\begin{array}{c} \overline{\text{III}} \\ \overline{\text{III}} \\ \text{C} \end{array} \right) = f \text{ } b3.w = sn$
 $htw = f$,²¹⁰ “With their *ba*’s after him does he enter,” showing that the plural strokes in the Ramesses VI version are a misrepresentation of the second *p* of 'pp . The construction Noun + nominal $\text{sdm} = f$, where the first element is $b3.w$ and the second $\text{'pp} = sn$, occurs in the lower register of the 6th Hour of the Book of Gates:²¹¹ $b3.w = sn \text{'pp} = sn \text{ } r \text{ } sh.t-i3rw$, “their *ba*’s enter into the field of Yaru.”

Alternatively one could read 'pw , taking this as a participle,²¹² and translate: “It is their *bas* which have entered, they being in his following, their corpses remaining in their places ...”²¹³

b Drioton and Piankoff read at the end $nt(r) \text{'3}$; Hornung²¹⁴ follows this. This is not a good writing of $nt(r) \text{'3}$, and another solution must be sought. The š -sign and the two $s3$ -birds recall the orthography of $h3.wt$, “corpses,” found in several of the enigmatic annotations on the second side of the shrine.²¹⁵ This suggests that the ending of this annotation was broken off after the *w* of $h3.w[t]$. One may propose an ending such as that in the parallel from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk cited above: $b3.w = sn$

²¹⁰Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 92, §P, l. 3 from the left.

²¹¹Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 397.

²¹²Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, vol. 2, p. 362 (§844) and p. 372 (§872). Compare Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1, l. 7: $b3.w \text{ } nn \text{'p.w idb.wy}$, “it is these *bas* which pass by the two banks.”

²¹³One may also note that already during the New Kingdom, the walking legs attract plural strokes (Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, vol. 1, p. 118 [§§207-208]).

²¹⁴Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 31.

²¹⁵Upper left, middle left and right, lower left and right.

$\text{'p=sn m-ht=f h3.wt=sn mn m s.t=sn}$, “their bas enter after him, but their corpses remain in their places.”²¹⁶

^c That a Netherworld denizen resides in a sarcophagus does not always mean that the light of the sun could not penetrate to him. Entities in sarcophagi may be either blind²¹⁷ and unseeing,²¹⁸ or they may receive and behold the light of Re.²¹⁹

middle left (plate 7, figure B):

names (pl. 7 B):

Dw3.ty, “adorer”

²¹⁶Quoting Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 18, ll. 6-7. Or, less likely, the annotation could be complete, the second bird representing the final *t* of *h3.t* (through substitution with the *tyw* bird--for examples see Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 p. 413), the word appearing here as a proper name applied to Osiris, placed in apposition to *f*, a reference to the solar deity as “corpse” (*tw* is *h3.t mdw 3h.t=f*, “for you are corpse, whose *3h.t*-eye speaks”--Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 66).

²¹⁷Compare the deity *kmn-ir.ty* in the third *nm.t* in the upper register, main (left) portion of the ceiling in Corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI (chapter 4).

²¹⁸Normally the improperly buried and the damned would not see (J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960] pp. 244-5). Denials of the presence of adequate light and air in the West on the stele of a properly buried couple from Zawiyet el-Meitīn in Middle Egypt are apparently exaggerated expressions of grief, more in the realm of earthly doubt and despair than actual expressions of eschatology--see H. Kees, “Ein Klagelied über das Jenseits,” *ZAS* 62 (1927) 73-79, particularly p. 76.

²¹⁹To the two falcon-headed entities *Tiw* in the fourth scene in the second register of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, also called *db' tyw*, and shown in their sarcophagi, Re says: *hy n=tn iw=i shd=i tn shd=i tn nn kky.w*, “joy to you--I illumine you, I illumine you, oh ones of darkness” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 130, ll. 4-7); they ask that Re turn his face upon them, that they might see (*m33=n*) him (*ibid.* pl. 130, l. 9-pl. 131, l. 1).

This corresponds to the name of the adoring entity *dw3.ty* in the fourth scene in the first register of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns.²²⁰ *Dw3.ty* is also the name of the second in the row of adoring figures facing the approaching solar bark in the middle register of the main section of the enigmatic composition on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22, fig. B, 2nd line from left).

Šsp-ꜣ, “receiving of arm”

This name could contain the word *sšp*, “to shine,” and refer to the arms of the deity as giving off light, as do the names *m3w-ꜣ* and *ḥsy-ꜣ* here. The annotation above these deities refers to them receiving (*šp*) the light of the *3ḥ.t*-eye, suggesting that this is rather “receiving of arm.”²²¹

M3w-ꜣ, “shining of arm”

For the two plant signs for *y* for *w*, see below, nn. 380 and 503. This name occurs as a label to the fourth mummiform being from the left in the lower left section of

²²⁰Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 30 and pl. 147, l. 11. The names of the following entities, three of which describe the raised arms of the deities, suggest that this name is not related to *dw3.t*, “Netherworld” (but note that the name of the first of nine praising deities in the third scene in the upper register of the 1st Hour of Amduat, who are represented here by the names *m3w-ꜣ* and *ḥsy-ꜣ*, is *d3y-d3.t* [Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 22, vol. 2, p. 13]). The orthography suggests “adorer” rather than “Datian” as a reading, although the latter is possible (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 104, vol. 2, p. 31). *imn.ty*, “Westerner,” is also possible. On the lintel of the door of the third hall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the figures of the kneeling king adoring the sun are labelled *dw3.ty*, “adorer” (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 61).

²²¹Compare the name *šspw* of the fifth hauler of the solar bark in the second scene in the middle register of the 11th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 790), the entities *šspy.w-ꜣ*=*f* in chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead (A b § S 18) and the use of *šsp* *ḥdr.t* to me take one’s hand in a friendly and helpful manner (*Wb.* IV 532, 3-6).

the second side of this shrine. It is also the name of the next-to-last of nine entities praising Re in the third scene in the upper register of the 1st Hour of the Amduat.²²² The following name *ḥsy-ꜥ* in that scene is a possible interpretation of the name of the final deity in this group on the shrine.²²³

ỉ3ḥy, “shining one”

This is the name of entity number 181, in the lower register of the 2nd Hour of the Amduat.²²⁴ The sign of the child has the values *ḥ* and *ḥ*²²⁵ from *ḥ/ḥy*, “child” (*Wb.* III 217, 3-8; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 267, no. 77.2950).

Stw.ty, “he relating to the rays of light”

This name appears to be otherwise unattested. However, the name of the first seated female being in the lower register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition, *styt*, “she relating to the beaming” (pl. 24, l. 2 [bottom]), a name attested for the first goddess in a group of five in the fifth register of the Book of the Day, is similar.²²⁶

²²²Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 7 (no. 29).

²²³A goddess *m3wt.t* is the second in a row of seated figures in the lower register of the main portion of the Corridor G enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 24, l. 10).


²²⁴*ibid.*, p. 35, vol. 2, p. 54.

²²⁵Dröton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 36; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 115; *idem*, *CdE* 18 (1934) 193; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; A. de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 84 n. 25; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34.



²²⁶Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 30.

H3y- ʿ, “shining of arm”

The name of the last of nine praising deities in the third scene in the upper register of the 1st Hour of the Amduat is *hsy- ʿ*,²²⁷ a possible reading for this enigmatic name. The name *m3w- ʿ* in this register of the 1st side of the shrine is also present in that group of Amduat beings. The name of the final adoring entity in the parallel middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition is *hsy*, without the ʿ at the end. The determinative of the disk present here before ʿ, however, speaks for the reading *h3y- ʿ*.

Drioton’s proposed reading of  here as *d* is also to be rejected. In the middle left section of the first side of the shrine (pl. 7 B), Drioton read






as *hdy- ʿ*, a name twice attested in the Amduat.²²⁸ However, *hsy- ʿ*, with the sign  representing *s*, is also possible, and this name is found in the upper register of the first hour of the Amduat²²⁹ in connection with words for shining arms (*hd*, *m3*). *H3y- ʿ*, with the bird  for 3, would also be possible here. On the basis of the sun disk determinative, *h3y- ʿ* is read here.²³⁰

²²⁷Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 30.

²²⁸*ibid.* pp. 7 (no. 28) and 36 (no. 189).

²²⁹*ibid.* p. 7 (no. 30).

²³⁰According to Drioton,  on the second shrine of Tutankhamun can have, among others, the values “=  *t* ou *d* > *t*, par acroph. (dans *t3-tnn*, III a, 5--*hdy*, VI a, 6--*hdwt*, VI 6).” The value *t* for  in *T3-tnn*, from the *tyw*-bird, is not disputed here. The falcon can have the value *h* at Esna (from *Hr*), and could pass this value on to other bird hieroglyphs through substitution (Sauneron, *L’écriture figurative*, p. 142 no. 140 [*m=h*]; p. 144 no. 152 [*w=h*]), but there is no evidence for this in this corpus. Also just possible for the name would be a reading *m3w- ʿ* (found in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 7 (no. 29); for the potential interchange of -*y*/-*w*/-*ty* endings, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172).

The “cord” leading from the disk in the belly of the giant deity proceeds to the left, above the fingertips of the adoring deities in the left middle register. The enigmatic annotation above the figures does not describe them as grasping the rope, and the parallel from the enigmatic ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses supports the interpretation that their arms are raised in adoration. The rope is that which is shown in other treatises pulling the bark of the sun. That bark is not present here, and the rope appears to be the only representation here of the path of the sun. As the road of the sun is depicted by the rope used to haul the solar bark, so in a Ramesside text the road to Thebes is likened to a rope, pulling in foreign captives and tribute.²³¹ On the shrine the path of the sun is the rope which hauls the bark of the sun, though that bark remains unseen in the enigmatic treatise.

annotation

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

šp=sn m3.wt 3h.t=f^a

šp^b=f h3.wt Dw3.tyw (could also be read *imn.tyw*)

‘pp=f

sn ‘n^c=sn <h>tw ‘q^d b3.w

These gods are in this fashion:

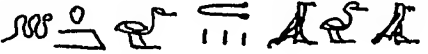



they receiving the light of his 3h.t -eye


when he illumines the bodies of the Datians.

When he passes,


they turn back <af>ter the bas enter.






²³¹The text is P. Harris I 7, 3--see P. Grandet, “La route de Thèbes comparée à une corde,” *RdE* 40 (1989) 191-4.

^a Rather than the *m3.wt 3h.t=f* here proposed, Drioton and Piankoff read *hd.wt itn=f* for . Hornung follows this reading.²³² Drioton proposed reading the bird  as *h* from *htm*, an unlikely value for the bird sign on the second shrine of Tutankhamun. He read  as *h* again in the left middle section of the first side (pl. 7 C), where the group  is read as *h3y-ʿ*. A better, and attested, reading of this name is *m3w-ʿ*.²³³ No bird sign has the value *h* on the second shrine of Tutankhamun; in both words in which Drioton proposed to read *h*, the sign has rather the common value *m*.²³⁴

3h.t is preferable to *itn* as a reading for . Drioton's suggested value *i* for the bird, although not unthinkable as an example of an *3* and *i* interchange,²³⁵ is not otherwise attested in the New Kingdom enigmatic texts. The *3h.t*-eye is that which is

²³²Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 31.

²³³*idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 7 (no. 29); this is also in keeping with the cryptic orthography  for *m3w* known from de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1.

²³⁴In fact, nowhere in the three extant recensions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity does  have the value *h*. In *ASAE* 43 (1943) 328, and *RdE* 1 (1933) 42, Drioton proposes to read this sign as *h*. However, in all cases we have the spelling  for *nhh*, "eternity." This is not to be understood as  = *n* and  = *h*, as Drioton suggested. Rather, the bird is simply a variant of the *nh*-bird, with  the usual determinative of *nhh*. The spelling of *nhh* with only one *h* accounted for is compatible with Coptic SBF $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta$, $\text{A} \Delta\text{NH}\zeta\epsilon$. In cryptography, bird hieroglyphs can acquire the value *h* only through confusion with *Hr*, a value which is clear only at Esna (*m* = *h* in Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, pp. 140 and 142; *w* = *h* *ibid.*, pp. 144 and 152).

²³⁵Cryptographically such a value, were it found, could also be explained as the whole bird representing a part, the feather H 6, itself acquiring the value *i* through substitution with the similar appearing reed leaf (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 410).

within the “womb” of the corpse of Osiris.²³⁶ For the light of the *3h.t*-eye of the sun illumining the Datians, one may compare a portion of the upper register of the third hour of the Book of Gates, scene 10:²³⁷

mī r=k r=n d3-m-wī3=f

sttw n=f īr.t=f tk

shd 3h.t=f d3.tyw

Come away to us, oh one who sails in his bark,

for whom his eye sets fire to the taper,

that his *3h.t*-eye might then illumine the Datians...²³⁸

The corpse is the womb of the sun, the great standing central figure here being the *ntr-3 īmy īr.t=f*, “the great god in whom is his (solar) eye.”²³⁹ For the *3h.t*-eye of the Osirian solar corpse benefitting the Datians, compare the conclusion to the 57th Address to Re in the Great Litany:²⁴⁰

tw t īs h3.t mdw 3h.t=f

for you are the corpse of the one whose *3h.t*-eye speaks

This speech of the eye is the light which Re sheds in the Dat (see below).

²³⁶On the *3h.t*-eye in the Netherworld Books, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 33 n. 1.

²³⁷Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 60-1 (following the version in the tomb of Horemheb).

²³⁸In the third scene of the upper register in the 4th hour of the Book of Gates (scene 17), the uraei on the “waterway of the uraei” call to Re: *tw t īs 3hw d3.t* (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 107).

²³⁹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 9; see further the section on *ītny.t* in the chapter on the enigmatic traetise in Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

²⁴⁰Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 66.


^b The *pr*-house has the value *p*, attested elsewhere; cf. the writing of *pn* in l. 73 of the second section of the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 23).²⁴¹

^c Ω appears with the value 'n , “to turn,” in the central register of the high ceiling of corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, in a text describing disk-headed deities with their arms raised in adoration of the travelling, ram-headed manifestation of the sun: $\text{'n=sn m-ht dwi nti pn '3 r-sn}$, “they turn back after this great god calls to them” (pl. 23, ll. 44-48). Thus in terms of their position in the treatise and the pose of the beings described, the two passages are similar.

It is possible to read the final group of signs as 'hm.w , “divine images,”²⁴² perhaps the whole as sn n=sn 'hm.w , “they have their 'hm -images,” but this leaves the hobble- 't and the plural strokes below them unexplained. The signs beginning with 't could be read as mhr.w , with the pot- ' representing the arm in the standard orthography of the word; the plural strokes would then be otiose. In the penultimate scene to the enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 37A, l. 1), the 'n ring represents a circle, being the pupil with the value *r* or *ir*. Read thusly here, we have $\text{sn r=sn <...h>tw 'q b3.w}$, with the verb + =sn and the beginning of htw omitted.

²⁴¹On Middle Kingdom examples of the *pr*-courtyard for *p*, see A. Roccati, “Remarques sur le graphème \square au Moyen Empire,” *RdE* 21 (1969) 151-3.

²⁴²A term used in the Book of Caverns, out of the corpus of the Netherworld texts (for references see W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern* [MÄU 1; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990] 1990, p. 42). For the 'hm as a peculiarly Datian element, which might be singled out as remaining in the Netherworld when Re passes by, compare $\text{b3=fr p.t 'sm=fr dw3.t}$ in the tomb chapel of Bakenkhons (no. 35; on 'hm see W. Spiegelberg “Die Falkenbezeichnung des Verstorbenen in der Spätzeit,” *ZÄS* 62 [1927] 29 and n. 1; K.-Th. Zauzich, “Zwischenbilanz zu den demotischen Ostraka aus Edfu,” *Enchoria* 12 [1984] 67-70). This shows 'hm used as a synonym to h3.t (see below, the section on the heads and the headless corpses, the upper middle section on the second side of this shrine).

d Reading  as *ʿq*, as in the lower right section of this side of the shrine (pl. 5, fig. C; see above), the conclusion of this section may be interpreted as *sn ʿn=sn <h>tw ʿq b3.w*. This is similar to the conclusion of the cryptic text in the upper left section of the second side of this shrine (see pl. 9, figure A), which concludes with *sn r=sn ʿp=sn htw b3.w* “they set out after the bas.”

lower left (plate 8)

names:

right: *Htmy-ʿ*, “destroyer with respect to arm”

Htm is more commonly spelled with the *m* phonetic complement following the bird.²⁴³

left: *Hbsy-ʿ*, “clothed with respect to arm”

Neither of these first two names appears otherwise to be attested. The *hbsy-ʿ* has a close parallel, however, in the *hbs-ʿ* in the lower left section of the second side of the shrine (pl. 12), and recalls the entity *hbsy* in the upper left portion of the same side²⁴⁴

The human-headed serpent: *Tpy*, “(human) headed one”

²⁴³cf. the name *B3-htm* and the word *htmy.t* in the annotation, lower right section of this side of the shrine; for *htm* here without the *m* complement, note the orthography of the name of the goddess *htmy.t* in the lower right section on the second side of this shrine.

²⁴⁴For *hbsy-ʿ* compare also the mummiform deity *hbsw* in the first scene in the upper register of the 9th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 625).

This name is known for human-headed snakes in the Amduat, the Book of Gates, and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁴⁵

Within the uppermost oval, containing the mummy wearing the White Crown, is a small oval, the label *db3.t*, "sarcophagus" (*Wb.* V 561, 9-12).²⁴⁶ The human-headed serpent thus circles about the sarcophagi of the corpse of the great god in the Netherworld, the Solar Osiris, shown as split into his two constituent parts--the corpse of Osiris (wearing the White Crown), and the corpse of the sun.²⁴⁷ The layout of the scene, and the names of the standing figures, suggest a scene in the lower right of the bottom register in section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁴⁸ There a falcon-headed mummy *Hr-d3.ty*, "Datian Horus," stands to the left, facing a human-headed mummy *B3-t3-îmn*, "Soul of the Hidden Land," on the right; between them are

²⁴⁵Amduat: *tpy--s3w-mtn*, "(human) headed one who guards the way"--see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 279; vol. 2, p. 83 (second scene, upper register, 4th Hour), depicted as having a human head. Book of Gates: *tpy*, "human-headed one," *idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 338 and 340, vol. 2, p. 230-232 (scene 63, upper register of the 10th Hour), depicted as having eight human-headed cobra-like hoods. Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 29 (in n. 3 he compares the occurrence of the name *tpy* on the second shrine of Tutankhamun).

²⁴⁶*cf.* the label over a a similar oval with occupying figure in the third scene in the third register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 23). The sign could also be read as a very abbreviated writing of the term *db3.ty*, "he of the sarcophagus" (*Wb.* V 562, 7), a designation of Osiris; the sign would then be label to the upper mummy (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 54 and n. 1).

²⁴⁷For the great god (*ntr ʿ3*) in the Netherworld as the unified Re-Osiris, see A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 3*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1957) pl. 7 (papyrus of *Tnt-dîw-Mw.t*), 3rd scene (bottom of the second column of text behind the three deities seated upon a standard) and 7th scene (top of the first column behind the two oars)--*R ʿ-Ŵsîr ntr-ʿ3*.

²⁴⁸Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 26.



two ovals, a prone figure lying face down in each. The leftmost figure is *št3-ꜥ*, that on the right *imn-ꜥ*. The bodies of Horus and Osiris are shown together in a single oval, with Horus emerging from Osiris, in the third scene in the second register of section D of the same composition. The serpent *tpy* guards the way down into the bowels of the underworld in the Fourth Hour of the Amduat, and is appropriate here as a representative of all of the powers guarding the chrysalis of the sun, soon to be reborn.²⁴⁹

In the enclosure in front of *htmy-ꜥ*, above the head and breast of a ram emerging from the ground line, are a bent arm and four hands. This recalls, in its use of four of the same sign, the hill with four flesh signs, representing the “secret image” of Osiris in the fourth register of the First Division of the Book of Caverns, the similar scene in the first scene in the fourth register in the Fifth Division, and a scene in the fourth register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. There the oval with the flesh signs is to the right of the scene of the Aker; to the left of Aker are two deities in ovals, one called “hidden of arm,” the other “secret of arm.” These recall the names of the standing, mummiform deities in this section of the shrine.














The reading of the signs is interesting. One may read the bent arm as a variant for the normal arm *ꜥ*, as found in the names of the entites in the section above. The four hands suggest “four hands.” In cryptography, the arm can represent the hand as *d*;²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹This scene also recalls the fourth scene in the middle register of the Third Division of the Book of Caverns. There the serpent “Great One” encircles three sarcophagus-ovals, one vertical and containing a standing figure, the remaining two horizontal, one with the ram’s head of the sun, the other with the eye of the sun, perhaps an allusion to Osiris. The body of Osiris is protected in the coils of a serpent in the third scene of the bottom register in the Third Division, parallel to the representation of the corpse of Khepri reclining within the winding body of the serpent “Many-Faces” on the right of the middle register of the 6th Hour of Amduat, and recalling the “Flesh of Osiris” and the “Flesh of Atum” in the upper register of the 7th Hour of Amduat.

²⁵⁰*cf.* Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, ll. 1-3.

here the hands appear to represent the arm, specifically four arms. The first arm provides the reading ζ , and the four hands the plurality and number. Reading all together, ζ plus "four hands," a reading ζ -*fdw-da3wet*,²⁵¹ is possible. All taken together, the signs are a remarkable cryptic writing of *fd.t*, "chest," the use of four hands recalling the orthography   (Wb. I 183, 15-8).²⁵² This is the canopic chest of Osiris.²⁵³ Using the four hands also recalls the four flesh signs, and the hands,

²⁵¹For this plural form of *dr.t*, see Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 220a. ζ plus the four hands may also suggest the form $\Delta\text{QT}\epsilon$ of "four" (see G. Fecht, "Die Katagorie der Kollektiva (Synchronie und Diachronie)," in *L'égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches* [Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No. 595; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982] vol. 1, p. 30).

²⁵²For this form of cryptography, a number of the same sign to be read as the name of the number with the word for the repeated image following, compare 1) *sš.w*, "scribes," written as six *h3*-signs, for *s(w) + h/š(3).w* in cryptogram D 5 on the XVIIIth Dynasty stele Louvre C 65 (Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 26 and 32); 2) the orthography of *shr* as *shy*, written with six signs of the child with his hand to his mouth (*s(w) + hy*) in the enigmatic text of Padykam from Tuna el-Gebel (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 393). For *shr* as *shy*, compare the orthographies in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53 n. d (3rd Hour), and The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 2, pl. 82 l. 16, pl. 86 l. 25, and pl. 107, 8-9 (see the discussion of *shr* written as *s* and the nose sign in the chapter of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition). Drioton suggested *s(w) + šr(y)*, which is also possible. For a similar cryptographic rebus, with two occurrences of the assimilation of like consonants, compare             

taken as *pars pro toto* for four arms, may alone be read as 𓂏.wt, “limbs,” the members of Osiris lying in the mysterious chest. There is also a chest of Re, the sarcophagus of the solar Osirian deity,²⁵⁴ and this chest of Re is suggested here by the ram emerging from the ground line within the bottom of the chest. The ram, as the *ba* form of the sun in the Netherworld, here emerges from the place of destruction and is reborn within the mysterious chest.²⁵⁵

The motif of the ram emerging from the ground occurs again in the tombs of Ramesses VII²⁵⁶ and Ramesses IX.²⁵⁷ In the center of the scene which appears in each of those tombs is a large disk, at each side of which is a bearded, human-headed figure facing out away from the disks, his arms raised in adoration. Facing the leftmost figure is an animated *wsr*-pole, arms raised in adoration. Facing the rightmost figure is

²⁵⁴On the chest of Re see J.F. Borghouts, “The Enigmatic Chests,” *JEOL* 23 (1973-74) 358-64. The chest of the *nb-ỉ3h.w*, example no. 6 (p. 361) is perhaps depicted at the top of pl. 92 in Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*. Compare the chest with the beaming sun atop it in the third register on the same plate (perhaps derived from the scene in the fourth register of the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns), and note that this chest is in the same area as that which the ram rising from the ground occupies on the opposite wall (*ibid.*, pl. 92; this relationship is easily seen in F. Abitz, “Bauablauf und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses’ IX.,” *SAK* 17 [1990] 33), parallel to the figure in the *ʿfd.t* on the Tutankhamun shrine (see pl. 8). Compare also the chest in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, in the “Book of Aker” [Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. A, far bottom right], where the “crying” eye in the chest with four flesh signs at least suggests a shining solar eye).

²⁵⁵For the *ʿfd.t* as located within the *h̄tmy.t*, the “place of destruction,” compare the first scene in the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. D), where the *ʿfd.t* *št3.t* is in the area of punishment. This is on the same level as the feet of the large goddess in the third scene of the same register, her feet said to be in the “lower dat,” the *h̄tmy.t* (see the discussion above).

²⁵⁶The third scene in the upper register of the left wall in the sarcophagus chamber; see Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 64-5, pl. 117.

²⁵⁷Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 90.

the rising ram; In these later parallels to the Tutankhamun image, the ram has his forelegs raised before him. In the tomb of Ramesses VII the ram is named *h3.t R ʿ*, “corpse of Re,” a name which would be appropriate to the rising ram on the Tutankhamun shrine, within the chest containing the solar Osirian corpse (the name is omitted in the tomb of Ramesses IX). The text over the sun disk, present in the tomb of Ramesses VII but omitted in that of Ramesses IX, is:

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn
hkn=sn n irw R ʿ
h3.t ʿ3(.t) imy(.t) 3h.t
h3.t ntr št3.t
dī=sn ʿ=sn n b3-b3.w
irw R ʿ dwī=f sn
pr=sn m qrr.ty (?)

These gods are in this fashion,

they praising the *irw*-form of Re,

the great corpse which is in the horizon,

the secret divine corpse,

they extending their arm(s) to the *Ba* of *Ba*'s.

Re calls them,

and they come forth from the two caverns (?).

The ram here is the *b3-b3.w*, the ram form of the sun,²⁵⁸ as well as the great corpse in the horizon. This great corpse is that depicted on the other side and discussed above; it also appears reclining as the eastern horizon in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX; in the graffito accompanying and referring to that figure, the deceased king is also called *b3=k špsy*, “your august ram-form.” The deities praise the ram and

²⁵⁸On *b3-b3.w* as “Widder der Widder,” see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 78-81.

the corpse at the same time; these are shown together in the *fd.t* on the second side of the Tutankhamun shrine.

annotation:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
m qrr.t im(y).t htmy.t
iw b3 R ʿ dwi=f h3wt=f im
ʿq=f m qrr(.)t tn
h3.ty tpy im^a
shd R ʿ imyw=s m hrw^b=f
srq=sn m-ht dwi^c

These gods are in this fashion

in the cavern which is in the place of destruction:

The *b3* of Re calls his corpses therein,

when he enters into this cavern,

the light of the (human-)headed one therein.

It is by his voice that Re illumines those who are in it.

It is after being called that they breathe.

^a The three-pronged plant has here the value *h3*; for the orthography of *h3.ty* here, compare the writing of *h3.ty* in the word *wh3.ty*, “the two cauldrons,” in the Book of Caverns. In the second scene in the fifth register of the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns an enigmatic annotation accompanies the two arms emerging from the ground, supporting a large cauldron in which suffer the tormented flesh, *ba*’s, and shades of the damned (pl. 43, figure A):²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹Similarly, the lion used for *r* acquired the value *w* in at least two texts (Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 93 cryptogram no. 109; Drioton, *SASAE* 2 [1946] p. 101 [Drioton’s acrophonic derivations of the value *w* for the lion are unnecessary]).

ꜥ.wy ḥtm.t^a pr^b=sn m d3.t hr wh3.ty^c ...

The two arms of the place of destruction come forth from the Dat, bearing the two cauldrons ...²⁶⁰

^a The first bird is for ḥtm, the second for t.²⁶¹ In the Osireion version, the flame has the value t.²⁶² In the second scene in the third register of the Vth Division of Caverns, similar cauldron-carrying arms are said to emerge m ḥtmy.t, and are called ꜥ.wy ḥtm.t in an accompanying enigmatic annotation.²⁶³ One may compare also the ꜥ.wy-ḥtmy.w ḥn.ty ḥtmy.t in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁶⁴

^b The Osireion version shows a semi-cursive bird, for p3, as p.²⁶⁵

^c The three-pronged plant has the value ḥ3. In the Osireion version, the t is written elaborately as the loaf of bread on the mat, normally ḥtp, which then receives its usual phonetic complements for that more common use of the sign. The cauldrons are apparently two in number, one for each of the two demons depicted, and the following text mentions ktwt.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰Piankoff did not translate this line; E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1972) p. 384 offered "Die beiden Arme kommen hervor aus der Dat, indem sie die ...(unklar) halten," leaving out the birds following ꜥ.wy.






²⁶¹Through substitution of G 38 for the tyw-bird (see Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413.

²⁶²Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 47; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 109.

²⁶³Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 66 l. 7, and pl. 67, ll. 1-3.

²⁶⁴Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 10, ll. 5-6 (text accompanying the second scene in the third register of section A). Note also the ꜥ.wy ḥry(t) and the ꜥ.wy nm(t) in the fourth register of section D of the same composition (*ibid.* p. 58).

²⁶⁵For the p3-bird for p, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413.

²⁶⁶Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) 62 n. 5 and pl. 75, l. 2. There is no relation between the word    and the probable *ir.ty*   of Piankoff,

The *tpy*, “(human-)headed one,” is the *tpy* depicted in the accompanying scene-- the human headed serpent winding repeatedly around the two sarcophagi. For the enigmatic orthography of *tp* as *dp*, compare the writing of *tp*, “head,” as *dp* in the far right upper scene on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 4, fig. B, top). The signs of col. 12 might also write *ỉỉ=f ỉm*, the whole reading *ḥ3.ty tp ỉỉ=f ỉm*, “the light of the head (of the sun) comes therein.” The reading of *tpy*, “the (human)-headed one,” has the advantage of referring to an entity separately labelled in the accompanying scene, and is the reading preferred here.

Yet another, though less likely reading is to take the first four signs of col. 11 as a writing of *ỉt<n> R* 𐀀, with the first disk as the determinative of *ỉt<n>* and the second as *R* 𐀀. The first disk could be read as *n*, through substitution with the *nỉw.t*-city sign for *n*. The other orthographies of *ỉtn* on the second shrine of Tutankhamun have disk determinatives (pl. 5 C; pl. 7 A), suggesting that the *n* of *ỉtn* is indeed absent in this orthography.²⁶⁷ The *ỉt<n>* orthography of *ỉtn*, supporting Fecht’s reconstruction of the pronunciation of the word as *jati*, does occur in the name *ỉt<n>y.t* in an annotation to a portion of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses III,²⁶⁸ and in several writings of *ỉtn* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.²⁶⁹

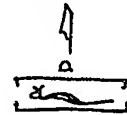
La création du disque solaire, pl. 1, l. 9 (and p. 6 n. 8).

²⁶⁷Just possible is an interpretation of the disk as a haplographic writing, standing both for the *n* and the concluding determinative of *ỉtn*.

²⁶⁸J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* vol. 1 (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, Librairies-Éditeurs, 1844) pp. 422-3; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 42 n. 1; this text is now destroyed. See the full discussion in chapter 4, pp. 319-322.

²⁶⁹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 79, pl. 11, ll. 1 (text 22: *ỉt<n> 3ḥ.ty*), 3 (text 22: *ỉt<n>=f 3 šw.t*), 6 (text 23: *ỉt<n>=f 3 šw.t*).

The orthographies of *itn* without the final *n* lend support to the suggestion that *itn*, “disk of the sun,” was vocalised as *jatiljata*.²⁷⁰ There are other writings of *itn* which have thus far also been left out of any discussion of the pronunciation of the word, and which also support the loss of the final *n* of *itn*. In the Osireion version of the 12th Hour of the Book of Gates, *itn* appears to have had the orthography







,²⁷¹

essentially a writing of *it*, “father.” Such an orthography fits well with Fecht’s reconstruction of the pronunciation of *itn*, “solar disk.” There is an apparent writing without *n* in the tomb of Bakenamun.²⁷² One may also compare the writing of *itn* as a

²⁷⁰Fecht, “Amarna Probleme (1-2),” ZÄS 85 (1960) 84-8; see also C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou-Simbel* vol. 1 (Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d’Étude sur l’Ancienne Égypte, 1968) p. 138; Vergote, *Grammaire copte* vol. 1b, p. 88; the orthography of *itn* without the final *n* (cf. M. M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* [Bib. Aeg. 8; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1938] p. 26, l. 4 and p. 158, l. 10) was observed already by le Page Renouf, ZÄS 12 (1874) 105 (see also B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991] p. 355 [I thank Prof. Wente for this reference]). For the loss of the final *n*, compare J.J. Clère, “La chute de l’*n* du suffixe -*čn* de l’ancien égyptien,” *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’Études Chamito-Sémitiques* 2 (1937) 66-68, on the pronunciation of *tn*, and Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (1970) pp. 32-34, and P. Vernus, “A propos de la fluctuation P/F,” in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass* (ÄAT 12; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987) pp. 452-53, on the loss of final *n*. See also K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1922) pp. 129-30 (*tn* instead of *t*); B. Gunn, review of C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1937), in *JEA* 28 (1942) 72 (citing *shm.tn* for *shm.ti* on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre); B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1970) pp. 32-34; and M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (OBO 120; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992) pp. 176-77 (*t* and plural strokes for *tn/tn*).

²⁷¹Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 377 (12th Hour).

²⁷²In the first column on the left jamb of the entrance to the tomb; see M. A.-Q. Muhammed, “Two Theban Tombs, Kyky and Bak-En-Amun,” *ASAE* 59 (1966) pl. 95. In the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu there is an example of *itn*  corrected from *id*  (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 2

reed leaf and disk in J. Montet, "Un vase à libation royal du culte d'Amon-Rē de Gematon," *RdE* 9 (1952) 94; as well as several orthographies of *itn* in *Gm-p3-itn* appearing in F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* vol. 1, text (London: Griffith Institute, 1949) p. 43 n. 5. The orthography   at Dendara²⁷³ suggests the possibility of a pun based on a similarity in pronunciation of *i3.t* and *itn*. As Sauneron suggested,²⁷⁴ the use of the sun disk for *t* at Esna may derive (through the consonantal principle) from *itn* pronounced as *iati*.²⁷⁵

Reading *it<n> R'* at the beginning of the line, the following signs of col. 11 and the first three of col. 12 could be a writing of *n' y=f*. Retaining the reading *im* for the final two signs of col. 12, one might then read the whole of cols. 11 and 12 as *it<n> R' n' y=f im*, "the disk of the sun travels therein." In *n' y*, the serpent would represent *n*,²⁷⁶ and the spewing mouth *'*. The value *n* for the serpent most likely derived through an

Later Historical Records of Ramses III [OIP 9; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932] pl. 83, l. 56); as J. Wilson suggested ("Ancient Text Corrections in Medinet Habu," *ZÄS* 68 [1932] 55 no. 59, 48 n. 4), this is probably one of the "errors which probably originated in copying from a hieratic manuscript." The *d* likely resulted from and a misreading of the ligatured *t* and *n*, and is not evidence for the pronunciation of *itn* at the time.

²⁷³H. Beinlich, "Ein Morgenlied an Osiris aus dem Hathor-Tempel von Dendera," *RdE* 32 (1980) 24-5.

²⁷⁴Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 160.

²⁷⁵ The writing of *šnw itn*, "what the sun's disk encircles," in R.A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 2 vols. (*Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 33-34; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974) p. 88, l. 7 also appears to be a writing of *itn* without the final *n* (I owe this reference to Prof. Wente). Caminos suggests reading *šnw R' it*, "what Re the Father encompasses," citing the appellation of the Aton as "Re the Father." This epithet, which B. Gunn, "Notes on the Aten and his Names," *JEA* 9 (1923) 175-76 discusses, may itself pun on the similar pronunciations of *it* and *jati*.

²⁷⁶Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; *idem*, "Amon, refuge du coeur," *ZÄS* 79 (1954) 10; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 118.

hieratic confusion.²⁷⁷ The value ‘ for the spitting mouth derives from substitution of the spewing mouth for the suppurating pustule (the value ‘ of the pustule is examined above, the discussion of the annotation to the far upper right scene on the first side of the shrine). The reverse of this substitution, with the mouth sign lending a value to the pustule, is also attested.

According to Fairman, a multiliteral sign can reduce to a uniliteral value if that sign consists of a strong consonant and one or more weak consonants; the strong consonant would provide the new, uniliteral value. “These weak consonants originally seem to have been only *ʒ*, *ḥ*, *w* and the feminine ending *t*, but in the course of time *r*, *ṯ*, *d* and *ḏ* all showed this weakness and could be dropped. These weak consonants could fall away from any part of the word, beginning, middle, or end.”²⁷⁸ Perhaps following this rule, Sauneron explained the value *r* for the suppurating pustule in the temple of Esna as deriving from the word *rḏw* (*Wb* II 469).²⁷⁹ This would perhaps be an acceptable explanation for the sign’s uniliteral value, assuming there were no information providing another pedigree for the spewing pustule as *r*; there is another explanation.

²⁷⁷In the Pyramid Texts, both the water-*n* and the horned viper could be confused with the *t3*-land sign (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, pp. 125-26 [§156]), so a confusion of *f* and *n* is not unthinkable. According to Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43, the serpent derived the value *n* through acrophony from the term *n‘w* (*Wb*. II 207, 8-14).

²⁷⁸Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 291.

²⁷⁹Sauneron, *L’écriture figurative*, p. 131 (nos. 90-91); Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 1, p. 291 (nos. 703 and 705).






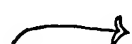




In a scene on the north jamb on the east side of the Ptolemaic pylon at the small temple of Medinet Habu,²⁸⁰ the king offers incense and water to Harsiese and Nephthys. In a line of vertical text in front of him, the king says *hrp(=i) n=k sntr pr m Kpn kbh pr m 3bw*, "I dedicate to you incense which has come forth from Byblos, and cool water which has come forth from Elephantine." Elephantine is here spelled . Elephantine was often written with the sign , deriving through Hieratic from the earlier . The spewing variant of the pustule could then be used as a determinative of *3bw*, as in the example .²⁸¹ By substitution of a sign with a similar appearance, or by confusion if one prefers, the spewing pustule was turned into the spewing mouth in the orthography of the Medinet Habu writing of *3bw*. As further evidence that the signs and could interchange, note the spelling of *rd.wy*, "two feet," as , substituting for , / having the value *rdw* (*Wb* II 469, 5-19).²⁸²

The substitutions of the spewing mouth for the spewing pustule in the Medinet Habu writing of *3bw*, and in the Edfu writing of *rd.wy*, explain the use of the suppurating

²⁸⁰B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II Theban Temples* (2nd ed.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972) p. 462, 10 b II.

²⁸¹W. Wreszinski, "Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit nach einem Stele im Vatikan," *ZÄS* 45 (1908) 118; see also K.T. El-Dissouky, *Elephantine in the Old Kingdom* (U. of Chicago dissertation, unpublished, 1969) pp. 3-15 for orthographies of *3bw*.

²⁸²É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Edfu* vol. 4 (*MMAF* 21; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1929) p. 274, l. 4; De Witt, *BIFAO* 55 (1955) 116 terms this an "abusive" use. In the tomb of Senenmut a hybrid of the spewing pustule, the spewing mouth, and a pouring pot is found (*ie*, the determinative of *nhh* in line SW 4--see Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut*, pls. 68-69).

pustules for *r* at Esna. , as a variant of , could have the value *r*;²⁸³ thus , as a variant of , could also have the value *r*.²⁸⁴ By substitution of one “spewing” sign for another,  acquires the value *r* from . The interchange of the signs  and  explains both the value *r* for the spewing pustule, which the consonantal principle might also explain, and the use of the spewing mouth in place of the suppurating pustule in the spellings of *3bw* and *rd.wy*, which the consonantal principle cannot explain. According to Fairman, if an explanation for a value of a Ptolemaic sign is proposed, and “if, furthermore, it is discovered that this method helps to explain a whole series of values, we are justified in suggesting that it formed one of the principles that guided the ancient scribes.”²⁸⁵ The substitution of spewing signs explains all exchanges of  and --it is “the explanation which is exclusive”²⁸⁶--and is to be preferred as the explanation of the origin of the value *r* for the suppurating pustule at Esna.²⁸⁷

The spelling of *3bw* in the Medinet Habu example requires some further discussion. The toponym appears to have been given three separate determinatives, the












²⁸³Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 39; *idem*, *CdE* 18 (1934) 193; H. Junker, review of K. Sethe and O. Firkow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch- römischer Zeit*, in *OLZ* 53 (1958) 335.





²⁸⁴G. Daressy, “Hymne à Khnoum du temple d’Esnéh,” *RdT* 27 (1905) 89; A.H. Zayed, “Reflexions sur deux statuettes inédites de l’époque ptolémaïque,” *ASAE* 57 (1962) 151 and 153-54; Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 1, pp. 161-62.

²⁸⁵Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 201.

²⁸⁶*ibid.* 202.

²⁸⁷The substitution of the pustule for the mouth is found elsewhere; *cf.* the use of the pustule for the spewing mouth of the Pyramid Texts in determining *isd* in the version of PT 593 in the Tomb of Mutirdis (J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970* vol. 6 *Das Grab der Mutirdis* [AV 13; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977] p. 85 n. *e* to text 92).






second being , here treated as a variant of . Though a substitution of  for  is possible,²⁸⁸ it is not common in the orthography of *3bw*.²⁸⁹ The substitution is explicable, however, and adds a new level of meaning to the spelling here chosen for Elephantine. The Nile can be said to originate from the efflux, the *rdw*, of Osiris.²⁹⁰  suggests , an orthography of the name of the Inundation, *H'py*,²⁹¹ and may embody an allusion to the source of the Nile. That the sign  transforms into  then takes on greater significance--  can be a writing of *H'py*, the Inundation (*Wb* III 42). So  the Inundation comes from , the efflux of Osiris, in a spelling of *3bw*, Elephantine, the traditional source of the Nile.²⁹²

²⁸⁸see i.e. the substitution of  for , *dw*, in the writing of *3bdw*, Abydos (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* vol. 1 [Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, 1925] pp. 3-4; É. Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d'Edfou* [SASAE 11; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953] p. 46);  for , see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 45.

²⁸⁹see the examples given in Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, pp. 3 and 16.

²⁹⁰i.e. K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 8; Leipzig: Akademie-Verlag, 1957) p. 82, l. 10 (Bab el Amra, Karnak; 3rd scene from the top, N end of W interior = P. Clère, *La porte d'Éueregète à Karnak* [MIFAO 84, 1961] pl. 45), the king says to Osiris: *hrp=i n=k H'p wtt m rdw=k*, "I consecrate for you the Inundation, engendered from your efflux;" see J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Swansea: University of Wales, 1970) pp. 436-437; Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1956) p. 21 n. 16; H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1956) pp. 408-409; for Osiris and Hapi see also the references cited by D. Kurth, "Nilgott," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982) col. 486 nn. 67-68.



²⁹¹C. De Wit, "Some Values of Ptolemaic Signs," *BIFAO* 55 (1956) 116 n. 1.

²⁹²Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, p. 3 cites a spelling of Elephantine from the Book of the Dead as     . The *kbh* vessel in this writing appears to allude to the *kbh.w* waters of the cataract region (*Wb* V 29, 5-6); the

In *it<n> R^c n^y=f im*, “the disk of the sun travels therein,” *it<n> R^c n^y=f* could be a non-initial main sentence,²⁹³ dependent on the *iw* of *iw b³ R^c dwi=f*. The preposition + infinitive without following suffix here has a passive sense.²⁹⁴ The *y* ending of *n^y* would be unexpected for a non-initial main sentence, however. The alternative reading requires an uncommon, though not unattested, orthography of *itn*; it requires a value ^c for the spewing mouth otherwise unattested in this corpus; and it requires a *sdm=f* form *n^y*, unexpected in the context.

^b In *hrw*, the *hr*-sign represents *hr*, as it routinely does in orthographies of *shr* in the enigmatic texts (cf. pl. 8, ll. 2-3).

^c Drioton and Piankoff read *dpy* and *hkn*; though transliterating *m ht dwi*, they translate “après qu’il les a appelés.” Hornung reads “und erleuchtet werden die, die in ihr sind, durch seine Stimme. Sie atmen, nachdem (er ihnen) zugerufen hat.”

determinative  and  in the Medinet Habu example functions as the two determinatives in the Book of the Dead writing of *3bw*. For other examples of

3bw with a water determinative, see El-Dissouky, *Elephantine in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 8-10 (exx. 3 and 4)= E. Edel, “Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der ‘Weltkammer’ aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften Göttingen, I. philosophisch-historische Klasse*; 1963 Nrs. 4 and 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963) Nr. 4, fig. 4 and pp. 124-125; Nr. 5, fig. 13. See also Sander-Hansen, *Anchnesneferibre*, pp. 99-100 for the water determinative of *rdw*, “efflux,” written as though it flows from the corner of the *dw*-mountain (this may refer to the Nile as the efflux of Osiris).

²⁹³See Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, p. 135, and the references cited there.

²⁹⁴On this see B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924) pp. 66-68.

Light and breath are the result of the call of Re in the fourth scene of the third register in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns,²⁹⁵ and in the 7th Address to Re in the Great Litany.²⁹⁶ The call of the sun brings light, for it is the *3h.t*-eye of the sun which calls out.²⁹⁷ In the second scene in the third register of the 2nd Division of the Book of Caverns, which parallels this scene in the presence of the sun depicted within the *hn*-chest of Osiris (see below, discussion of the *fd.t*), the breath-giving call of the sun is also stressed:²⁹⁸

ntr.t ny.t Hn.ty-d3.t wd3.t [ny.t] itm m tph.t ny.t hn ny št3
m33w dw3.tyw
srq=sn rf

Oh divine eye of the Foremost of the Dat, oh Udjat eye of Atum in the
 pit of the chest of the mystery,
 whom the Datians see,
 with the result that they breathe...

In the version in the tomb of Ramesses IX, a sun disk is shown within the chest.²⁹⁹ The text of this parallel scene from the Book of Caverns parallels the text in

²⁹⁵Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 135 ll. 8-9.

²⁹⁶Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 12: *nīs ir.t=f dwi tp=f pn nty dī=f nfw m b3.w n s.t=sn šsp=sn srq=sn*.

²⁹⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 66, close of the 57th Address: *twi is h3.t mdw 3h.t=f*, "for you are the corpse of the one whose *3h.t*-eye speaks." This concept may be behind the writing of *hd.wt* as *wd.wy* in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 26, l. 6): *ntr pn 3 mdw=f n=f tf m33=f wd.wy itn=f*, "this god speaks to him, when he sees the light of his disk." For the dead lighting up at the call of the deity, compare line 4 of the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

²⁹⁸Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 20, ll. 2-4. Compare also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 104, l. 4 (a portion of the introductory text to the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns): *srq h3.wt=f n itn=i*, "through my disk do his corpses breathe."

²⁹⁹Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 60.

the section of the Tutankhamun shrine in describing the call of the solar deity as giving breath to the Datians. Taken all together, the scenes in this section of the shrine suggest the resurrection of Re as Horus from the corpse of Osiris.

Second Side, with Closing Scene of the Rebirth of the Sun (plate 3):

To the far upper right there is a brief text in *Normalschrift*, referring to the ennead, paralleling the text at the far upper left on the first side of the shrine, located directly opposite. The text on the closing side reads (plate 6, figure B):

wnn=k mm psd.t nn tni=k r w ʿim=sn Wsir nsw.t Nb-hprw-R ʿ m3 ʿ-hrw

Without your being distinguished from one among them^a shall you be with the ennead, oh Osiris, king Nebkheperewre, justified.

^a The king was chosen (*stp*) and distinguished (*stni*) from other mortals,³⁰⁰ but he did not desire to be distinguished (*tni*) from the gods, meaning that he be indistinguishable from the deities. This desire is expressed again in the text on the wooden chest from the tomb of Tutankhamun, Carter 32, right half of side C, addressed to the great ennead which is in Nut, and the entourage of Re in the Night Bark” (*psd.t ʿ3.t imy Nw.t šmsw R ʿ m Sktt*):³⁰¹

dī=tn Wsir nsw.t Nb-hprw-R ʿ hn ʿ=tn

nn tni=f r w ʿim=tn

May you set the Osiris, king Nebkheperure together with you,
without his being distinguished from one among you.

³⁰⁰See E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches* vol. 1 *die Phraseologie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970) p. 71 (§B 1.23).

³⁰¹See H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1989) p. 13.

upper left (plate 9, figure A):

names:

the serpent: *ỉꜥ.t* “uraeus”

This is the name of the identical serpent in the lower left section of this side of the shrine (pl. 12).

the first two mummiform figures: *Dw3.ty* or *Wnw.ty* “he of the Dat” or “he of the hour”

The name of the first standing mummy from the left is *dw3.ty* or *wnw.ty*, written as a star plus *ty* as an ending;³⁰² the name of the second mummy from the left is apparently also *dw3.ty* or *wnw.ty*, the name written this time as two stars.

Hbsy “clothed one”

This name is parallel to the *hbsw*, “clothed one,” of the Amduat.³⁰³

šsy “he of the mummy wrappings”

This name describes a mummiform deity. The preceeding name describes another such mummiform being as “the clothed one,” a reference to the shrouds of that

³⁰²Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, p. 36 n. 3 read: *dw3ty*, *dw3y*, *sšy*, *šsy*, *hksy*, *šssy*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 29-34, does not read these names.

³⁰³Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 156 no. 625, vol. 2, p. 155; compare also the mummiform goddess *hbs.t* of the lower register of the 8th Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 150 no. 609, vol. 2, p. 150), the mummiform *hbs.t* in a sarcophagus oval of the second register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 52), and the *hbs.t-sšt3.w* in the fifth scene of the first register in the 3rd Division of the book of Caverns (not mummiform, but in a sarcophagus oval; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] 20).

mummy. The following name, *šsy*, may likewise be read as a reference to the cloths binding the mummy, if one understands the name to be a nisbe based on the term *šs*, “linen,” a word which can refer to mummy bands (*Wb.* IV 539, 5-6).³⁰⁴

Hqsy “the incomplete one”

The name of this entity provides another attestation of this rare term. In the 24th Address to Re in the Great Litany, the eye brought back to the deity is *hqswtt*, apparently the “‘Unvollständiges Auge’.”³⁰⁵ This is also the name of one of the two watchmen at the seventh gate of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates.

īss “the bound one (?)”

This final name suggests a reading *īssy* (with the *š*-pool substituting for the island sign as *īw* for *ī*), perhaps relating to *īss*, “to bind.”³⁰⁶ In the 66th scene of the Book of Gates, in the 10th Hour, Apep is referred to as *ssī*, apparently Apep as the “bound one.”³⁰⁷ On the second shrine of Tutankhamun the name *īssy* may refer to the being not as wicked, but in reference to the binding mummy wrappings. There are also

³⁰⁴See also S. Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement* (Cairo, 1952) p. 56 (index).

³⁰⁵Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 29; vol. 2, pp. 65 and 106 n. 68.

³⁰⁶For the verb *īss*, “to bind, tie up,” see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 236 n. 9 (Hornung cites M. Alliot, “Les rites de la chasse au filet, aux temples de Karnak, d’Edfou et d’Esneh,” *RdE* 5 [1946] 86 n. 3, and Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze*, p. 46).

³⁰⁷Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 346.

beings *ssy.w*, “bound ones,” attested in the Book of the Day and the Night, associated with the *nn.tyw*, “those of the nether-sky.”³⁰⁸

annotation:

nn n nt<r.w>^a m shr pn

hd.wt R^c q.w m h3.wt=sn

dwi=f^b b3.w=sn

sn r=sn p=sn ht w b3.w

These g<ods> are in this fashion,

the light of Re having entered their corpses.

When he calls their *ba*’s,

they set out after the (other?) *ba*’s.

^a The Red Crown could stand not simply for *n* here, but for *nt* as a writing of *ntr*.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 38 (and n. 3, citing Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos* [Egypt Exploration Society Memoir 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933] pl. 32). Or the final name could be read *sšy*, a name attested for the second of seven beings in the final scene of the lower register in the 11th Hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 371, vol. 2, p. 263 [suggesting a translation of the name as “Der Rasselnde (?)”]), were one to concede the collapse of the sibilants necessary for writing the name as *ssy* in the Tutankhamun cryptography.

³⁰⁹For the Red Crown as *nt*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 47; and chapter 4, n. 720. In this case, only the plural ending would be missing (for the plural the presence of the *r* in the writing would be expected [Coptic singular ΝΟΥΤΕ, plural ΕΝΤΗΡ [Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 127]; for the loss of the *r* compare the plural of *ntr.w* as *nty.w* in line 63 of the second text in the middle register of the large portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the writing of *ntrwt* as *ntwt* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 143c [cited by Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 212 no. 78.2290), perhaps supplied by the bird (as haplography).

^b The verb *ḏwī* is here read as a nominal *sḏm=f*. The *ba*'s move as a result of the god's call, and a similar text from the tomb of Ramesses VII³¹⁰ (cited more fully above) states that:

īw R ḥḏwī=f sn

pr=sn m qrr.ty (?)

Re calls them,

and they come forth from the two caverns (?).

Rather than the *īw* + Noun + *sḏm=f* of the Ramesses VII passage, the text on the Tutankhamun shrine employs the nominal *sḏm=f* with which to begin an expression of the same concept--the movement of the souls of the dead as a result of the call of the solar deity in the Netherworld. A parallel construction appears expressing the same concept in the Great Litany of Re:³¹¹

ḏwī n=īn īmy-ītn=f

ḥr bḏ=īn r qmḏ īn

When the one who is in his disk calls to you,

your *ba*'s ascend towards the one who created you.

Although Egyptologists routinely treat *ḏwī* as a third-weak verb,³¹² and the appearance of the infinitive form *ḏwī.t* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk³¹³ suggests that this was at times opinion of the Egyptians themselves. There is, however,

³¹⁰Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 64-5, pl. 117.

³¹¹Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 203.

³¹²E.g. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung*, vol. 1, p. 91; J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984) p. 575.

³¹³Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire*, pl. 5, ll. 4-5.

evidence from the corpus of the Netherworld texts of the New Kingdom royal tombs that, in at least certain occurrences of the verb *ḏwī*, the final reed-leaf functions as though it were the final radical of a trilateral verb. In a number of passages in the Netherworld books *ḏwī* with final reed-leaf functions as an initial nominal *sdm=f* form.³¹⁴ The importance of the final-*i* of the verb *ḏwī* finds support in several confusions of the verbs *dw3*, “praise,” and *ḏwī*, “call,” in the *Amduat*,³¹⁵ the Litany of Re,³¹⁶ and the Book of Gates.³¹⁷

There are other verbs which also appear to be trilaterals with *i* as the final radical, such as *šri*, “to block,” and *ṯni*, “to grow decrepit.”³¹⁸ As an explanation of the apparently trilateral *ḏwī*, one may offer two suggestions: 1) The form of *ḏwī* with *r* attested in a Middle Kingdom tomb at Meir,³¹⁹ and sporadically later,³²⁰ and the

³¹⁴Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 43, 365, 616, and 627; *idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 1, pp. 135, 139, 217, 385; *idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 203; Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, l. 2; pl. 6, l. 3; pl. 21, l. 5; pl. 24, l. 8; *etc.* For a discussion of this and other final-*i* trilateral verbs in the Netherworld Books, see A. Baumann’s forthcoming study of the grammar of those texts.

³¹⁵Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 46 (and n. o).

³¹⁶*idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesen*, vol. 1, p. 108.

³¹⁷*idem*, *Das Buch von Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 385.

³¹⁸See Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 209, §270 Obs.; G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* 2nd ed. (BdÉ 12; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955) p. 116, §220; Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri*, p. 9; but note that Osing, *Nominalbildung* vol. 1 pp. 38 and 114 treats both of these verbs as though they were third weak, although he provides no discussion.

³¹⁹A.M. Blackman, and M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 6 (ASE 29; London, 1953) p. 9 (with n. 1), pl. 13 (above the large fowling figure to the right).

³²⁰Eg. L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Seconda--collezioni 2; Turin: Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1977) p. 64 n. 1 and p. 67 (A); P. Vernus, *Athribis, textes et documents relatifs a la géographie, aux cultes, et a l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien a l'époque pharaonique* (BdE 74; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1978) p. 68, n. d.

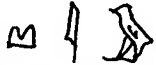
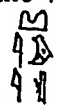
infinitive form *ḏwī.t* attested in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, suggest a comparison of *ḏwī* with the verb *dmī/dmr*.³²¹ 2) The verb *ḏwī* may perhaps originate from a fourth weak verb **ḏīwī*.³²² Although there do not appear to be any orthographies of *ḏwī* that might strongly support this suggestion,³²³ one may compare the verb *ḥḥī*, apparently originally *ḥīḥī*, although the full form of the verb does not appear in any text.³²⁴ A derivation of *ḏwī* from an original **ḏīwī* could well explain the mix of masculine and feminine infinitives.³²⁵ In any event, *ḏwī* with final *ī* does appear to be an acceptable orthography of that verb in the nominal *sdm=f* form, at least in the Netherworld Books.

Hornung³²⁶ read “So sind diese Göt(ter) beschaffen. Das Licht Res ist in ihre Körper eingetreten, wenn er ihren Ba’s zugerufen hat. Sie sind es, die vorbeiziehen hinter den Ba’s.”

The depiction which this annotation accompanies shows the light of Re entering into the standing mummiiform figures, the corpses of the annotation. The *ba*’s whom Re is said to call are shown hovering on waves of light before the standing mummies. The

³²¹Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* vol. 2, p. 754; compare also the infinitive *smī.t*: Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, p. 116, §220.

³²²I thank Prof. Johnson for this suggestion.

³²³Note, however, orthographies such as  (Wb. V 550). In the Ramesses IX version of the 7th Address in the Litany of Re, *ḏwī* is indeed written as though it were *ḏīwī*:  (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 12).

³²⁴Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 216, §285.

³²⁵Cf. Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, p. 116, §219.

³²⁶JSSEA 13 (1983) 31.

concluding line apparently means that the *ba*'s, when summoned by Re, enter into the entourage of the sun, following alongside the other *ba*'s already called into the following of Re. The voice of Re is perhaps depicted, or at least hinted at, by the flame leaping from the mouth of the uraeus, a depiction of the fiery call of the solar deity.³²⁷ The stars shedding light towards the mummies are parallel in position and function to the sun disks shining onto the foreheads of the rising mummies in the scene to the far right of the upper register (pl. 10, fig. A). The stars here, and the disks in pl. 10, fig. A, are representations of the light of the sun in the Netherworld. The close association of stars and disks apparent in the upper register is more explicitly represented in the central scene of the bottom register on this side of the shrine (pl. 13, fig. A), where stars atop disks cast light before standing, ram-headed, mummiform beings (for the association of disks and stars in the Netherworld, see below, chapter 7: "Inversion in the Netherworld"). The movement of the *ba*'s as they enter into the entourage of the sun is indicated by the walking legs above the head of each *ba*-bird. The direction of these legs, towards the right, suggests that the large vertically arranged scene at the left end of this side of the shrine (pl. 14), while incorporating aspects of a concluding scene, is also another opening scene, corresponding to the scene of the entry of the sun into the Netherworld located at the right end of the first side of the shrine (pl. 4 B and C, pl. 5 A).

³²⁷A. Piankoff, "Vallée des rois à Thèbes-Ouest, la tombe N° 1 (Ramsès VII)," *ASAE* 55 (1958) 153 (tomb of Ramesses VII--*md.wt=f m ḥdy.t*); Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 31, l. 5 (text accompanying the third scene in the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns: *īw R' mdw=f n=sn m m3.wt=f*, "Re speaks to them through his light"); for breath and light, see Derchain, "L'adoration du soleil levant dans le temple de Psammétique Ier à El Kab," *CdE* 74 (1962) 261; for spittle as fire, see de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 342o: *ḥt mw=i tp r3=i*, "my saliva burns on the tip of my tongue." See also the section on *nḥp* in chapter 5, pp. 440-443.

upper middle (plate 9, figure B):

names:

the cat: *Miwy*

Piankoff suggested *miꜣy* (?), and following him Hornung proposed *miꜣy* or *miꜣrw* as a reading for the feline's name; neither suggested a parallel.³²⁸ In the 33rd Address to the solar deity in the great litany of Re, the god is called *miꜣw.ty*, "cat-shaped one,"³²⁹ a reference to his form as the Great Cat, *miꜣw* 𓆎, in the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead. It should be possible to relate the enigmatic name here to such a designation of the sun. A deity *miꜣw.ty* in fact appears in the upper right section of the first side of the second shrine (see above). As *miꜣw.ty* has already appeared on this first side of the shrine (pl. 5, fig. B [seventh entity from the right]), the composer of this version of Tutankhamun's treatise on the Solar-Osirian unity knew--as one might expect--the concept and terminology of Re as the "great cat;" one may expect another reference to this feline form of the sun in the annotation to the seated cat in this scene. The seated lion directly below, in the lower middle scene on this side of the shrine (pl. 13 A), has the same name as the seated cat.






The bird for *m*, through substitution with the owl, and the plant for *i* through substitution with the reed leaf, are reasonable cryptographic values. The grasshopper should then have the value *w*. For enigmatic texts before the Roman period, only the

³²⁸Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, p. 36 n. 4; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 32.

³²⁹Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 38; vol. 2, p. 109 n. 93. There are also deities *miꜣw.ty* in scene 100 of the Book of Gates (*idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 402, vol. 2, p. 286), and in the fourth register of the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] 40 and pl. 48, l. 7).

value *r* has heretofore been attested for the sign of the grasshopper,³³⁰ and the origin of this value remains obscure.³³¹ Were the sign of the grasshopper treated as *r*, it is not inconceivable that it could receive further enigmatic values derived from those applied to the mouth-*r*. The value *w* is attested for the mouth-*r* in the text on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.³³² The grasshopper, normally *r*, has the value *w* in the second scene of the fifth register in the Vth Division of the Book of Caverns (see above, ch. 2, n. 74).³³³ In similar cryptic groups in the 5th and 6th Divisions of the Book of

³³⁰Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 414; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 119; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, 10*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34.

³³¹The most common name for the grasshopper was *snḥm*, often written as though *s3-nḥm*, "son of plundering" (on the names of the grasshopper/locust, and written evidence, see L. Keimer, "Pendelaques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens (suite)," *ASAE* 33 [1933] 97-130). If the grasshopper were employed cryptically as an equivalent of the *s3* bird, often the first sign in writing *snḥm/s3nḥm*, the grasshopper might then acquire the values possessed by the *s3*-bird. This graphic form of acrophony, acrographic cryptography, a sign substituting for the first sign in writing the name or description of that sign, appears otherwise unattested. In New Kingdom cryptography the grasshopper appears as *r* and *w*, but not as *s*, and *s* is a value which one might reasonably expect to find for the grasshopper, were it substituting for the *s3*-bird. The grasshopper may represent *s* at Esna, but apparently not elsewhere--Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 152 (no. 192), suggests reading the grasshopper in a writing of the name of Osiris as *s*, a value which he derives acrophonically from *snḥm*. This value is otherwise unattested, and is most questionable in the group which Sauneron discusses. A possible, non-acrophonic explanation can be offered. Bird signs and the mouth-*r* can alternate in the dropped portion of the ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see the following chapter), with the sign  for  through *r3*, "goose."  for *s3* could be the origin of  for  for *s3*, with the loss of the following aleph, simple *s*.

³³²The mouth-*r* has the value *w* in the lower register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, here pl. 24, line 32 (*ṯn.w*); line 37 (*sn dwi=sn*); the mouth *r* has the value *w* in two occurrences of the word *dwi* in the rightmost text in the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G (pl. 30, ll. 4 and 5 right). From the value *r* for the grasshopper may also derive the apparent value *f* in the writing of *dr=f* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 74, 9 (Osireion version). The snake for *r* may give rise to the grasshopper-*r* for the snake for *f*.

³³³Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 74 ll. 8-9.

Caverns, the grasshopper also has the value *w* in *imy.w*, “those who are in...”³³⁴

Reading *w* for the sign of the grasshopper-*r* on the shrine allows the reading of the

³³⁴The grasshopper used for *w* occurs in the group figure *a* occurring in the 5th Division (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 60, l. 5; pl. 61, ll. 4-5) and as figure *b* in the 6th Division (*idem*, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 127, ll. 6-7) of the Book of Caverns:

(for the portions of enigmatic annotations in the 5th and 6th Divisions of the Book of Caverns cited here, see pl. 43, figure B)

In the 5th Division, the group (preserved only in Ramesses VI) is found first on the body of the goddess in the Nut scene, immediately preceeding *md3.t št3y.t hprw tpy šip 3*, “Buch der <<Geheimen>>, erste Erscheinungsform, grosse Revision” (Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 374). In the second occurrence in the 5th Division, the group occurs in a description of snakes in the Nut scene who *ıwtı rh št3yt [...]*. For the first group in the 6th Division, Piankoff assumed an enigmatic transcription of the preceeding line, and read the group here in question as *irt (sic) hprw* (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] 31); Hornung (*Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 411) read “die Gestalt (?) der Geburt Res schauen”. For the second Vth Division group, Hornung read “ohne das die Bau die <<Geheime>> kennen...” (*Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 374). A reading *m33 ırw* is possible (for three birds as *m3w*, see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936] 24; de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; for the skin sign as *i* compare the discussion of the interchange of the skin sign with three-pronged plant signs in writing the value *k*--see above, text note *d* to the annotation to the upper right scene on the first side of the shrine) in the second example of the group, but does not fit the Nut scene label very well. The *w* would also be written only in the P version of the 6th Division occurrence of the group. A better solution for both is a reading *b3w imyw*; for the first example, the label would read “the *b3s* which are in the book...,” appropriate to a label. For the second example, the reading *b3.w imy.w* gives “assuming an unknown form--it is the cult image of the birth-form of Re--it is the *b3s* among whom is the birth-form of Re--it is the two mounds which are in the Dat.” Orthographically, the skin sign is for *imy*. The animal skin F 27 has the value *im* in de Buck. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 16, which is a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *hn*-sign for *imy* in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 54j; vol. 4, p. 124f; vol. 5, pp. 339b, 364e, and 367c; etc., originating in a “monogrammic” writing of *m-hnw* (see W. R. Faulkner, *JEA* 67 [1981] 173, and see already P. le Page Renouf, *ZÄS* 12 [1874] 102). This use of the skin sign for *imy* is the origin of the flesh sign F 51 used for the preposition *m* several times in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*. The grasshopper has the value *w* in all but the P version in the 6th Division, where the grasshopper is for *y* (from the mouth for *i*) and the bird is for *w*. The suggested bird following *b3w*, in the place of the skin sign, in the P version of the second occurrence in the Vth Division (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 61, l. 5) also

enigmatic name of the two felines as *mīwy*. The lower feline is a lion, the upper a cat, suggesting the two natures of the solar eye, benevolent and inimical.³³⁵ The names are spelled in the same manner, probably an intentional allusion to the phonetic similarity between *mīw*, ⲙⲓⲱ, “cat,” and *m3ī*, ⲙⲟⲩⲓ, “lion.”³³⁶

An alternative reading of the names would see the grasshopper as a substitution for the mouth *r*, deriving the value *t* from the use of the mouth-*r* for *t* through an hieratic confusion. In this way, the two names *mīwy* could be read as *mī(w)ty*, “cat-shaped one.”
names of the standing beings:³³⁷

Tp Hr, “head of Horus”

Hr Hr, “face of Horus”

suggests a writing of *īmy.w*. For the mouth-*r* as *w*, from which this value for the grasshopper derives, see chapter 4, n. 23.

³³⁵H. Te Velde, “The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut,” in M. Heerma Van Vos, et al., eds., *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982) pp. 127-37, Ph. Derchain, *Elkab* vol. 1 *Les monuments Religieux à l’entrée de l’ouady Hellal* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1971); *idem*, “La lionne ambiguë,” in L. Delvaux and E. Warmenbol, eds., *Les divins chats d’Égypte: un air subtil, un dangereux parfum* (Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1991) pp. 85-91; U. Verhoeven and Ph. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque, ein Text aus der <<Miutritual>> des Pap. Berlin 3653* (*Rites Égyptiens* 5; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1985); H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (*Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Band 59, 1. und 2. Abhandlung*; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1917); W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge (der Papyrus der Tierfabeln-“Kufi”) nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strasbourg: R. Schultz and Co., 1917). The form of the sun *mīw.ty* can represent a guardian of the damned from whom the punished can never escape (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 48, ll. 5-7; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 194 and 235).

³³⁶See J. Yoyotte, “Des lions et des chats, contribution à la prosopographie de l’époque libyenne,” *RdE* 39 (1988) 155-78 (especially pp. 156-8).

³³⁷Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, p. 37 n. 1 read: *tp-Hr*, *hr-Hr*, *wsrt-Hr*, *īmw(?)*-*Hr*, ...*īry-Hr*; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) read *tp-Hr*, *hr-Hr*, *wsr.t-Hr*, *īmw-Hr*, *īw.ty-rh*.

Wsr.t Hr, “throat of Horus”

H3.t Hr, “body/corpse of Horus”³³⁸

ỉwtj rh, “unknown.”³³⁹

ỉwtj rh, “unknown.”

The feet of the first two entities from the left disappear below the groundline, suggesting that the bodies are to be seen as emerging from the earth, parallel to the rising beings immediately to the right of this scene.³⁴⁰ This differentiation of the beings is carried over to the accompanying captions--the names of the deities whose feet lie below the groundline are oriented to the right; the names of those standing atop the groundline are oriented to the left. Below these mummiform entities is a horizontal strip, bounded above and below by double lines. Within this strip there undulates the body of a snake; a disk sits atop its body below each of the streams of light poring down from the disks below the disembodied heads. This strip with serpent and disks recurs in the middle scene of the lower register. As a rough parallel one may cite the figures of the forms of Re as depicted in the Taharqa edifice at Karnak.³⁴¹ There the forms of the sun stand atop a strip bounded above and below by double horizontal lines. Within this strip, below each form of Re, is a sun disk.

³³⁸cf. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 55.

³³⁹Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 32.

³⁴⁰The lower portions of the cat and the line in the upper and lower middle sections also disappear below the groundline.

³⁴¹R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (*Brown Egyptological Studies* 8; Providence: Brown University Press; London: Lund Humphries, 1979) pls. 12 and 14-15.

annotation:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

tp.w=sn^a

“These gods are in this fashion,
and their heads.”

^a Hornung, p. 32, reads: “So sind diese Götter beschaffen (und?) ihre Köpfe...;” he assumes that this annotation is incomplete.

This scene corresponds to the scene of four headless corpses in the fifth scene of the second register in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁴² The accompanying text there states:

R' dd=fr qrr.t tn

i dddy.w iwti.w tp.w=sn hry.w-ib db3.wt=sn

dgg m n3wt=sn ...

imy.w-ht Hr D3.t

idd tp=sn m ir.t=f

i mtn wi p(=i) hr=tn

ir=i n=tn wd-mdw

shd=i tn m-hnt qrr.t st3y.w...

Re speaks to this cavern:

Oh those relating to the (solar) pupil, without their heads,

who are in the midst of their sarcophagi,

who see with their *n3.wt* (?) ...

those who are in the following of the Datan Horus,

whose heads are placed in his eye;

oh look you, I am passing by you,

³⁴²Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 131, ll. 5-9; see also P. Barguet, “Le livre des cavernes et la reconstitution du corps divin,” *RdE* 28 (1976) 36.

giving you instructions,
illuminating you within the cavern of the
mysterious ones...

The first entity in the Book of Caverns parallel has the name *tpy*, “he of the head,” similar to the name of the first entity on the shrine: *tp-Hr*, “head of Horus.” As depicted on the shrine, Re illumines these temporarily headless beings. As they receive their heads in the 6th Division,³⁴³ so does Re take up his “mysterious head” in the introduction to the 6th Division:³⁴⁴

³⁴³In the first scene in the upper register of the 10th Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 61), Re addresses two groups of four entities, who haul on the bowwarps and stern ropes of a cosmic vessel. To the southern deities, Re says: *šsp n=tn tp.w=tn ntr.w*, “receive to yourselves your heads, oh gods” (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 332-3); to the northern gods he likewise says: *tp.w=tn n=tn ntr.w*, “may your heads belong to you, oh gods” (*ibid.* p. 335). As Hornung (*ibid.* vol. 2, pp. 226-7) notes, the deities as depicted in the tombs of Sety I and Ramesses VI have no heads, only the respective Egyptian crowns and uraei. This may be a reference to the return of heads to entities near the end of the sun’s subterranean journey.

³⁴⁴Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 115 l. 6; and compare Khepri later in the 6th Division as *ts-tp*, “attached of head” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 144, l. 6). Similarly, in a text accompanying the final, 12th gate of the Book of Gates referring to Atum, Khepri, and two tall staves, each crowned by a human head:

ḥꜥ=sn ḥr tp=sn
ḥpr=sn ḥr m3w.t=sn (so Seti I; Osireion has *wnn=sn*; Ramesses VI has
ḥpr.w=sn)
ḥꜥ tp=sn r sbḥ.t tn

They are concerned with their head(s),
they becoming manifest upon their staves,
their heads standing at this gate.

(Reading *ḥꜥ ḥr* as “s’occuper de” [Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, pp. 70-71, no. 77.0725], rather than Hornung’s [*Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 287] “Sie stehen auf ihnen.”) According to Hornung, *ibid.*, “mit den “Köpfen” ist wohl die bekrönung der Stäbe gemeint.” In the light of the statements in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, the head of Re is probably also intended (the staves are named *Hpr*, “Khepti,” and *itm* [*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 405]).

iw h3.t=i tp=i m tph.t=s ššp=i tp=i št3y

My corpse and my head are in her cavern, and I shall receive my
mysterious head.

The concern with reattaching the head is further manifested in the address of the solar deity to Anubis in the text preceeding the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns; there Anubis, as one who “ties on the head” (*ts tp*) of various divinities, is requested to tie on the head (*ts=k tp*) of the king.³⁴⁵ This cavern of the return of heads travelling with the sun to their headless mummies is perhaps the origin of $\overline{\text{N}}\Delta\text{P}\times\text{W}\text{N}\overline{\text{M}}\Pi\text{T}\text{O}\Pi\text{O}\text{C}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{K}\epsilon\Phi\Delta\lambda\text{H}$, “the archons of the place of the head,” in the *Pistis Sophia*.³⁴⁶ The heads are said to be placed in the eye of Horus of the Netherworld, and they are called *ddy.w* / *dfdy.w*, “those relating to the (solar) pupil.” This explains the presence of the cat in the scene on the shrine--the cat is the eye of the sun, the pupil to whom the heads of these beings belong. These headless entities are among the blessed in the Netherworld because their heads are off mingling with the eye of the sun.³⁴⁷ When the solar deity leaves the Netherworld to reappear in the world of mortals, their heads are returned to

³⁴⁵Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 90, l. 9; pl. 91, ll. 2-5.

³⁴⁶C. Schmidt and V. Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia* (*Nag Hammadi Studies* 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) p. 333, ll. 4-5. For this and the following parallels with the *Pistis Sophia*, note the parallelism between that Gnostic work and the demotic Myth of the Solar Eye--see F. Lexa, “La légende gnostique sur Pistis Sophia et le mythe ancien égyptien sur l’oeil de Rê,” *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933) 106-116. On the debt of the *Pistis Sophia* to earlier Egyptian religious concepts, see L. Kákosy, “Survivals of Ancient Egypt,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989) pp. 275-6; *idem*, “Tempel und Mysterien,” in R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz, eds., *Ägyptische Tempel-Struktur, Funktion und Programm* (Äg. Ab. 1994; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1994) pp. 172-173. Zandee, in *Death as an Enemy*, in general took pains to deny an ancient Egyptian background for the Coptic terms and concepts which he discussed, and the topic of the Coptic and gnostic debt to the ancient religious beliefs of Egypt remains only cursorily investigated.

³⁴⁷On the head as a symbol of the link between God and man, see B.H. Stricker, “The Enemies of Re I: the Doctrine of Asceticism,” *DE* 23 (1992) 57.

their bodies. In the third register of the 3rd Hour of the Amduat, the word of the solar deity returns their heads to the Netherworld inhabitants:

iw ntr pn 3 wd=f n=sn mdw.w

nh=sn dwi=f n=sn

wd=f n=sn mw=sn

šsp=sn tp.w=sn m t3w tp-r3=f

This great god issues orders to them--

when he calls to them they live;

he commends their water to them--

by the breath of his mouth do they receive their heads.³⁴⁸

The breath of the divine mouth can be the light of the sun,³⁴⁹ which flaming breath the second shrine shows pouring into the necks of the headless mummies. The scene on the Tutankhamun shrine could serve as an illustration to the description of the return of heads to the bodies of the blessed dead in the 3rd Hour of the Amduat. In the first scene of the upper register in the 10th Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 61), the command of

³⁴⁸Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53, ll. 6-8; vol. 2, p. 71 text n. 1. In connection with this, compare the title of chapter 532 of the Coffin Texts (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 126a): *r3 n rdi.t tp n N n=f*, "speech for giving the head of N to him" (probably the actual head of the deceased, not a funerary mask [as J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1961) p. 101 n. 5]). The head of Osiris, severed during the dismemberment by Seth, was perhaps solarized (for the severed head, see Vandier, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, pp. 100-1). The head of Osiris appears at the end of the lowest register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 133, 7; vol. 2, p. 139 [no. 555]). The association of water and the breath of the solar deity is perhaps another expression of the concept of fire as a water (compare the association of the names of the goddesses *nsy.t* and *mw.yt* above, and fire as water in the *nini*-greeting, discussed below in connection with the lower right section of the second side of the shrine).

³⁴⁹See above, n. 292.

Re gives their heads to entities depicted with uraei and crowns where their missing heads should be.³⁵⁰

Thus in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns and on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, the first headless being can be called *tpy*, “he of the head” in the Book of Caverns,” *tp-Hr*, “head of Horus” on the shrine. He possesses a head that is about to be rejoined to his body at the close of the Datian day. In a scene from the papyrus of Bakenmut, the solar disk emerges from the two hills of the horizon, and the head of the deity, the sun disk of Re-Osiris, emerges from between two headless bodies, Osiris as the two hills of the horizon.³⁵¹ There is an explicit statement that the fate of the head of the deceased is different from that of the corpse in a text on the demotic mummy board of a woman, BM 35464, ll. 10-11.³⁵²

³⁵⁰Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 332: *šsp n=tn tp.w=tn ntr.w*, “take to yourselves your heads, oh gods” (to deities wearing Upper Egyptian crowns); p. 335: *tp.w=tn n=tn ntr.w*, “your heads be to you, oh gods” (to deities wearing Lower Egyptian crowns).

³⁵¹For headlessness and the west, see W. Westendorf, “Horizont und Sonnenscheibe,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 397-8 n. 11. For a brief comment on the scene from the papyrus of Heruben, see also K. Myśliwiec, “A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques “*hr*” et “*tp*,” *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 98.

³⁵²G. Vittmann, “Ein neuer religiöser demotischer Text,” *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 81-3. The concept of the fate of the head as separate from that of the body, for at least a portion of the Datian day, compare also text T 20 in the tomb of Basa (TT 389):

sb3=k m p.t b3(=k) tp t3
Your star be in heaven, (your) *ba* upon the earth.

(Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa* p. 63 and n. b). This text appears to refer to the head as a star (see nn. 1806-1809 in chapter 6). Gilded mummified heads may allude to a separate, solar/stellar destiny for the head (F. Dunand, “Les <<têtes dorées>> de la nécropole de Douch,” *BSFE* 93 [March 1982] 26-46; T. Zimmer, “La moyenne Égypte: méthodes d’investigation bibliographiques et priorités,” *BSFE* 96 [March, 1983] 29-30 and n. 18 pp. 32-3; F. Dunand, *et al.*, *Douch* vol. 1 *la nécropole* [DFIFAO 26; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1992] pp. 235-6, p. 248).

šp=w t3y=t he.t r-ḥry p.t
p3y=t tp r ḥ.t-qnbe

May your corpse be received above in heaven,
 and your head in the council chamber.

This demotic text expresses a variant of the desire that the body be to the earth, and the soul to heaven. In the seventh hour of the Amduat this is expressed as:³⁵³

nttn ḥ.w imy.w t3
tn r=tn n=i
sb3.w=tn n imy p.t

You are the standing ones, those who are in the earth;
 you belong to me,
 while your stars belong to the one who is in heaven...

The stars atop the heads of the Amduat deities (*cf.* chapter 5, p. 416; chapter 4, p. 244 and n. 26; and chapter 7), should like their souls go to heaven. In a late version of a text of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the deities at whose fingertips their stellar attributes are shown are said to have:³⁵⁴

itn m ḥr=sn
 disk(s) as their face(s)

Such disk-headed beings are depicted in the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. An identification of the heads of the blessed dead with stellar disks, and an equation of these disk-heads with the soul would have resulted in the desire that the head separate from the chthonic corpse and join the voyage of the sun. Heads and stars

³⁵³Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 129, ll. 4-5.

³⁵⁴Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 10 n. 1; for disks atop heads and as heads, see the discussions of the stellar *nb.w d3.t* in chapters 5 and 7.

are associated in the 4th Hour of the Amduat (with disks atop the heads); and in the papyrus of Bakenmut, *tp.w* š3.w, “numerous heads,” and *sb3.w wr.w*, “great stars,” mingle, apparently shining in the sky, like the head of the sun rising in the horizon between the headless Osiris-mummies to the left at the end of the papyrus.³⁵⁵

Osiris himself can be headless, in the form of the Graeco-Roman deity *Akephalos*, not simply as a result of his dismemberment at the hands of Seth; this headless form of Osiris was a magically powerful, solar deity.³⁵⁶ In a 25th Dynasty amuletic text, this deity is:³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 89; Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20, pp. 163-8; for more on disks atop the heads of stellar beings, see the discussion in the chapter on the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

³⁵⁶See A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty,” *OMRO* 56 (1975) 20-28 pp. 25-6; Y. Koenig, “Un revenant inconvenient? (Papyrus Deir El-Medineh 37),” *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 103-19. R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993) p. 168 n. 779 suggests that “textual references to the practice (beheading) are uniformly negative, contra the recent suggestions of [G.R.H.] Wright, “The Egyptian Sparagmos,” *MDAIK* 35 (1979) 353.” The solar *Akephalos* is an exception, however, as are the references to the heads of the blessed dead accompanying the sun in the Book of Caverns. In discussing the deity *Akephalos* of the Graeco-Roman magical gems, A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964) pp. 42-49, do not appear to be aware of the Egyptian origins or characteristics of the headless deity.

³⁵⁷Klasens, *OMRO* 56 (1975) plate (transcription on p. 24, fig. 1); he discusses the amuletic text passage and the deity *Akephalos* on pp. 25-6, concluding that he is “a solar deity.” Klasens suggests that the reference to “the headless one” (*p3 iwti tp=f*) in P. Salt 825 is not a text “without a beginning” (so Derchain), but is rather a reference to *Akephalos*. For the “roaring” of *Akephalos* (*ibid.* p. 26), note that this is not so much the “sun god as a lion” (so Klasens), but rather a reference to the noise of creation at the eastern horizon (on cackling and creation, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris Ei, Zwei Ägyptologische Studien zu Diodorus Siculus I 27, 4-5* [*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum* 4; Uppsala, 1970] pp. 76-87; in *CT I 219f* = Spell 49, there is *bgw/b3g* š3 in the eastern horizon, “a great cry;” Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.1381 [=CT IV 364a and 379b, a plaintive voice at the eastern horizon]; Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 94, note to text 16, §C, l. 18).

ntf t3 h3.t iwt.t tp p3 s h iwti hr
 ntf k3 pn ' iwn p3 shn shn gr r nhh
 p3 tkm n hrw nb p3 dw3 wr

He is the headless body, the mummy without face;
 he is the color-changing bull, the commander commanding eternal silence,
 the tkm of every day, the great Dawn

This is the mighty eastern giant, his Osirian part as *Akephalos*, his solar part as the Buchis bull, the tkm-form of the sun at the horizon.³⁵⁸ But there was also a desire that the head be knitted onto the body in the Netherworld.³⁵⁹ In the final text to the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, Khepri is termed ts-tp, "attached of head."³⁶⁰ *Akephalos* was not powerful without his head, but because of what his headlessness implied--his head was with the sun, and was the sun.³⁶¹

³⁵⁸For pn ' iwn there may be a comparison with the changing colors of the heavenly cow (see L. Motte, "La vache multicolore et les trois pierres de la régénération," *Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte* [1989] pp. 147-9 [§4.3]). For tkm: see Klasens, *OMRO* 56 (1975) 27; U. Köhler, *Das Imiut* (*GOF* IV vol. 4; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) pp. 427-8 n. 2; see also the discussion of this deity in chapter 4, pp. 280-281; chapter 7, pp. 661-663.

³⁵⁹See M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (*Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum* 3; London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1987) p. 123. For Stricker, headlessness can be a representation of formlessness, and the embryo, a symbol of rebirth (B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 5 [*MVEOL* 26; Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1989] pp. 672-85; *idem*, *DE* 23 [1992] 45 ff., p. 76).

³⁶⁰Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 144, l. 6.

³⁶¹For the light shining into the open neck/chest areas of the mummiform beings, compare the text in W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und griechische Eigennamen aus Mumientiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*Demotische Studien* 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901) p. 4, no. I 7, referring to the corpse feeding with its chest (šnb.t). This suggests a further association of šnb.t with the mouth, for which one should compare the association of r3, d3d3, and šnb.t as sources of the voice (see M. Smith, "An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 1 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 1)," *Enchoria* 15 [1987] 72 n. d to column I, l. 2, and n. 29 p. 72).

The heads before the headless mummies on the second shrine of Tutankhamun are connected by light to disks atop the back of the serpent. This representation recalls Amduat and Book of Gates scenes of disks and heads atop the back of Apep, emerging from the coils of the serpent. The heads emerge and rise up to rejoin the headless corpses. The position of the disks near the feet, and of the heads in the area of the feet in the parallel scene on the papyrus of Heruben recalls a text from the sixth and seventh scenes in the second register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, wherein the guardians of the *rkhyt*, “the burning ones,” in the east are referred to as:³⁶²

s33.tyw n nty(w) tp(.w)=s(n) m kkw rd.wy=sn

guardians of those whose heads are in the darkness of their feet

Iconographically, the “fat” heads of the beings resemble the head of the form of Re *snkw-hr*, “dark of face,” in the Litany of Re, possibly a reference to the swathed face of the mummy.³⁶³

upper right (plate 10, figure A):

names:³⁶⁴

The serpents: each is named *Mhn*.

The names of the rising entities are:

³⁶²Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 28, ll. 4-5. Piankoff suggested (p. 53 and n. 5) that this portion of the text be viewed as a copying error for an original such as *tp=s m kkw rd.wy=s m kkw*, citing Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 80, l. 2, there a description of the *št3y.t* of Nut.

³⁶³Hornung, *Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 117 and n. 172 (form no. 62).

³⁶⁴Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 32 did not read these names, concluding (n. 15) that they “sind zum grossen Teil unklar.” Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, p. 37 n. 2 read: “... *nhp-h3t-R*.”

Mḥny, “he of Meḥen”

The first *s3*-bird in this name substitutes for the *m*-owl, and has the value *m*. The second *s3*-bird in the name also substitutes for the owl-*m*, but has the value *n*, through exploitation of the frequent *m* and *n* confusion. The last of the twelve bearers of the *Mḥn*-serpant in the middle register of the 11th Hour of the Amduat is called *mḥny*, “he of Meḥen.”³⁶⁵ Here the first of six beings atop *Mḥn*-serpents has the name “he relating to Mehen.”

Ms-n-ḥ3.wt, “(re)born of corpse”

The fish following the *s3*-bird for *m* at the beginning of the name stands for *s*, a value which occurs in other New Kingdom enigmatic texts.³⁶⁶


Ms-n-ꜥ.wt, “(re)born of members”

The arm following *ms* has the value *n*;³⁶⁷ the ꜥ, and *s3*-bird for *w*, of ꜥ.wt have been transposed, apparently for graphic reasons. The names of this and the preceding entity refer to their birth out of the coils of Mehen. In the context of rising up to new life, they recall the entity *msw.t*, “birth,” in the company of a being ꜥḥꜥ, “rising up,” in the first scene of the second register in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 187 (no. 797), vol. 2, p. 179.

³⁶⁶Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 414; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*.

³⁶⁷Here the arm D 36 substituting for the arm D 41, which elsewhere has the value *n* in cryptography (*cf.* Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 43).

³⁶⁸Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 148 no. 18. The group  might at first suggests the term ꜥꜥ.w, “ejaculate” (see chapter 5, nn. 203-205), but the snake does not appear to be used for this term. A reading of the name as *ms-n-ḥꜥ.wt* would be tempting, although the value *ḥ* which Drioton proposed for the bird elsewhere on the

Wttw, “begotten one”

The double strokes below the hobble-*t* may be a dual writing substituting for the correct doubled hobble-*t*. More likely, *ty* writes *tt* through exploiting the not uncommon confusion of *tt* and *ty* in hieratic³⁶⁹ (this confusion is again exploited in the enigmatic orthography of the divine name *hnty*, “the one of the forehall,” on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI--see pl. 21, l. 10, bottom). For this name, one may compare the entities *wttw* and *wtt* in the Book of the Day and the Night.³⁷⁰ Following names beginning with *ms*, “born of,” the divine name “begotten one” is appropriate here. The second name in this group is *Ms-n-h3.wt*, “(re)born of corpse;” for a similar use of *wtt*, one may compare the designation of Aker in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk as *wtt-h3.wt*.³⁷¹

Nmtw.ty, “one related to going about”

This is a nisbe of *nmt.wt*, “one relating to going about.”³⁷² The term is here parallel to *ms* and *nhp*, and should refer to the soon to be attained movement of the

second shrine, and in cryptography from Dra Abu-n-Naga, does not actually appear here, or elsewhere in the enigmatic Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (see above, p. 126).

³⁶⁹Compare the orthographies of *hnty* as though it were *hntt* (*Wb.* III 304).

³⁷⁰Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 27 and 30.

³⁷¹Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. 5, l. 7.

³⁷²The use of *y* to write expected *w* is found elsewhere in the corpus here treated (ie. *pthy* in the tomb of Ramesses VI); on the interchange of *-y/-w/-ty* endings, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172. If the ending were understood as an haplography, one could suggest *nm.ty*, “he belonging to the slaughtering place” (for examples of which see Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, p. 41), but this does not fit the context of the other names. This may be behind the apparently garbled enigmatic

rejuvenated dead and the newborn sun.³⁷³ The association here of names containing *nmtwt* and *nhp* recalls a portion of the “Abbreviated Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing” published by M. Smith:³⁷⁴

p ʿy=k m rst3w m hrw m s3t ʾr r ʿ nby

nmt=k r t3 m hr hrw

You will fly up from Rosetau by day, in exultation every day;
you will go about on earth daily.

Nhp-h3.t, “leaping of corpse”

The disk determinative following the word *h3.t* could be read as *R ʿ*, although this would not fit well into the name of the being. A substitution of a circular sign for the flesh sign (Gardiner F 51) is conceivable;³⁷⁵ the best explanation of the circular sign at the end of the name *nhp-h3.t* is, perhaps, to see in it a solar determinative to the entire name. The action *nhp* as performed by the corpses of the blessed dead is instigated by Re, and is performed for Re.

names in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 148, no. 17, found with deities *ʿh ʿy* and *mswt*, who recall the poses and names of entities depicted here. The opposite may occur in the writing *ʾtnw* for *ʾtny* in l. 1 of the first section in the middle register of the main (left) portion of the Ramesses VI enigmatic ceiling (see the following chapter). See also chapter 5, n. 131.

³⁷³For the dead as “goers about” compare the term *nmt.yw* for ghosts (*Wb.* II 271, 20-21). For the sun, compare the epitheta *pd-nmt.wt* and *ʿp-nmt.wt* (see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 113 n. 133).

³⁷⁴Smith, *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 69 and n. *d* to line I, 10 (p. 76).

³⁷⁵*Cf.* the writing of *ʾwʿf* = *ʾwʿf Wsir*, “flesh of Osiris” (Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936] 24), where a flesh sign F 51 appears to represent the circular pustule, or perhaps the pupil for the eye as a faulty enigmatic writing of the name of Osiris.

The *ba*'s of the inhabitants of the Netherworld are often said to rise up and join the following of the sun.³⁷⁶ *Nhp* refers to an ascension out of the *Dat*, in P. Vienna 3865, 1:³⁷⁷

mî m htp Wsîr Wn-nfr

hkn=k n pr îm=k

nhp=k m Dw3.t=k

bs=k m db3.t=k hr hrw s3=k

Come in peace, oh Osiris Onnophris,

may you rejoice over him who comes forth from you (Nile),

may you spring forth from your *Dat*,

and may you emerge from your sarcophagus, at the voice of your son !

According to Herbin, "l'emploi du verbe *nhp* ... pour exprimer la sortie d'Osiris lors de sa Douat est inattendu;" he suggests that, as the Nile can be said to *nhp* at the time of the Inundation, this is another reference, along with the *pr îm=k*, as well as the use of the verb *bsî*, to Osiris as a "dieu fécondateur." The verbs *nhp* and *bsî* could well suggest the welling up of the waters of the Inundation. Primarily, however, *nhp* and *bsî*

³⁷⁶The sun can *snhp* the denizens of the Netherworld, awakening them and causing them to rise up (*R' hns.n=f D3.t hrw nb r snhp 3h.w*: Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, p. 473 [text A 6, i ll. 3-4]). In the enigmatic treatise on the second shrine of Tutankhamun the beings are said to arise (𓂏) at the call of Re; one of the mummiform entities is named *nhp-h3.t*. This rising even extends to corpses rising and joining their *bas* (compare the corpses of the ennead of the west ascending to their *bas*: *h3.wt=sn 'r=sn n=sn*, "their corpses ascend to them" [Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 52, l. 5]). This leaping up could also allude to a specific festive gesture. According to Assmann: "*ffft*, eigentlich "hüpfen", bezeichnet in Hymnen des NR gern die freudige Bewegung des vom Sonnengott aus dem Todesschlaf erweckten Lebens;" this "Freudensprünge" can designate "den gestischen Aspekt des Festjubels" (Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 249; see p. 126 [text 89], where *n3 qrr.tyw hr ffft*, "the cavern dwellers leap"). *Nhp* here could be interpreted as synonymous with this *ffft*.

³⁷⁷F.-R. Herbin, "Une liturgie des rites décadaires de Djemê, Papyrus Vienne 3865," *RdE* 35 (1984) pp. 107, 109-10, 124, pl. 9.

in P. Vienna 3865, 1 refer to Osiris rising up from his Dat and his sarcophagus. In general, *bsi* "implique toujours, comme me suggère l'image du poisson incliné vers le haut, une idée d'ascension d'un monde inférieur à un monde supérieur."³⁷⁸ "Emergence" is the primary meaning of *bsi* in P. Vienna 3865, 1--a movement from the Netherworld to the world of the living.³⁷⁹ *Nhp* is there used in parallel with *bsi*, and *nhp* appears also to have been employed in tomb of Ramesses IX to describe a similar "emergence."³⁸⁰ Initially this *nhp* is the rising up from death caused by the triumph of the sun over the dark forces of Apep and his serpent horde; here the entities *nhp n*, "leap up to" the sun, while in the Book of Gates they somewhat less poetically *ḥꜥ n Rꜥ*, "stand up for Re."³⁸¹ *Nhp* is resurrection out of the subterranean burial, and *nmt* is the freedom of movement of the risen soul on earth.

This scene is paralleled by figures in the bottom register of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 31), and by the penultimate scene in the same work (pl. 36).

³⁷⁸Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak* ... (OLA 32; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1989) pp. 147-202 (quotation from p. 202). On *bsi* and sunrise, see also M. Malaise, "Bes et les Croyances solaires," in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990) pp. 691-2.

³⁷⁹Compare the name of the portal at the end of the eleventh hour of the Book of Gates is *št3.t bsw*, "she who is secret of emergence" (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 373; vol. 2, p. 265).

³⁸⁰For *nhp* parallel to *bsi*, having a meaning of passing from one realm of existence to another, compare J.-C. Goyon, "Textes mythologiques I. <le livre de protéger la barque du dieu>," *Kêmi* 19 (1969) 45 ll. 7-10. There, the defeated Seth and his henchmen are ordered to *hp*, "jump," because they have been defeated and decapitated. In p. 47 ll. 1-2, they are told to *h3 ir=k*, "begone." This suggests a reading "pass away" or "pass on" for *hp*.

³⁸¹On *ḥꜥ n Rꜥ* in the Book of Gates, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 227 n. 1. For more on *nhp*, see the discussion of the verb in chapter 5.

annotation:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
mhn.w=sn s3w h3.wt=sn hrr.wt nt itm/R^c-(i)tm
dwt=f n b3.w=sn
sn r=sn p=sn

These gods are in this fashion:

Their Mehen snakes which guard their corpses are the Hereret snakes of
Atum/Re-Atum.

When (nom.) he calls to their bas,
they approach.³⁸²

This text, and the names discussed below, refer to these figures as rising up from the *mhn*-serpents. The blessed dead can be said to be reborn from the coils of the Mehen-snake, and from the fiery breath of the serpent as well.³⁸³ For this reason fire emanates from the noses of the snakes, for this flaming breath appears to have been expelled through the serpent's nostrils.³⁸⁴ In front of each of the rising, mummiform

³⁸²Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) p. 32, read: "So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Ihre Mehen-Schlangen hüten ihre Körper, die Schlangen (*hrrt*) des Atum (?). Wenn er ihren Ba's zuruft, sind sie es, die aufsteigen."

³⁸³See Piccione, *JARCE* 27 (1990) 43-52, noting especially PT §541 (chapter 332; cited *ibid.* p. 48):

dd mdw N pw nw pr m mhn
pr.n N m hh=f inny

Recitation: It is this N who has come forth from Mehen,
from his fiery blasting breath did N come forth

On pp. 49-50, Piccione lists examples of resurrection from serpents in the Netherworld Books. The examples from the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity provide explicit evidence of resurrection from the coils of Mehen.

³⁸⁴G. Jéquier, *Les pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit (Fouilles à Saqqarah; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1933) pl. 26, ll. 697-8:*

beings is a disk shining light onto the foreheads of the mummies. Below each disk are walking legs, pointing down towards a star. One may read this group as $R^c \text{ 'q m d}^3.t$, “Re enters into the Netherworld.”³⁸⁵

middle left (plate 10, figure B):

annotation:

$nn \ n \ ntr.w \ m \ shr \ pn$
 $hd.wt \ R^c \text{ 'q.w m } h^3.wt=sn$
 $hkn=sn \ m^3^3=sn \ b^3=f$
 $tf^a \ dwi=f \ r \ b^3.w=sn$
 $sn \ m \ htw=f$
 $s\check{s}m=sn \ sw \ m \ \check{s}[t^3yt]^b$



These gods are in this fashion,
the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
When they see his *Ba* they rejoice,
he calling to their *ba*'s,
they being in his following,
they conducting him in Sh[etayet].

$iwr \ N.t \ m \ fnd$ $ms \ N.t \ p(w) / m \ msd.ty$
 $sdr \ N.t \ m \ q^3b<.t>=k$ $hms \ N.t \ m \ mh^n=k$

“In the nose is Neith conceived--thusly is Neith born in the nostrils;
as Neith rests in your coils, so Neith dwells in your Mehen-game board.”

(Piccione, *JARCE* 27 [1990] 48, discusses this passage).

³⁸⁵O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text (Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Skrifter, Bind 1, Nr. 2; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940) pp. 48, 50, and 23*, pl. 5; see further the discussion of the prone mummiform figure and the accompanying annotation at the lower right of pl. 10 B (side two, middle, left).*

^a For the particle *tf*, see A. Piankoff, “La particule  ou ,” *BIFAO* 47 (1948) 171-74; Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol 2, p. 102 n. 32. Interestingly, only the *š* of *št3y.t* is written here, whereas in the following annotation, all but the *š* of *št3y.t* is written.

^b Hornung read: “So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Das Licht Res ist in ihre Körper eingetreten, und sie jubeln, wenn sie seinen *Ba* erblicken. Wenn er ihren *Ba*’s zuruft, sind sie hinter seinem *Ba*, sie folgen hinter...”³⁸⁶ Hornung’s proposed **ht b3=f* for cols. 11-13 requires that the plural strokes following the *s3*-bird in col. 12 be otiose, and leaves the end of the text difficult to understand. The verb at the end of this text is *sšm*, “guide, lead,” not *šms*, “follow.” The serpent at the top of the 13th column represents the pronoun *f*, a reference to *Re*. The following signs represent *sšm=sn s(w) m Š[t3y.t]*, “they guiding him in Sh[etayet.]” This understanding of the signs requires the *s3*-bird to represent *s* for the dependent pronoun *sw*, a not unthinkable use of the sign, although an uncommon cryptic orthography of *sw*--the only other enigmatic writing of the dependent pronoun *sw* on this shrine is quite different (pl. 11, l. 8). For the restoration of *Š[t3y.t]* at the end of this annotation, compare the parallel in a portion of the enigmatic texts on the Corridor G Ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 21, ll. 48-50):

...=*sn b3.w=sn ‘q m-ht R ‘sšm sw m Št3.t*.
 their [...], their *ba*’s entering after *Re*,
 they guiding him in *Shetat*.

A close parallel for much of the annotation of pl. 10. figure B appears in the middle register of the Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling (pl. 22, fig. C, ll. 2-8):

³⁸⁶Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 32.

nn n ntr.w m sh(r) pn

hḏw.t R' qw m h3.wt=sn

b3.w=sn p=sn htw=f

sšm=sn sw m Št3y.t

These gods are like this,

the light of Re having entered into their corpses.

Their *ba*'s travel, they passing after him,

and conduct him in Shetayet

The lion-headed demons here, for whom no names are given, are the only clear pharaonic representations of the forerunners of the lion-faced archons who sucked the light of the sun from Sophia in the *Pistis Sophia*.³⁸⁷ According to chapter 32 of book 1:

ΔΥΩ ΔC+ΠΕCΟΥΘΕΙ Ε+ΘΟΜ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΖΟ ΜΜΟΥΙ · ΧΕ ΕCΕΘΜΕΚΤ ·
 ΔΥΚΩΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟC ΝΒΙ ΝΕΠΡΟΒΟΛΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ
 ΜΠΔΥΘΔΤΗC · ΔΥΩ +ΝΟ6 Ν6ΟΜ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΖΟ ΜΜΟΥΙ · ΔCΩΜΚ Ν
 ΝΔΥΝΔΜΙC ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΖΟ ΤCΟΦΙΔ · ΔΥΩ ΔCΩΤΤ ΜΠΕCΟΥΘΕΙΝ
 ΔCΟΜΕΚΤ · ΔΥΩ ΤΕCΖΥΛΗ · ΔΥΝΟΧΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΕΧΔΟC ·

And she moved towards the lion-faced light-power, that she might swallow it. But all the material emanations of the self-willed one [Ialdabaoth] surrounded her, and the great lion-faced light-power swallowed the light-powers which were within Sophia. And it purified her light and she swallowed it, and her matter was cast into the Chaos.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁷The lion-headed entities on the Tutankhamun shrine suck in light from the sun; they do not "breathe fire toward it" (so Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 95). For a collection of references to lion-headed beings, see C. De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1951) pp. 371-90. On the faces of the beings, not their bodies, as those of lions, see I.S. Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons, a study in the soteriology of a Gnostic treatise from Nag Hammadi (CGII, 4)* (*Studies in Oriental Religions* 12; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985) pp. 50-51.

³⁸⁸Schmidt and Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, p. 46, ll. 8-13.

The beings on the second shrine of Tutankhamun have lion heads, recalling the fiery light of the sun, but their bodies are clothed, and the pose of their arms is identical to that of an enigmatic orthography of *imn*.³⁸⁹ This combination of a fiery nature (the feline head) and a dark nature (the hidden, cloaked body) suggests the description of the archon Ialdabaoth in the Pistis Sophia, an archon:³⁹⁰

ΕΡΕ ΤΕΥΠΔΩΕ Ο ΝΚΩΖΤ . ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΤΕΥΚΕΠΔΩΕ Ο ΝΚΔΚΕ
whose one half was fire, and whose other half was darkness

The lion-headed entities wear their mane-like hair in a manner identical to that of the goddesses in the lower right section of this side of the shrine. This feminine appearance of the hair pressages a description of certain punishing angels in the Apocalypse of Elijah:³⁹¹

ΕΠΟΙΥΖΩ Ε ΝΤΘΕ ΝΟΥΠΔΡΔΔ[ΛΙC] ... ΕΠΟΥΦΟΥΕ ΒΗΛ ΔΒΔΛ ΝΤΘΕ
ΜΠΦΟΥΕ ΝΝΖΙΔΜΕ
whose faces are like that of a panther, ... and whose hair is flowing like the hair
of women ...

The androgyny which these lion-headed entities exhibit³⁹² is that of the primal beings in creation literature, the creatures who existed before the differentiation of the sexes. For the Egyptians all of creation consisted of pairs; when these pairs are not

³⁸⁹And *ink*, from *inq*, “umfassen u. ä.,” *Wb.* I 100, 19-101, 7--see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 11, 28, and 37 (with n. 1).

³⁹⁰*ibid.*, p. 46 (Book I chapter 18, ll. 14-7).

³⁹¹G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899) §4, 18-9, and § 5, 1-2.

³⁹²On the androgyny of Ialdabaoth and his progyny, see Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons*, pp. 48-50.

differentiated, they mirror the time of chaos before creation. These androgynous, feline-headed demons ingesting the light of the sun assist the sun in his return to primal matter, a state of chaos. The scene on the Tutankhamun shrine is another statement of the concept of rebirth through the return to primal chaos such as that depicted in the 12th Hour of the Amduat, wherein the bark of the sun passes through Apep. The arms of the entities are hidden within their clothing, concealing their hands which hold the mysteries. This pose is known for priests carrying sacred objects in later Isiac and Osirian ritual.³⁹³

In front of each of the lion-headed beings is an enigmatic annotation, consisting of a bark atop walking legs over a land sign. This group also appears in front of each of the lion-headed beings in the following section of the second side (pl. 11), with the addition of the bent arm following the land sign in each of the annotations. Presumably the bark is a reference to the bark of the sun, and the land sign refers to the Netherworld as *ḥ*, "the earth" (*cf. Wb. V* 213, 8-10). The walking legs symbolize the progress of the bark of the sun through the Netherworld; if one connects the bent arm of the second version of the annotation with a verb of motion, a reading *n* *ḥ*, "to travel" (*Wb. II* 206, 17-18) is possible,³⁹⁴ a word appropriate both to travel on water and on land, and particularly appropriate to the nocturnal progress of the sun which occurs both on water and on the sandbanks of Apep, all within the "earth." The group of bent arm and walking legs which appears in front of each of the female entities in pl. 13 B is also most

³⁹³See P.W. Van der Horst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987) p. 58 n. 19 to fragment 10.

³⁹⁴Reading the land sign as *n*, and the bent arm as *ḥ(w)y*, through the old use of that sign to write the dual of *ḥ*, "arm," for which see K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt and Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1935-62) vol. 2, p. 153; *idem*, *Das ägyptische Verbum in Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899-1902) vol. 1, p. 306; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1, §289.

likely to be read as *nꜥy*, “travelling,” there a reference to the progress of the disk in front of the face of each of the goddesses. The apparent insertion of the land sign within the two elements used to write this verb in the second version of the annotation (pl. 11) may then be taken to indicate the eternal cycle of the sun’s journey above and below the earth. A possible reading of the groups in pls. 10 and 11 is:

wiꜥ nꜥ tꜥ
The bark travels the earth³⁹⁵

the group of signs above the feet of the prone figure at the lower left:

The group of four disks, with four walking legs and a central *ꜥhꜥ*-sign, is a representation of the daily round of the sun.³⁹⁶ The group, and its counterpart in plate 11, appears to be an abbreviated version of the enigmatic representation of the solar journey that appears in the middle of the far right section of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5, fig. A). Below, the inverted sun travels from the western to the eastern horizon. Above, the sun travels the sky; there the legs point in towards each other, perhaps a writing of *ꜥq pr (m) p.t.*, “entering into and going out from

³⁹⁵Alternatively, one could read the walking legs as *sqd*, “to travel,” for which cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 79, l. 8. The bent arm in the second version of the annotation might then represent *t* (cf. Drioton, *ZÄS* 79 [1954] 9; *idem*, *RdE* 1 [1933] 39 [bent arm for *d*]; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 62, ll. 1-3 [bent arm as *d*]), with *tꜥ* a possible writing of *tꜥ.t* for *dꜥ.t*, “Netherworld.”

³⁹⁶Piankoff compared the groups of walking disks to a legged sun disk on a “magic wand” from Thebes (J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum (Egyptian Research Account* 2; London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898); F. Legge, “The Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire,” *PSBA* 28 [1906] 164 and pl. 5 no. 58). Considering the apotropaic duties of the entity, he is perhaps more closely related to the anguiped in the *Schutzbild* in the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

heaven.”³⁹⁷ The central ‘*h*’ represents the mid points of the day and of the night, the apogees of the solar journey.³⁹⁸

middle right (plate 11):

annotation

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

hd.wt R ‘q.w m h3.wt=sn

hkn^a=sn

m33=sn b3=f

st3b=sn sw^c m <š>t3yt^d

‘.wy=sn hr št3.w=sn sšm.w št3 im(yw) D3.t

iw b3 R ‘d(w)l=f n=sn

b3.w=sn sš

These gods are in this fashion,

the light of Re having entered into their corpses.

When they see his *Ba*, they rejoice,

they pulling him in <She>tayet,

their arms bearing their mysteries, the secret images which are in the *Dat*.

The *Ba* of Re calls to them,

when their *bas* have passed by.

^a The circular sign for *k*: The reading of *hkn* here is assured by the exactly parallel beginning of the immediately preceeding annotation (pl. 10 B [side two, middle left]). This is apparently the pupil (based on the lack of internal details and the relative small

³⁹⁷For this abbreviated writing of ‘*q* and *pr* as a bound group, see *Wb.* I 232 top. For ‘*q* and *pr* describing the solar round, compare scenes such as that in Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pl. 89, where the bark of the sun has the label ‘*q nfr* below the prow, and *pr nfr* below the stern.

³⁹⁸For ‘*h*’ as an astronomical term, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 32 n. 2; *idem*, *Das Grab des Basa*, p. 61 n. *a* to T 14. For more on ‘*h*’ and *ir* ‘*h*’ and the sun, see the discussion in chapter 5 (and related aspects in chapter 7).

size of the sign), used for the placenta Aa 1.³⁹⁹ The necessary sound change $h > k$ is attested.⁴⁰⁰

^b Hornung correctly has the first part, parallel to the preceding text; for the rest he has only: “wenn sie....,” and suggests *stnm jmnjt*, “den Westen ablenken.”⁴⁰¹ The feather on its side does not stand for *m*, but rather represents the determinative of *st3*. This is not due to a similarity in the appearances of the hieratic versions of these signs, but rather rests on the suggestive appearance of certain hieroglyphic writings of the *st3*-sign.⁴⁰²

^c The dependent pronoun *sw* is written with the three-pronged *hn*-plant standing for the *sw*-plant (note the exaggeratedly tall and vertical central shoot of the *hn*-plant), and the *s3*-bird representing the quail chick. These are both simple cryptographic substitutions.

³⁹⁹The placenta substitutes for the pupil as a writing of *iri* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, l. 3.

⁴⁰⁰See Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, p. 37, §56, 5; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1, p. 53 (§119). In the Dendara text quoted by H. Brugsch, “Der Tag der Thronbesteigung des dritten Thutmes,” *ZÄS* 12 (1874) 141, no. V, in a poetically composed text consisting of a series of similarly sounding words, *qnḥ* and *hrs* are “rhymed.” For a Ptolemaic example of the placenta for *k*, and notes on “K final en S. provenant d’un *h* égypt.,” see E. Dévaud, “Études de lexicographie égyptienne et copte,” *Kēmi* 2 (1929) 11-12 (Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 1, p. 288). The Roman use of the pupil for *g* in C. De Wit, *Les Inscriptions du temple d’Opet à Karnak* vol. 1 (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* vol. 11; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1958) p. 69 (Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 1, p. 153), in a writing of the name of the god *Gb*, may actually be the use of the pupil for the egg, itself substituting for the duck (see *Wb.* V 164 for this writing of the divine name).

⁴⁰¹Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 32.

⁴⁰²Compare the appearance of the sign in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 4, pl. 223, l. 1. The curl suggests the protruding top of the the feather to the upper left. This matches the direction of the writing in this section of the Tutankhamun shrine.

^d In the preceding middle left annotation (pl. 10 B), *š* of *št3y.t* alone is written, the sign which here is missing from the toponym.

The prone, mummiform entity holds out his hand over an *ḥ* ^c-sign, perhaps a reference to the standstill of the solar bark (see further chapter 7). Above his hand is a group of three signs; top to bottom, they are a solar disk, upside down walking legs, pointing towards the prone figure, and a flat sign with rounded ends. A possible interpretation would see this as referring to an inverted motion of the sun over a land sign, a representation of the astronomical phrase *s3 / šm r t3*, “to go to the earth,” a reference to a star disappearing below the horizon and entering into the Dat:

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Sety I: | <i>s3 r t3</i> | <i>sw mt</i> | <i>sw [...]</i> |
| P. Carlsberg I: | <i>[šm r t3</i> | <i>sw mt]</i> | <i>sw ḥ q m d3.t</i> |

The one going to the earth, he dies and he enters into the Dat.⁴⁰³

The motion is inverted, the *šhd* entry into the Netherworld (see below, chapter 7).

Tying together the raised arm of the prone figure and the *ḥ* ^c-sign, the whole may be read as *ir.t* or *rdi.t* *ḥ* ^cw, “giving position” to the disks. This is the task of Horus-Upon-his-Throne (*Hr hry-ḥndw=f*) in the lowest register of the 7th Hour in the Amduat:⁴⁰⁴

ir.t=f pw m d3.t snhp sb3.w ir.t ḥ ḥ.w wn.wt m d3.t

What he does in the Netherworld is to send up the stars and set the stations of the hours in the Netherworld.

⁴⁰³O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text (Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Skiften, Bind 1, Nr. 2; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940) pp. 48, 50, and 23*, pl. 5; O. Neugebauer and R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 53 (S 6 of the dramatic text = P. Carlsberg I V 35).*

⁴⁰⁴Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 128, ll. 6-7; vol. 2, p. 135.

The prone, mummiform figure with raised arm on the second shrine performs these duties, but is Osiride, and a probable allusion to the Osirian Orion as the orderer of the hours.⁴⁰⁵ The prone, mummiform figures on the second side of the second shrine, awakening Osirises, their arms reaching out towards the disk of Re, are images of Osiris at the time of his union with Re at the eastern horizon, when the soon to be reborn sun passes through the watery hand of Osiris. For a further discussion of the unified Re-Osiris as the great figure with extended arm at the eastern horizon, see below, chapter 6; for inverted entry into the Netherworld, and the setting aright of these inverted entities, see below, chapter 7.

lower left (plate 12):

names:⁴⁰⁶

ỉ ʕ.t, “uraeus”

imn.ty, “One of the hidden chamber” (?)

This is perhaps the same name as that of being number 266, *imn.ty*, of the Book of the Amduat, although a reading of the name as *d3.ty*, parallel to that of the being number 104 of the Amduat, is also defensible.⁴⁰⁷ The following three names refer to the entities by names which mention their arms.

H3m- or *H3b- ʕ*, “bent of arm”

⁴⁰⁵On whom see the references in Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984) 122 n. 65.

⁴⁰⁶Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 29-34, does not read any of the names in the lower register. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, p. 38 n. 3 read: “*imnty*, ..., ..., *imn- ʕ*, *hbs- ʕ*.”

⁴⁰⁷Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 55 and 16 respectively.

There appears to be no parallel for this name.⁴⁰⁸ *H3m-^hH3b-^c* is a sign of respect (*Wb.* III 229, 9 and 231, 3), and could also refer to the concealed, Osiride arms of the mummiform entity.

Hws-^c, “stirring of arm” (?)

There is no parallel for this name. *Hws-^c* appears to mean “stirring” or “active of arm,”⁴⁰⁹ which would be appropriate for an awakening mummy.

M3w-^c, “brightening of arm,” or “whose arm sees”

This name appears as a label to the third adoring entity from the right in the middle left section of the first side of this shrine. This name appears to be parallel to the name of the entity *m3w-^c* in the third scene of the upper register in the 1st Hour of the Amduat.⁴¹⁰ The three birds as a writing of *m3w* are a cryptographic group attested at the Osireion,⁴¹¹ in the writing of *kkw-sm3w* in the lower right enigmatic annotation on side 1 of this shrine, and in the orthography of the name of the goddess *m3wt* in the

⁴⁰⁸The child as *h* is attested in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 36; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 84 n. 25; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24; Drioton, *CdE* 18 (1934) 193. The values *ms* (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*), *s3* (*ibid.*), and *hp* (de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1) are also possible for the sign, but these provide no solutions for the names here, and appear inappropriate as values for a sign which begins two trigrams.

⁴⁰⁹*Wb.* III 249, 4; W.R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1962) p. 186.

⁴¹⁰Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 7, vol. 2 p. 14 (No. 29). Hornung reads “Dessen Arm sieht.”

⁴¹¹de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; cf. also Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24.

lower register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic composition (pl. 24, l. 10 [bottom]).

imn-ꜥ, “hidden of arm”

The first sign is *imn*, as elsewhere on this shrine (pl. 5, 2nd name; pl. 7 B);⁴¹² in the annotation to the central figure on the first side of this shrine (pl. 6, fig. A), the sign has the value *dw3*.

ḥbs-ꜥ, “covered of arm”

The cloth sign as *ḥbs* appears, with the phonetic complement *ḥ*, in the annotation to this scene. The sign also appears alone as *ḥbs* at the left side of the middle register of the main portion of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 22, fig. A).

These final two names refer to the arms of the deities as hidden and covered by their shrouds. There are deities *imn*-ꜥ in the Amduat,⁴¹³ the Book of Gates,⁴¹⁴ and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁴¹⁵ The entity *imn*-ꜥ in the Amduat is a mummified entity; in the same register another mummified being is named *ḥbsw*,

⁴¹²Cf. also Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 8*; Grapow, ZÄS 72 (1936) 26; the sign of the standing man with his arms raised before him can also have the value *imn*--cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, ll. 1-3; de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1.

⁴¹³Upper register of the 9th Hour: Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 157 no. 632, vol. 2, p. 155.

⁴¹⁴Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 71 (middle register of the 3rd Hour [scene 12]) and 224 (middle register of the 6th Hour [scene 38]), vol. 2, p. 90 n. 2.

⁴¹⁵Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 26.

“clothed,”⁴¹⁶ recalling the names of the two mummified beings discussed here. In each name incorporating the word ʕ, “arm,” that word appears in *Normalschrift*.

annotation:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn^a

hd.wt R ʕ hbs(.t) h3.wt=sn^b

dwı=f b3.w=sn (sn haplography) r=sn ʕp=sn m-htw^c

These gods are in this fashion:

it is the light of Re, which clothes their corpses.

When he calls their bas, they travel behind.

^a The plural strokes following *pn* appear to be the plural strokes of *shr* (cf. pl. 13, fig. B, l. 2), slightly misplaced.

^b Hornung (p. 33) reads “So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Das Licht überströmt ihre Körper. Wenn er ihren Ba’s zugerufen hat, dann wandeln sie hinter (ihm).” For “überströmt,” Hornung notes (p. 33 n. 17): “*hzj*, vgl. zum Gebrauch mit direktem Objekt *Urk. IV 1543, 8*. Im folgenden *h3w.t* wohl Dittographie.” Hornung’s translation “überströmt” might suitably describe the depiction of the billowing blankets of light passing over the heads of the mummiform figures, but it does not suit the word *hsl*.⁴¹⁷ The basic meaning of *hsl* is “to approach.” In the passage from the Sphinx Stela of Thutmosis IV, which Hornung cites, *hsl* means “to approach, encroach,” not “to overflow, envelope, etc.”:



hz wı ʕ h3s.t t3 wn.t.n=i hr=s



⁴¹⁶Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 156 no. 625, vol. 2, p. 155; see also above, the discussion of the name *hbsy* in the upper right section of this side of the shrine.

⁴¹⁷*Wb III 159, 4-14* (transitive uses = 7-11).

(circ. *sdm=f*) the sand of the desert, that on which I (once) was,⁴¹⁸
encroaches upon me.

The image of sand overflowing the Sphinx is there, but it is not inherent in the verb *hzi*. If the verb on the Tutankhamun shrine were *hzi*, one would be forced to read *"it is the light of Re which approaches/encroaches upon their corpses." This might yet seem possible, but it can no longer be held out as a good description of the scene. Nor is the verb *hzi* otherwise attested as a description of an action of light. The verb here in question, a plural feminine participle, should describe the depiction, and be an action attested for *hd.wt*.

The word which follows the verb is certainly *h3.wt*, as Hornung recognized. He apparently assumed a dittography of the bird, *t*, and plural strokes. This would give a spelling of *h3.wt* as . This orthography of the word is twice attested on the first side of the second shrine (pl. 7, fig. B; pl. 8). In the four other occurrences of *h3.wt* on this side of the shrine (pl. 9, fig. A; pl. 10, fig. A; pl. 10, fig. B; and pl. 11), the word is written as a *š* followed by two birds, the hobble-*t*, and plural strokes. If the group  is assumed to be misplaced due to the presence of the group of hobble-*t* +

⁴¹⁸According to Erman's study of the Sphinx Stela of Thutmose IV, in A. Erman, *Akademischeschriften* (1880-1928) (*Opuscula* 2; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der deutschen demokratischen Republik, 1986 [reprint of 1904]) 9 [436], "Für die perfektische Relativform  ist die imperfektische  zu

lesen" (followed by C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* [BdE 70; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1976] pp. 143-4 [n.tt]). If, however, rather than correcting the stela, one abides by the orthography, then Harmachis does use the *sdm.n=f* relative form; by means of this he underscores his plight. Once he was indeed atop the *h3s.t*, but it now rolls over him and engulfs him. The implication is that part of the *h3s.t* is now upon (*hr*) the Sphinx. For a deity described as "upon the sand" (*hry š*), compare the epithet of Osiris as *hry š*—see C. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire, autour du temple d'Isis dame des pyramides* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1991) p. 70 and the references cited there.

plural strokes at the end of a word in joining columns, an orthography $\Rightarrow \overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$ is possible for $\text{h}3.\text{wt}$, consistent with the other orthographies of the word $\text{h}3\text{w.t}$ on this side of the shrine.

Rejecting the verb $\text{h}zj$ on the basis of its meaning, and assuming an orthography $\Rightarrow \overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$ for $\text{h}3.\text{wt}$, we are left with the group 𓂏𓂏 between $\text{h}d.\text{wt } R^c$ and $\text{h}3.\text{wt}$. The sign 𓂏 is commonly used on the second shrine with the value s . In the name of the final figure to the right in the group below the text here in question, however, the sign 𓂏 has the value hbs .⁴¹⁹ Assigning the value hbs to the cloth sign above allows one to read $\text{h}d.\text{wt } R^c \text{hbs}(.t) \text{h}3.\text{wt}=\text{sn}$, “it is the light of Re which clothes their corpses.” Unlike $\text{h}zj$, hbs is attested as an action of light:

- 1) Book of the Dead chapter 124, §§10-12:⁴²⁰

$\text{i}w \text{i}3\text{h}w \text{hbs} \leq f > p.t$
when light clothes the sky

- 2) Denderah, Crypt No. 6, left side; Ihy stands before Hathor. Of Hathor “daughter of Re” it is said:⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹This was apparently recognized by Hornung. Though he gives no running translation of the names of the beings here, he includes the sign 𓂏 with the values s and hbs in the sign list in Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34. For the value hbs for the sign see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 26. For the name $\text{hbs}-^c$, “covered of arm” (here following $\text{imn}-^c$, for which see being no. 765 in the *Amduat*- $\text{imn}-^c.wy=f[y]$, “hidden of his two arms”), see being no. 609 in the *Amduat*: $\text{𓂏} \Delta = \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \Delta \text{𓂏}$.

⁴²⁰E. Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben* 2 vols. (Berlin: A.A. Asher and Co., 1886) p. 273, cols. 1-7.

⁴²¹A. Mariette, *Dendérah, description générale du grand temple de cette ville* (Paris: A. Franck, 1873) vol. 3, pl. 61b.

*ḥbs nb*⁴²²=*s m šsp=s ḥmn=s sw m ḥnw n dfd=s*
 who clothes her lord with her light, she hiding him within her
 pupil.

Hathor, as the eye of Re, clothes and hides the sun god.

3) *Le Temple d'Edfou* vol. 1, p. 509; the eighth in a group of lion-headed serpents is called:

*ḥbs nb=s m šsp=s ḥmn=s sw m ḥnw df[d]=s*⁴²³
 who clothes her lord with her light, she hiding him within (her) pupil.

4) The goddess Hathor can be referred to as *ḥbs n bht.t*, "Clother of the Eastern Horizon." Meeks (*Année lexicographique* vol. 2, no. 78.2647) suggested that this might refer to "la lumière matinale (?)." This fits well with the titles of Hathor as the eye of Re, the disk itself, which in the morning is the womb of Re,⁴²⁴ the morning light before the actual birth of the sun.

⁴²²Reading the *nw*-pot as a writing of the *nb* sign, and not as an element in a *sḏm.n=f* form *ḥbs.n=f*.

⁴²³The uraeus determinative of *df[d]* probably serves as a marker of the third person feminine singular suffix pronoun.

⁴²⁴In Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 305 there is rejoicing because *Ḥw.t-Ḥr whm.n=s ms.wt*, "Hathor has given birth again." See also Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, p. 22; S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittelten Reiches)* (MÄS 4; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1963) pp. 113-116; E.F. Wente, "Hathor at the Jubilee," in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969) pp. 90-91; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* [GOF IV vol. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975] pp. 134-35, and Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons* [Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1972] pp. 36-44). For further discussion of the goddess as the disk of the sun, see the treatment of *ḥtny.t* and related terms in chapter 4, pp. 322-330 in the discussion of the lower register of the main portion of the treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

5) The Bab el-Amra;⁴²⁵ the solar deity is one:

hbs.n h3y.ty nfrw=f

whose perfection the two lights (the sun and the moon) have clothed

6) *Pistis Sophia* Book 3, chapter 131 (Sahidic); Christ says:⁴²⁶

ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΜΠΡΗ ΝΒΟΛ · ΩΔΑΖΩΒΤ ΜΠΚΔΚΕ
ΜΠΕΔΡΔΚΩΝ ·

When the light of the sun is outside, it clothes the darkness of the dragon.

That this passage of the *Pistis Sophia* is applicable is underscored by a statement made a few lines later:⁴²⁷

ΕΤΕ ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΠΡΗ ΟΩΚ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΝΕΦΔΚΤΙΝ
that is to say, when the sun draws (back) to itself its rays.

This last passage from the *Pistis Sophia* could well describe the scenes in the middle register of the second side of the shrine, wherein emanations of the solar disks alternately spit forth and draw back the billowing and blanketing beams of light.⁴²⁸ For the concept of light hiding bodies in the Netherworld, compare the text accompanying

⁴²⁵Sethe and Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch- römischer Zeit*, p. 93, l. 19.

⁴²⁶Schmidt and Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, p. 332, ll. 2-3

⁴²⁷*ibid.* p. 332 ll. 6-7.

⁴²⁸On the concept of the "Verborgenheit im Licht," see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 50-1; *idem*, "Zwei Sonnehymnen der späten XVIII. Dynastie in thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit," *MDAIK* 27 (1971) 15. For the sun as giving darkness as well as light in the cosmos, see J. Assmann, *Sonnehymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (*Theben* 1; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983) p. 205 n. d, and compare the disk as '3 šw.t, "great of shadow," in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 11, 1 (text 22) and pl. 11, 6 (text 23).

the disembodied deities who spew flame into the cauldrons in scene D 14 of the Book of the Creation of the Solar disk:

sn [r=]sn imn<=sn> h3.wt=sn dī=sn sd.wt m tp hryw=sn ...

They hide their corpses when they send out the fire atop their ovens...

Their bodies are not represented, because they are hidden by the streams of flame which the heads belch out towards the cauldrons.⁴²⁹ In the Book of the Two Ways, a sealed place (*htm.t*) within an area of darkness is surrounded by a flame, containing the effluvia (*rdw*) of Osiris,⁴³⁰ an image which recalls the scene of the hidden Osiride beings on the Tutankhamun shrine.

Hathor can be called the one of the red cloth, Hathor as the red light at dawn.⁴³¹

For the clothing effects of the pre-dawn light veiling the coming brilliance of the solar

⁴²⁹*ibid.*, pl. 34, ll. 4-5.

⁴³⁰de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 352a-b (chapter 1080); L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 17; Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1972) pp. 86-7; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 89; P. Barguet, "Essai d'interprétation du livre des deux chemins," *RdE* 21 (1969) 9-10. Zandee (*ibid.*) also mentions how in the same composition the Portals of Darkness (*'rry.t kkw*) have doors of *sd.t*-flame; one of these is addressed as the *h3ti h3.t R' wnh sd3 Hr nfr r' nb*, "storm which obscures Re, clothed when the good Horus leaves daily" (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 440 c-d, e-441 a. See also Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*, pp. 117-8; for the verb *wnh*, see Ph. Derchain, "La perruque et le cristal," *SAK* 2 [1975] 56-8; E. Graefe and Ph. Derchain, "WNH 'Lösen'," *SAK* 7 [1979] 53-63)--the flaming light hides Re and forms the area of darkness behind the gate.

⁴³¹For light as "un vêtement dont le ciel est recouvert le matin," see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 4 n. 10. This is perhaps the reason for the specification that the sails of the vessels in the Opet flotilla are red (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, pl. 20, and p. 6 n. a in the commentary volume), a reference to the goddess, there Mut, the coming *hieros gamos* and the birth of the child/sun (on the south to north journey, the royal New Year's Festival, and the return of the far-wandering goddess, see D. Kessler, "Der satirisch-erotische Papyrus Turin 55001 und das 'Verbringen des schönen Tages'," *SAK* 15 [1988] 171-96, specifically pp. 182ff, and p. 183 n. 40).

deity also the image of Shu and Tefnut drawing a veil over the sungod as he sets in the west.⁴³²

s3.t[y=k in]-hr[.t-šw Tf]nw[.t] hr ʿqy hbs.t n-hr=k
 [..., your two] offspring[s, On]uri[s-Shu and Tef]nu[t], straightening the veil⁴³³
 before you...

This veil of the sun occurs again in the *Pistis Sophia*, book 3, chapter 131.⁴³⁴

ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΠΡΗ ΠΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC · ΩΔΡΕ ΠΚΔΚΕ
 ΜΠΕΔΡΔΚΩΝ ΩΩ ΠΧΙΚΤΨ ΜΠΡΗ ·

When the sun goes below the world, the darkness of the dragon remains as a
 veil of the sun.

Perhaps clad in the gnostic descendant of the red cloth of Hathor, Christ wears a
 “garment of light” (ΠΔΕΝΔΥΜΔ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ) in the Netherworld, according to the
Pistis Sophia.⁴³⁵

The *hd.wt* -light spat out by the uraei and sucked in by the feline heads blankets
 the corpses.⁴³⁶ In the other scenes in which the light of the nocturnal sun is said to enter

⁴³²The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 431, B, l. 10

⁴³³*Hbs.t* (Wb. III 66, 14-5), or *t3m.t* (Wb. V 354, 9).

⁴³⁴Schmidt and Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia*, p. 332, ll. 3-5.

⁴³⁵*ibid.*, p. 37, ll. 17-8 (book 1, chapter 27).

⁴³⁶Light, and areas of light, can also be clothed: 1) the sun as *itn hbs* in Neferti (W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* [KÄT 3; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970] 21, 22; H. Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt (The Prophecy of Neferti)* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977] 80) 2) the sky is clothed (*p.t hbs.ti*) due to storm clouds in the Pithom stele (Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 101). 3) In the Ptolemaic sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari, of Amenhotep son of Hapu it is said: *shd.n=f 3h.t=s* (referring back to *Km.t*) *m* (written *n*) *hbs šsp n=f sb3.w=s*, “he has made bright the clothed horizon, her stars shine for him” (E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* [Deir el-Bahari 3; Warsaw: Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1984] p. 30 [no. 17]). The “clothed horizon”

into the corpses, the beams touch the figures in some way; here the beams billow like sheets over the crowns of the Datians.⁴³⁷ In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the disk of the sun (*it<n>*) is called *ʕ šwt*, “great of shadow.”⁴³⁸ The sun is great of shadow because of the clothing aspects of its light in the Netherworld.

^c In the writing of *m-htw* here, the hobble-*t* has its not uncommon value *m*, derived from similarity of appearance with the flat-*m*. The bird above the walking legs represents *ht(w)*;⁴³⁹ the value *ht* deriving from the *s3*-bird—determined word *ht-ʕ*, “Art Gans oder Ente” (*Wb.* III 342, 1).⁴⁴⁰ A similar orthography of *m-ht* in another member of the

is a reference to the night sky, which shines by means of the stars. Darkness can clothe, and be uncovered (*kf* with the cloth determinative): compare Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 40, ll. 2-3: *wn sb3.w=tn št3.w m3 iw f kf kkw=tn*, “Open your secret gates; behold (pl. imp. = Ramesses IX [see n. o]) Flesh, who uncovers your darkness.” Compare also the antonyms *hd-hr* and *hbs-hr* (M. Lichtheim, “Three Philological Notes,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* [SAOC 35; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969] pp. 65-6).

⁴³⁷This is another form of perturbation, as in the upper right of the first side of the shrine, the signs themselves mirroring the statement. Compare also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 127, ll. 6-7: *b3.w imy.w msw R ʕ*, “the *ba*’s who are therein, who give birth to Re” (for the reading of *imy.w*, see above; compare the writings of *b3.w imy.w* in *idem*, *BIFAO* 42 pl. 60, l. 5; pl. 61, ll. 4-5). In the P. version, the word *imy.w* is placed between the second and third birds of *b3.w*—the “amongst whom” is actually within the *b3.w*.

⁴³⁸Piankoff, *La creation du disque solaire*, pl. XI, 1 and 6. In Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, no. 75, the sun is *nb snkw*, “lord of darkness” (see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 206).

⁴³⁹This value for the sign of the bird was recognized by Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34. The *tyw*-bird appears with the value *htyw* in Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives*, vol. 2, p. 542 (correcting the reference as given in Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 2, p. 312).

⁴⁴⁰Through the application of Fairman’s consonantal principle for enigmatic sign derivation, the *ʕ* element of the name, become □ or Ω, would fall away and would not be expected to enter into consideration.

corpus examined in this study appears in the middle register of the main portion of the Corridor G enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 23, ll. 40-41: šy *m-ht=sn*).

The lion heads emerging from the disks, along with the light-ingesting, lion-headed entities of the middle register, are the pharaonic forerunners of the lion-faced archons in the *Pistis Sophia*, who suck out the energy of Sophia in the Netherworld.⁴⁴¹ Combinations of the heads of lions and serpents are not unknown in Egyptian and Egyptianizing iconography--they are associated in the iconography of Apedemak, and a serpent head and a lion head occur back to back, on a snake's body, in the temple of Esna.⁴⁴² In the Book of the Two Ways, a serpent rears up from the backside of a seated feline-headed being, accompanied by chapter 1116 of the Coffin Texts, which refers to "that spirit who knows how to enter the fire and to open darkness;" the chapter continues by stating that the one who is not able to ascend "[will be] an offering on the horizon of Re and of Horus the Elder,"⁴⁴³ This is a description of the eastern horizon, the place of final fiery punishment and the birth of the day. These light-sucking, double-headed beings are at home at the eastern horizon, and they are indeed depicted immediately to the right of the closing representation of the perpetual rising and setting of the sun.

⁴⁴¹See above, pp. 146-148, the discussion of the left middle register; see also Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons*, pp. 50-1.

⁴⁴²Apedemak: L. Žabkar, "Some Particular Features in the Representations of Apedemak," in E. Endesfelder *et al.*, eds., *Ägypten und Kusch (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 13; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977) pp. 488-500; Esna: S. Sauneron, *Le temple de Esna* vol. 4, part 1 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961) F, fold-out plate opposite p. 74 (noted also on p. 71, no. 16, and fig. 3 p. xvii, with p. xvi).

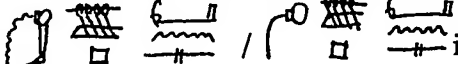
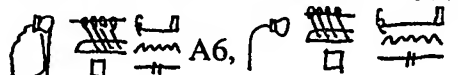
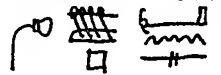
⁴⁴³A. Piankoff and H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Wandering of the Soul (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 6; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) pl. 6 and pp. 31-2.

The billowing light which is sucked back and forth between the lion and serpent heads is probably a representation of the purification and renewal of the light of the sun. The 11th Repentance of Sophia in the *Pistis Sophia*, addressed to a lion-faced power (Τ60Μ ΝΖΟ ΜΜΟΥϊ), refers to the light power of the lion-faced being; the 24 Emanations say:⁴⁴⁴

ΕΙC ΟΥΠΡΟΒΟΛΗ ΕΜΠΤΕ+ΠCΩΤῚ ΜΠΕCΟΥΟΙΝ ΧΕ ΕCΕΝΟΥΖΜ · ΔΛΛΔ
CΩΟΥΩΟΥ ΜΜΟC ΖΜ ΠΔΩΔΙ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕC60Μ ·

Behold an Emanation which has not given what is purified of its light, that it might be saved, but it boasts of the magnitude of the light of its power.

The scenes showing light being drawn into the mouths of Netherworld entities would appear then to show the purification of the light, which is the same as restoring the utmost brilliance of the celestial body. For this association of purification and renewed celestial clarity, one may compare the use of *w* ‘*b* to mean “bright” and “clear.”

Enigmatic text III in the Book of the Day and the Night describes the *b3.w mh.tyw*, the “souls of the north.” In a portion of enigmatic text III, the four stellar deities north of the *Mshtyw* constellation are said to be  in the midst of heaven on the south side of Orion. Drioton reads the group  A6,  B13 (cryptogram 124) as *wpš-sn*, translating “[ils] brillent.”⁴⁴⁵ The two forms of the *w* ‘*b*-sign (Gardiner D60)⁴⁴⁶ are assigned the value


⁴⁴⁴Schmidt and Macdermot, eds. *Pistis Sophia*, p. 102, ll. 8-10 (book 1, chapter 54, §7).

⁴⁴⁵Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 95 and 98.


⁴⁴⁶That the form without the leg is a simple variant is made certain by the orthography of *w* ‘*b-tp-h3(.t)*; see Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 62-3, and n. 1 p. 63.

w, derived by Drioton through acrophony from w^cb.⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, the šsp-fence (Gardiner O42) is said to have the value š from šsp.⁴⁴⁸ The cryptic values which Drioton suggested for these signs are attested in no other enigmatic text, a fact which suggests caution.⁴⁴⁹ If the sign D60 is left off, the remaining signs provide a perfectly normal orthography of the word sšp, “be bright, illumine” (Wb IV 282, 7-283, 9). D60 given its customary value w^cb then would qualify msštyw. The resulting translation “the pure msštyw” would certainly be possible, but inconclusive.

It is the four northern gods/stars who shine (sšp) here, and in the passage immediately preceeding Drioton’s cryptogram 124,⁴⁵⁰ we read ntsn hsf nšn m p.t hrw pf n ḥ3 3, “it is they who repel the storm in the sky on that day of the great combat.”⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁷Similarly, Drioton derives the value w for the piece of meat () through acrophony from w^cb.t (Wb I 284, 11-12), “pure cut of meat” (Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 359, #120; this value also occurs in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 77, l. 8). The sign of the piece of meat acquires the enigmatic value w through the interchange of signs with similar appearance from the coil-w --compare also the possibly related use of the rope V6 for mī in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 12*).

⁴⁴⁸Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 99

⁴⁴⁹The metathesis of p and š necessary for Drioton’s reading is also disturbing. This alone, however, is not impossible, and the apparent suffix pronoun sn in the cryptogram is itself written ns. However, the verb may in fact be a qualitative, followed by n=f, the f being written by the bolt s (see H.W. Fairman, “Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of ,” *JEA* 36 [1950] 110-11, and further, in the section on the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI [note to line 1 of the right-hand annotation]).

⁴⁵⁰Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 95 and 98.

⁴⁵¹Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 94. In reference to the terminology here--“day of combat”--compare the epitheta of Hathor in É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara* vol. 1 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1934) p. 47, ll. 3-4 (cited by Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 37), where Hathor “resplendit au ciel et repousse les ennemis...” The enemies and the clouds are one. See also Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 46-7 “rises...goes toward the Dat confronting the rebels.” On the war of the sun with clouds, see Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 79 § g, d).

Drioton⁴⁵² compares a passage from the Book of Repelling Apophis: “When storm brews in the east of the sky and when Re sets in the west.” The storm clouds are associated with Apep; as P. Bremner-Rhind 23, 9 puts it:

shr ꜥꜣ ḥfty n Rꜥ m ḥ3ꜣ.t ḥr psd Rꜥ

Apep the Foe of Re is felled in storm by the shining of Re...⁴⁵³

This context of storm suggests a more specific meaning for *wꜥ* qualifying *msḥtyw* than simply “pure.” As the northern spirits are associated with the *msḥtyw*, they are perhaps the *ḥm.w-sk*, the imperishable spirits which orbit the pole star. As those who expel the storm clouds in the east, these are more specifically the *ḥm.w-sk* who help the emergence of the sun in the east at morning.⁴⁵⁴

In a hymn to the rising sun god at Medinet Habu, we read:⁴⁵⁵

dw3 Rꜥ wbn=f m 3ḥ.t Ḥr-ḥ.ty psd=k m ḥr[.t]

wḥ.tw nn šnꜥ.w

Adoration of Re when he rises in the horizon: Oh Horakhty, you shine in
heaven,

with the result that it (the heaven) is luminous, without clouds...⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵²In Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 25 n. B.

⁴⁵³Translation of W.R. Faulkner, “Papyrus Bremner-Rhind III,” *JEA* 23 (1937) 168.

⁴⁵⁴W. Barta, “Funktion und Lokalisierung der Zirkumpolarsterne in den Pyramidentexten,” *ZÄS* 107 (1980) 1-4. According to enigmatic text III in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 95, the *b3.w mḥ.tyw*, “souls of the north,” work the prow and stern ropes of the solar bark “together with the *ḥs.t ny.t ḥm.w-sk*, “the crew of the Imperishables.” For more on stars and the continuation of the sun’s celestial round, see chapter 7.

⁴⁵⁵The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 6, pl. 431 A, ll. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁶Nominal *psd=k* emphasizing the qualitative *wḥ.tw*, a circumstantial result clause, describing *ḥr.t*.

This portion of a hymn from the great temple of Mediner Habu contains an early attestation of a group frequently encountered in Ptolemaic texts: a word for heaven + a qualitative of a verb of luminosity + *nn* followed by a noun of bad weather.⁴⁵⁷ In the position of the qualitative of luminosity, *wbn*, *b3q*, *sšp* and *w‘b* alternate; *w‘b* in this context means “clear.”⁴⁵⁸ These elements, shining, clarity, and the absence of storms, appear in the section of the Book of the Day and the Night here under discussion--*sšp*, *w‘b*, and *ḥsf nšn*.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷See the examples given by Brugsch, ZÄS 12 (1874) 140-41 (Dendera), and add the examples cited under *sšp* in *Wb* IV 282, 12 (M. de Rochemonteix and É. Chassinat, *Le temple de Edfu* vol. 1, rev. ed. S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, 4 fascicules (MMAF 10; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1984-7) p. 159 and p. 284; an example on p. 284 has *ḥr.t wḥ.tw nn ḥgp=s*, “... heaven, with the result that it is luminous, without its storm clouds,” parallel to The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 6, pl. 431 A, ll. 1-2).

⁴⁵⁸Brugsch, ZÄS 12 (1874) 140-41, indeed translated “klar,” this use of *w‘b* is given in *Wb* I 281, 14. *P.t w‘b.t* in The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 2 *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* (OIP 103; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981) pl. 190, ll. 19 and 20 is rendered (p. 60) as “the sky is clear.” On this *topos*, see H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute between a Man and his Ba* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970) p. 53 and n. 189 (p. 79). This is related to the use of *w‘b* meaning “clear, unobstructed,” referring to an area of land; see G. Lefebvre, “‘A Pure Place’,” *JEA* 25 (1939) 219; Wente, in Ricke, Hughes, and Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, p. 22 n. *h* to pl. 20. For a collection of references to the sky as *w‘b*, see F. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou* (OLA 51; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1992) p. 172 n. 796 (she does not, however, recognize the meaning “clear”).

⁴⁵⁹Storm and rain clouds are not necessarily undesirable, but may actually assist the deceased king on his journey to heaven (U. Verhoeven, “Unwetter,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 6 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986] cols. 860-1; *idem*, in *Fs. Derchain* p. 329); a goddess may also appear as a fecund rain cloud (Isis: Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I* 348, p. 189 n. 471; Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, l. 4 of hymn 3, pp. 40-1, 43-4 [*ḥgp wrḥ 3ḥ.t m šhd=*, “rain-cloud that makes green the fields when it descends” (trans. of Žabkar)]; compare also the remarks of D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretologien* [*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse Band 53 Heft 1*; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961] pp. 67-69).

In the Book of the Day and the Night,⁴⁶⁰ however, stellar divinities, not the sky, are bright and clear.

Not only the sky can be *wḥ*-clear, but celestial bodies as well. In a number of solar hymns, *wḥ* relates to the luminosity of the solar disk, describing the disk as “clearly visible.” In the hymn to the second hour of the day,⁴⁶¹ Re is addressed: *pr=k wḥ.tw ḥr wṛ.t 3ḥ.t*, “you coming forth clear upon the bank of the horizon;” later in the hymn (Text 28b l. 16) the tomb owner is said to have driven off bad weather: *ḥsr.n=f šnṣ.w m w3.wt=k Rḥr-3ḥ.ty dy=f stš n wī3=k sw3 n imy.w šmsw=k*, “That he might give propulsion to your bark and passage to those who are in your entourage, he has driven off the clouds from your ways, oh Re-Horakhty.”⁴⁶² In the Chester Beatty hymn to Hathor Quadrifrons, the cleansing of the sky is the prerequisite for the launching of the solar bark:⁴⁶³

⁴⁶⁰Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 95 and 98.

⁴⁶¹Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 37; *ÄHG* #2 (Assmann reads simply “rein”).

⁴⁶²This image of the sun rising in the clear sky is perhaps played upon by a passage in Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut*, IV 10: “you (Merikare) acted, when fear was spread throughout the land, and trained Upper Egypt for his sake only; you caused him to sail south. The sky was cleared (*kfp.t*) for him; the entire land was with him...” This is perhaps both a description of good sailing weather, and a likening of Merikare’s actions in rolling away the blanket of fear over Egypt to the sun’s rising and dispelling of clouds, sailing through the bright firmament. “The sky was cleared for him” would then refer also to Merikare’s enemies being destroyed for him.

⁴⁶³Derchain, *Elkab* 1, p. 16* (translation p. 58; the rendering here differs in taking the *sdm.n.tw=f* form in its classical function as an initial, nominal form).

sw ꜥb.n=tw p.t

shnt=sn dp.t ꜥpr.wt <m> is.ty ...

The sky has been cleansed,

that they might launch the bark, equipped <with> the two crews...

The causative of *w ꜥb* is here associated with the appearance of Re in a heaven from which storms have been driven.⁴⁶⁴ Similarly, in the word square in the tomb of Kheruef,⁴⁶⁵ in squares C6-9 of the vertical hymn to Re-Horakhty, the sun god is said to be:

[ꜥ3]-hpry shꜥd t3

wsr-hpr.w nb w ꜥb

Greatest who has come into being, illuminor of the earth,

Mighty of manifestations, possessor of clarity

The god is luminous and clear, and this brilliance goes hand in hand with soundness of body: in Assmann's text 34, line 13,⁴⁶⁶ the sun god is *b3 w ꜥb hꜥ.w b3 wd3 hꜥ.w*, "ba, clear of body; ba, hale of body;" clarity and well being.⁴⁶⁷ The texts accompanying the

⁴⁶⁴Compare also the *sw ꜥb n=t p.t* of Derchain, *Elkab* 1, p. 16* and p. 58 n. 32 ("allusion a la disparition des nuages qui barraient l'horizon matinal").

⁴⁶⁵The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (OIP 102; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980) pls. 14-15, p.36; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 251 (text no. 181). Assmann, *ibid.* p. 252, transliterates *[ꜥ3]-hpr.w*, "[gross] an Gestalten," in C6, in order to have a parallel to *wsr-hpr.w* in C8. The traces do not suit this, but rather favour two reed leaves, as Wente suggested (p. 37). Wente (in The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192*, p. 36) reads "the greatest who has come into being," and his translation is followed here. For *nb w ꜥb*, Wente reads "the pure lord;" Assmann gives "Herr der Reinheit." The parallelism, concern for which apparently prompted Assmann to read *[ꜥ3]-hpr.w*, is indeed present. The two participles, *hpry* and *shꜥd* of C6-7 correspond to the nouns *hpr.w* and *w ꜥb* of C8-9.

⁴⁶⁶Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 43-47

⁴⁶⁷In Assmann's text 28c, line 3 (*op. cit.* p. 38), *w ꜥb* and *thn* occur together: *[...]w ꜥb (?) thn .tw [...]*, "clear (?), shining." The context, however, is broken.

image of the goddess Nut refer to the sun entering into Nut: $w' b.t(w)=f' im$ ($P = w' b=f' iw=f' im=f$), "he being made $w' b$ therein."⁴⁶⁸ According to Hornung,⁴⁶⁹ commenting on this passage, "die Unsichtbarkeit der Gestirne wird als 'Reinigung' verstanden..."⁴⁷⁰ When the sun reappears, he is pure ($w' b$), as is shown forth by his clarity. Thus $w' b$ - purity for a heavenly body is no different a concept from clarity.⁴⁷¹ In a hymn accompanying scenes of the Jubilee celebration of Amenhotep III in the tomb of Kheruef, singers sing $wn' wy <p.t> pr ntr w' b$;⁴⁷² "the doors <of heaven> are open that the god may come forth pure/clear"--the rising of the sun in clarity in the eastern sky is compared to the opening of the statue shrine of the deity in his temple. In P. Carlsberg 1, hieratic $w' b$ corresponds to demotic h' . In the hieratic, both the terms

⁴⁶⁸Neugebauer and Parker, *Ancient Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 48.

⁴⁶⁹*Unterweltsbücher* 2nd ed. (1984) pp. 510-11 (n. 8).

⁴⁷⁰For the ritual purification of the dead compared to the purification of the sun, see E. Feucht, "Der Weg des Verstorbenen bis zur Rechtfertigung nach Darstellungen in ramessidischen Gräbern," in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* (Hamburg: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Hamburg, 1989) p. 29 n. 17; J. Zandee, "Sargtexte um über Wasser zu Verfügen," *JEOL* 24 (1975-6) 36-8. For a late echo of the descent of the sun into the night as "washing, purification," see the reference to the washing, and subsequent appearance as a child, of the sungod Mandulis in a Greek inscription from Kalabsha (ll. 14-15 of the inscription, in H. Lewy, "A Dream of Mandulis," *ASAE* 44 (1944) 227-34, and the references to earlier works cited there). $W' b$ can also describe a ritual baptism, as in a Gnostic baptismal text of ca. 300 A.D.--see P.-A. Linder, *The Apocalypse of Adam, Nag Hammadi Codex V, 5 Considered from its Egyptian Background* (*Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions* 7; Ödeshög: Akademisk Avhandling, 1991) pp. 128-32 (ΣΩΚΜ̄ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ).

⁴⁷¹ $W' b$ can also carry the connotation "whole, unharmed" (Gardiner, *Kadesh*, p. 24; W.V.Davies, "Readings in the Story of Sinuhe and other Egyptian Texts," *JEA* 61 [1975] 51), the celestial bodies not obscured or "injured" by the cloudy minions of Apep.

⁴⁷²The text between the two female "choir directors" = The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 34.

w⁴⁷³ and ⁴⁷⁴ appear to correspond to demotic h^{c} , but it is further said that “to shed impurity” means “to rise (h^{c}).”⁴⁷⁵ Whereas ⁴⁷⁴ can be translated as “to rise” and “to shine” in the demotic, w⁴⁷³ appears always to be rendered by h^{c} in the demotic interpretation of the earlier text. In Edfu Temple:⁴⁷⁶

bī3 b3q nn ḥ3tī īm=s

The firmament is bright/clear, without rain therein.⁴⁷⁷

This is paralleled in Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* vol. 3, p. 211, l. 3 by:

p.t w⁴⁷³ t nn īgp mm=s

The sky is bright/clear, without storm clouds therein.⁴⁷⁸

As the disk of the sun itself can be clear and bright, so celestial bodies are similarly described in the The Book of the Day and the Night. Drioton's cryptogram 124 is no cryptogram, but consists of the clearly written words w⁴⁷³ and *sšp*, “clear and

⁴⁷³“Pure” = “rising” in P. Carlsberg 1, IV 1, V 43, and VI 1.

⁴⁷⁴“Living” = “rising” in P. Carlsberg 1, V 15-16, VI 2, and VI 21. “Living” = “shining” in P. Carlsberg 1, VI 1, and VI 15-16. On this meaning of ⁴⁷⁴, see also Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pl. 8a and n. 38 (citing Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 56 n. 78).

⁴⁷⁵P. Carlsberg 1, V 42.

⁴⁷⁶É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* vol. 3 (MMAF 20; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1928) p. 207, l. 3.

⁴⁷⁷For *ḥ3tī* see D. Kurth, “Esna 400; 405,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1984) p. 142 n. 55; S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes Religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme* (Esna V; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1962) p. 155 n. k.

⁴⁷⁸P. Barguet, “Le cycle lunaire d'après deux textes d'Edfou,” *RdE* 29 (1977) 14-20, discusses these passages; for *ḥ3tī* and *īgp* parallel, see Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 155 n. k.

bright.” The *nšn*-storm averted, the *msštyw* is *w‘b*, “clear, free of clouds”-- clearly visible, shining with the four northern gods/stars.⁴⁷⁹ Unseen during the day the celestial bodies undergo their purification; in the clear sky of early evening their clarity is the certification of their cleansed state.⁴⁸⁰

The hiding of corpses by the light of the subterranean sun is not necessarily an indication that the corpses are those of the damned. So in a passage in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,⁴⁸¹ the *ba*’s of certain of the blessed dead follow the passing

⁴⁷⁹In Assmann’s text 113 (*Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 152-56), line 67, of the sun god it is said [...]*i3h.w=k m in.t w‘b.t*, “your light being in the pure valley.” If “clear” is actually the better translation of *w‘b* in this passage, the group *in.t w‘b.t* may parallel *p.t/hr.t w‘b.t*, and refer to the sun burning off the morning haze. Lefebvre, *JEA* 25 (1939) 219, notes an English example of “pure” used for “unoccupied,” parallel to *w‘b*. Similarly, for *w‘b* meaning “clear,” the example of “pure” given by *OED* p. 1614 (“pure” I.1.c), citing Caxton, *The mirrour of the world* (1481) III.vi.140, is a parallel.

⁴⁸⁰The clarity and brightness of the stars, ensured by their victory over the storms, may also ensure their victory over the storms. In ll. 13-14 of the Harris magical papyrus (H.O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* [Copenhagen: Andr. Fred. Høst and Søn, 1927] pp. 20 and 23) we read:

dr=k šn‘t šhḏ.n=k iḡp
m rn=k pwy n dr šn‘t
 You repel the storm, having illumined the cloud banks,
 in this your name of ‘Repeller of the Storm.’

This passage from the Harris magical papyrus suggests that the god’s shining on the storm clouds causes their dispersal. Thus in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 6, pl. 431, ll. 1-2, the shining of the god emphasises the result clause describing the clarity of the sky. The cleansing of clouds from the western horizon could be viewed as necessary for the *bas* to enter the West (see Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108 [1981] 150). For another religiously powerful term describing the liminal sky of morning, note the use of *dsr* as “clear, holy, raised” (D.P. Silverman, “A Spell from an Abbreviated Version of the Book of Two Ways in a Tomb in the Western Delta,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990] p. 860 n. 2). For the necessity of clarity for the night sky, note also W.R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) p. 102 n. 1 (to Utterance 320).

⁴⁸¹Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire*, pl. 34, ll. 8-9.

sun, but the corpses of those same blessed dead are *imn m s.t=sn*, “hidden in their place(s),” in the darkness.⁴⁸²

lower middle (plate 13, figure A):

names:⁴⁸³

miwy “cat shaped one”

For a discussion of this name, see above, pp. 91-92 and pp. 154-157.

Stn- tp, “distinguished of head”

Four entities wearing Upper Egyptian crowns in the first scene (no. 92) of the bottom register of the 12th Hour of the Book of Gates are termed *stn.w-tp*, “crowned of head.”⁴⁸⁴ There is an entity *sṯn-ḥ3.t* in the middle register of the IVth Hour of the Amduat, and another in the Book of Night, whose names appear to refer to the Upper Egyptian crowns which they wear.⁴⁸⁵ In the context of the deities depicted on the

⁴⁸²In a speech of Sefkhet-Abwy to Sety I in the Great Temple of Abydos, the goddess says: *d3.t ḥ3p.ti wnf.ti ḥr šḥr.w=k* (K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical* [Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd, 1975] p. 187, l. 5), “the Netherworld is covered and glad because of your counsel,” suggesting a benevolent and well-received covering-up of the Netherworld. The passage is an allusion to the deceased king as the sun, illumining the Netherworld before continuing his journey and leaving behind darkness.

⁴⁸³Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, p. 29 n. 1 read: “*stn-tp, stn-ḥr, stn-(?), stn-ḥprw, stn-ḥ3wt, stn-sntw*.”

⁴⁸⁴Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 395, vol. 2, p. 280. Their Upper Egyptian crowns support a reading “crowned” for *stn*, which in the Book of Gates recalls the designation of Osiris and the king wearing the White Crown as *stn.w* (*Wb* IV 359, 6-7 [the White Crown as *stn.w* is *Wb*. IV 359, 5]).

⁴⁸⁵Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 71 no. 309; Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 47 and n. 3.

Tutankhamun shrine, *stn* may mean not crowned--they wear no crowns--but distinguished, differentiated. Unlike the headless figures above in the upper register, they do have heads, and these ram's heads are differentiated from the human heads above.⁴⁸⁶ If *stni* here means crowned, it could refer to the otherwise headless corpse being "crowned" with a head.

Stn hr, "distinguished of face"

In the first scene in the upper register of the 10th Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 61), the Horus and Seth headed *Hr(.wy)=fy* is apparently referred to as Horus *stn-hr*.⁴⁸⁷

Stn irw, "distinguished of forms"

The circular sign is the pupil for the eye as *ir*.⁴⁸⁸ The value *i* for the cloth bolt *s*, otherwise unattested in our corpus, is comparatively rare in Ptolemaic texts.⁴⁸⁹ There is no strong similarity between the signs in hieratic, but hieroglyphic interchanges of the cloth-*s* and the reed leaf are attested already in the Pyramid Texts.⁴⁹⁰ The value here

⁴⁸⁶On the possible two verbs originally behind the *stni* of *Wb.* IV 358, 3-359, 4, see Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 278 (discussing 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛).





⁴⁸⁷Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 336 (*stn-hr* is cited *Wb.* IV 359, 4).

⁴⁸⁸Already in a writing of the verb *ir.t* in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 338a; see also Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, ll. 1-2, 9; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 38; *idem*, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 100; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24 and 27.

⁴⁸⁹Drioton, *SASAE* 2 (1956) p. 102 (Drioton's derivation of the value by acrophony from the word *sm*, "végétation," is incorrect).

⁴⁹⁰Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, §156 (pp. 125-6), with examples of *i* for *s* and *vice versa*. This interchange of the reed leaf and *s* is behind the

may also derive from a reversal of the use of the reed leaf to write *s* (perhaps through substitution for *sw*).⁴⁹¹ This name *stn irw* is an epithet of Osiris in the third scene of the first register of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁴⁹²

divine name T  SI 
  in the Book of the Heavenly Cow. This is not a

writing of *itm* (so E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh, eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen* [OBO 46; Freiburg:Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982] p. 31, p. 62 n. 116), for Atum was not one of the Heh deities. Reading the reed leaf as a mistake for the cloth bolt *s*, we have the deity *sdm*, “hearing,” who, along with “sight,” is an emanation of Shu (on this personification see E. Brunner-Traut, “Der Sehgott und der Hörgott in Literatur und Theologie.” in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer, eds., *Fragen an die Altägyptische Literatur* [Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1977] pp. 125-45). N. Guilhou, *La vieillesse des dieux* (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1989) p. 52, n. 256, has also interpreted this name as that of the “Hörgott,” transliterating (*i*)*sdm*.

⁴⁹¹So Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 26, l. 7. In *ibid.*, pl. 59, l. 1, the reed leaf is used for the cloth *s*. In the cryptic writing of the name Ptolemy which Drioton discusses in *SASAE* 2 (1946) 97-112, the *y* of the name is written with the cloth *s*, and the following *s* with the reed leaf, suggesting that the use of the reed leaf for the cloth *s* from *sw* was the origin of the use of the cloth *s* for the reed leaf in that text as well). The reed leaf for the *sw*-plant could be both a substitution of one plant sign for another, as well as based on similarity of the hieratic signs--compare G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie, die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1909-12] vol. 2, nos. 282 and 289). Compare also the three-pronged *hn*-plant for *s* (through substitution for *š3*--Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 44). Note also that the *š3*-plant can substitute for the reed leaf and have the value *i* (Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*). In painted versions of the cloth *s*, the interior of the fold of the bolt is often filled in with white, a line slanting down from the higher end to the middle of the lower end closing off this white area, approximating the appearance of the reed leaf (cf. Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* [Bern: Franke Verlag, 1971] pl. 2 [*snb* behind Horsiese], pl. 9 [*wsr* over Osiris]); this may be the origin of the interchange, or at least a contributing factor.

⁴⁹²Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 5-6 (p. 46: “dont les formes sont élevées”). These entities are in the area of *htmy.t*; for the *irw* forms of residents of the place of destruction, compare the epithet of Tatenen as *iri irw htm.tyw*, “maker of the forms of the denizens of the place of destruction” (Caverns pl. 86, l. 2).

The names of the last three entities, *stn hpr.w*, “distinguished of manifestation,” *stn h3.t*, “distinguished of corpse,” and *stn snt*, “distinguished of limbs,” are otherwise unattested. For the *h3.t* and *snt* of the sun in close association, one may compare the 46th Address to Re in the Great Litany:⁴⁹³

h' iwf m33=f h3.t=f *w3š b3 'p=f snt=f*
 jubilant of flesh when he sees his *h3.t*-corpse,
 strong of *ba* when he passes his *snt*-body

annotation

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
hh=sn hr sšt3.w '3(.w)
sn m33=s(n)^a nswt-b'ity nb-t3.wy Nb-hprw-R' d' 'nh m' R' d.t^b

These gods are in this fashion,
 they seeking the great mysteries,
 and they seeing the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkheperure,
 given life like Re forever.

^a Hornung reads the annotation up to this point, which he takes to be the end of the annotation, as: “So sind diese Götter beschaffen. Ihre ... sind auf ihren Geheimnissen, und sie verschlingen das, was sie sehen;” of *hh* he notes: “Unklar, zweimal das Zeichen F 18.”⁴⁹⁴ Although Barta did not include this example of the “Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbiellen Nominalsatz” in his list of occurrences for the enigmatic texts on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, it conforms to his conclusion that “alle Belege können ... als Kontinuativ verstanden werden.”⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesetn*, vol. 1, p. 53, vol. 2, p. 112 n. 124.

⁴⁹⁴Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) p. 33 and n. 18.

⁴⁹⁵Barta, *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 103-104.

The third person plural suffix pronoun appears as *s* here, as it appears again in the following annotation (pl. 13, figure B). The pronoun *sn* occurs as *s* in the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic treatise, twice in pl. 23, l. 44 (in *s<n> r=s<n>*).⁴⁹⁶ Although the suffix pronoun *sn*, and the dependent pronoun *sn*, could commonly appear as *s* in texts from the Amarna Period⁴⁹⁷ and in Late Egyptian,⁴⁹⁸ the suffix pronoun *sn* appears as *s* in several examples in texts from the Old⁴⁹⁹ and Middle⁵⁰⁰ Kingdoms.

b The prenomen of Tutankhamun, with brief titles and epithetm, written as a column of text to the right of the rightmost ram-headed mummy, forms a righthand border to this scene, and provides the direct object for *sn m33=sn* at the close of the enigmatic portion of the annotation on the left. As in the beginning of the enigmatic treatise on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (the lower vertical text in pl. 22 A: the central, lafthand portion of the main, raised portion of the ceiling), the name of the ruler for whom the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was executed is integrated into the

⁴⁹⁶For *sn* as *s* through a probable omission of the signs for the *n* and plural strokes, see chapter 4, p. 291, discussion of pl. 22, figure C, l. 20.

⁴⁹⁷F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930) p. 11 (dependent pronoun *sn* as *s*), and p. 12 (suffix pronoun *sn* as *s*).

⁴⁹⁸Ermann, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed., p. 36 (§79, suffix *sn* as *s* and *st*), and pp. 42-44 (§§94-97, dependent *sn* as *st*); Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 22 (§2.3.1, dependent pronoun *sn* as *st*).

⁴⁹⁹Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. vol. 2, p. 285 (note to PT §474c); in a handwritten note in his copy of Sethe's work, W.F. Edgerton notes another example of *sn* as *s* in *Urk.* I p. 51, l. 1.

⁵⁰⁰See the examples cited in Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 3, n. 12a, particularly B. Gunn, "A Middle Kingdom Stela from Edfu," *ASAE* 29 (1929) 6, note to l. 1 of the stela. For the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period, see Szafranski, *Études et Travaux* 12 (1983) 56 and n. 9.

cryptographic text (although in both cases the names and brief titles appear in *Normalschrift*).

lower right (plate 13, figure B):

names (left to right):⁵⁰¹

Sb3.(y)t, “she of the (eastern) portal”

The four punishing goddesses in the middle of this row of beings appear to be framed by goddesses who are personifications of the portion of the Netherworld in which they are located.⁵⁰² In keeping with the theme of the eastern horizon, the name could also be read as *sb3.t*, “she of the portal,” the feminine form of the name *sb3y* of the first uraeus on the 12th gate of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates.⁵⁰³

Sd.tyt; “she of the *sd.t*-fire”

Compare the goddess *sd.t* in the third scene in the third register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁵⁰⁴ Before he rises, Re enters an area of

⁵⁰¹Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen*, p. 39 n. 3 read: “*dw3t*, ...”

⁵⁰²Retaining the framing goddesses named for Netherworld toponyms, this could also be read as *d3.t*. But for the parallelism with the goddess *htmy.t*, this name could also be read as *wnw.t*, “hour,” *sb3.t*, “she belonging to the star” (this would be the feminine counterpart to the *sb3y* occurring in Amduat 4/41 and in the Book of Gates P 73/884-886.), or even *sb3.t*, “she who punishes.”

⁵⁰³Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 406 (compare the orthography in the SIs version).

⁵⁰⁴Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 56. Note also the cauldron-lifting arm *sd.t* in the first scene of the fourth register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (*ibid.*, p. 59), and the snake *sd.ty* of the first Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 [1942] pl. 8, ll. 1-2).

flame where he is reborn,⁵⁰⁵ and the newborn sun god as a fiery child in the east is called *sd.ty*, “he of the flame.”⁵⁰⁶ According to a portion of the version of chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead in the Greenfield Papyrus, the solar-Osirian deceased says:⁵⁰⁷

ii.n=i min <m> p3 sb3 n sd.t

“Through the portal of flame have I come today.”

The goddess *sd.ty* here alludes to this portal of flame, as the goddess preceeding her personifies the final gate of the Netherworld.

Psyt, “she of cooking”

Psî is attested since the Old Kingdom as a punishment for the damned.⁵⁰⁸ A reading of this name as *psy.t* is suggested by the names of punishing goddesses in the second scene of the lowest register in the 11th hour of the Amduat (nos. 817-20):⁵⁰⁹

| | | | |
|--|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>psy.t</i> | <i>rkhy.t</i> | <i>hry.t-ṣ̌=s</i> | <i>htmy.t</i> |
| she of cooking; she of burning; she who is over her sand; ⁵¹⁰ the place of destruction | | | |

⁵⁰⁵See J. Van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus,” *JEOL* 24 (1979-80) 11-4.

⁵⁰⁶See K. Jansen-Winkel, “Die Stele London BM 1224,” *SAK* 17 (1990) 218-9 n. 3; Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 117 n. 170 and p. 120 n. 195 (along with *Wb.* II 367, 14-5).

⁵⁰⁷E.A.W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Oxford University Press, 1912) pl. 52, ll. 9-10.

⁵⁰⁸See U. Verhoeven, *Grillen, Kochen, Backen (Rites égyptiens 4)*; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1984) pp. 126-9 (and in general, pp. 85-140, 157-8, 212-3).

⁵⁰⁹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 191.

⁵¹⁰*Cf.* the *nm.t ny.t ṣ̣̌*, “slaughtering place of sand,” in the enigmatic wall of the tomb of Ramesses IX.

With the substitution of *ihhy.t* for *hry.t*-š^{c=s}, these are the order of the names of the final goddesses on the shrine. The reading of *-sy.t* presents no problem, but the horizontal feather as *p* is somewhat unusual (the sign is for *ī* in the name of *ihhy.t*--see below). In cryptic orthographies of the personal name *P3-sr* on Louvre stele C65, the initial *P3*-element is twice written with the sign of the wing, derived, as Drioton suggests, from the verb *p3ī*, “to fly.”⁵¹¹ The horizontal feather resembles the wing in appearance, and can easily represent it as *pars pro toto*. In this way the horizontal feather appears to have acquired the value *p* found in the name *psy.t*.

Rkhy(t), “she of burning”

As in the orthography of *hry.t*, “upper region,” in the upper right section of the first side of the shrine, the final *t* has been left off in this name. A deity *rkhy.t* is attested already in the Pyramid Texts.⁵¹² In the second scene in the lowest register of the 11th hour of the Amduat she appears with three other sinner-cooking goddesses,⁵¹³ the last of whom is *htmy.t*, who follows her in the shrine, and is also the last in the list of goddesses. In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the burning damned in the sixth and seventh scenes in the second register of section D are called the *rkhy.t*.⁵¹⁴ The text contains an address to the east, the place of final destruction and rebirth. The skin

⁵¹¹Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 26-7 (cryptograms nos. D 2 and 75), 43.

⁵¹²*Wb.* III 459, 1-2; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 183.

⁵¹³*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 191.

⁵¹⁴Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 28, ll. 3, 4, 7, and 8. As the one who *wḏ rkḥw m htmy.t*, “who decrees burning in the place of destruction,” Re is called “*skhy* in the 40th address in the Great Litany (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 46-7).

for *k* here is written in a vestigial, plant-like form, which reveals the origin of the plant sign for *k* in *kkw* in the upper right annotation on the first side of the shrine.

ihhyt, “she of the morning glow”

In this name the horizontal feather represents the feather substituting for the reed leaf through similarity of appearance.⁵¹⁵ This is the feminine counterpart to the name of the upper guardian at the 12th portal in the Book of Gates.⁵¹⁶ The lower guardian there is *htmy*,⁵¹⁷ recalling the *htmy.t* who here stands behind *ihhy.t*. The punishing aspect of the fiery glow of *ihhy.t* is found again in the name of one of the judges in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead.⁵¹⁸

t3 rd pr m hhw

one flaming of foot, who has come forth from the morning glow

In the upper register of the main portion of the enigmatic ceiling in Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI,⁵¹⁹ the seventh seated, disk-headed entity is named *hh*, “he of the (morning) glow” (pl. 21).

⁵¹⁵For the feather as *i* see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 410.

⁵¹⁶Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 405, vol. 2, p. 286.


⁵¹⁷Reading *htmy* with Zandee (*Liber amicorum* [*Fs. Bleeker* 1969] p. 324), *contra* the *p3y*, “Auffliegender,” of Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 286). As *ihhy* is paralleled by one of the judges in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead (see below), so one of the judges is called *htmy* (E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 255 l. 11).

⁵¹⁸Referred to by Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 88, along with the guardian of the 12th Gates in the Book of Gates, misunderstanding *ihh.w* as “darkness.”

⁵¹⁹Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 180, upper register, 33rd column from the right.

Htmyt, “the place of destruction”

The bird has the value *htm*; the plural strokes apparently represent *w* for *y*.⁵²⁰ This name shows that these goddesses refer to the eastern horizon (*sb3.t*, *sd.ty*, *ihhy.t*) as an area of flame (*psy.t*, *rkhy.t*), the place of the rebirth of the sun and the final punishment of the damned (*htmy.t*).⁵²¹ For the use of the bird for *htm* without the *m* phonetic complement, compare the writing of the name *htmy*-^c in the lower left section of the first side of the shrine. In P. Bologna 1094 ii 6, and P. Anastasi II vi 7, the east is

⁵²⁰On *w* and *y* interchanges see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172. Compare the use of the plural strokes in the orthography  of *nm.t*,

“slaughtering place,” in the annotation accompanying the second pair of domes in the left portion of the upper register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see the discussion in chapter 4--particularly n. 31).

⁵²¹J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques II: Les révélations du mystère des quatre boules,” *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 364 n. 10, with references; for the *hb.t nt i3htt* see also Rondot, “le Naos de Domitien, Toutou et les sept fleches,” *BIFAO* 90 (1990) 327; A. Szczudlowska, “Liturgical Text Preserved on Sekowski Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 98 (1970) 57; Schott, *Kanais*, p. 154 n. 13; Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80) 16-7 (and the references p. 16 n. 49); Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettRes, MémoiRes, Collection in-8^o, Deuxième série; Brussels: Palais des académies, 1965) pp. 157-8; S. Morenz, “Rechts und Links im Totengericht,” *ZÄS* 82 (1957) 62-71. Note also the occurrence in chapter 19 of the Book of the Dead, with a full description of activities there (P. Ryerson [OIM 9787] col. 10, ll. 38-41--see T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* [OIP 82; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960] pl. 16). One should also note that in the Osirian “Stundenwachen,” in the twelfth hour of the night, Horus and Geb greet Osiris, and it is a time *hft ip=sn n=f ib.w ntr.w m s.t=fwnw.t=sn*, “when they reckon for him the hearts of the gods in his place/in their hour” (H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae* [Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse 54; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1910] p. 124 [texts DXXIV and PXXIV]). This text suggests the Judgement Hall of Osiris at the end of the Netherworld.*

the place of punishment to which the guilty man is sent, a place of the rising sun and fiery punishment called *h'w*, determined by the flame:⁵²²

wpt=f p3 'd3 dī=f sw r h'w p3 m3 't r imntt

He judges the guilty and assigns him to the East(?) and the just to the West.⁵²³

In the fourth scene of the third register in the sixth and final division of the Book of Caverns, Osiris deals with *htmyt* after dealing with the realm of the dead.

The serpents are each labelled *dwy-hr*, “wicked of face,” recalling the *nh3-hr* serpents (see below, chapter 5), and Apep as *dw/dwy* and *nty-dwy*.⁵²⁴ The group of the arm with bent shoulder over walking legs in front of each of the deities appears to read *n'y*, “travelling” (see above, the discussion of the similar group in pl. 10 B).

⁵²²A. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellany* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. 7; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937) p. 2, 15-6, and p. 16, 6.

⁵²³The translation of R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellany* (*Brown Egyptological Studies* 1; London: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 10. According to Caminos (*ibid.*, p. 11), the orthography of *h'* suggests “a ‘furnace’ or similar;” the parallelism and the meaning of *h'* suggest the east as a place of rising. This term and its orthography are comprehensible when understood as a term for the east as the place of the punishment of sinners and the rising of the sun. One may also compare the writing of *nm.t*, “slaughtering place,” as an *3h.t*-horizon with disk, and a knife stuck atop the disk (H. Junker and E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* [Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1965] p. 17 l. 11 [Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique*, vol. 3, p. 458 #439]); see also Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 298 n. (x); W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation* (*Probleme der Ägyptologie* 7; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991) p. 196 n. b. For enemies in the “hall of Re,” presumably in the east at the end of the Netherworld, see G. Rühlmann, “Deine Feinde fallen unter deinen Sohlen,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* 20 (1971) 77-8.

⁵²⁴*Dw*: Wb. V 547, 10; *dwy*: W.R. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (*British Museum No. 10188*) (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. 3; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933) p. 89, l. 3; *nty-dwy*: pl. 30, right, l. 3 (enigmatic *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramessed VI).

annotation

nn n ntryt m shr pn
wnw.t=sn 'q.w m h3w.t^a=sn
b3 R ' dwt=f r=sn
sn m33=sn hdw.t itn=f
b3.w=s<n> 'p=sn^b m <h>tw^c=f m hry
sn mnw m s.t=sn n b3/3h

These goddesses are in this fashion:
 their hours having entered into their corpses.
 The *ba* of Re calls to them (or 'as Re, he calling to them'),
 and they see the light of his disk.
 Their *bas* travel after him above,
 they remaining in their place of the *ba/akh*.

^a The sign of the egg substitutes for the pustule as the determinative of *h3.wt*, "corpses."

^b The plural strokes of *sn* are misplaced, and come between the *s* and *n* of the suffix pronoun.

^c *Htw* appears without the expected *ht*-stick; this defective writing appears in the annotation to the left middle scene on the first side of the shrine (pl. 7, fig. B [end]).

Hornung (p. 33) reads: "So sind diese Göttinnen beschaffen. Ihre Stunden sind eingetreten in ihre Körper als (?) seine Sonnenscheibe. Wenn er ihnen zuruft, erblicken sie das Licht seiner Sonnenscheibe, und ihre Ba's wandeln hinter ihm, ihre... bleiben an ihrem Platz."

As the text states that the hours enter into the corpses of the goddesses, so is each goddess depicted with a sun disk in her belly, each disk with a star atop it, the

annotation *wnw.t*, “hour.” The gestures of the goddesses further suggest that this presence of the hours within their corpses is a form of union with the sun.

The goddesses appear to pour light from their hands, as water in the *nyny* ceremony. For light treated as water-like, there are a number of references to Re swimming in his redness (see chapter 5), and the form of Re as *rmy* in the Litany of Re.⁵²⁵ This greeting is, according to Westendorf, “die ‘Hochzeit’ der himmlischen Mutter mit ihrem zu ihr (in ihren Leib) zurückkehrenden Sohn, was auf den Sonnengott ebenso zutrifft wie auf den König (bzw. Osiris).”⁵²⁶ The *nyny*-greeting alludes to the sexual union of the deceased king with his mother-consort Nut. Although Westendorf does not cite this enigmatic treatise, the lower right portion of the second side of the second shrine illustrates perfectly the association of the *nyny*-gesture with the return of the solar son into the womb of his mother-consort. The king has been received by the goddess as the sun within the sky, and the hour-disks within the bellies of the goddesses.

The disks in the bellies of the goddesses and the light entering their mouths recall a portion of Coffin Texts chapter 1099:⁵²⁷

⁵²⁵*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 26 and 267. Compare also the association of the goddesses *nsy.t* and *mwy.t* above. In *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53, ll. 6-8; vol. 2, p. 71 water and the breath of the solar deity are associated. Note also the call *h.t m mw sp-2*, “fire from water!” of the Indjandjian magical statue base (É. Drioton, “Religion et magie, l’opinion d’un sorcier égyptien,” *Revue de l’Égypte Ancienne* 1 [1927] 133-7; R.K. Ritner, “Religion vs. Magic, the Evidence of the Magical Statue Bases,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* [Stud. Aeg. 14; Budapest: La Chair d’Égyptologie de l’Université Eötvöl Loránd de Budapest, 1992] 497).

⁵²⁶W. Westendorf, “Die Nini-Begrüssung,” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten* (Fs. Derchain, OLA 39, 1991) p. 358.

⁵²⁷de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 399 a.

dr ntt rn n R ʿm ht nt N tn s ʿh=f m r=s

for the name of Re is in the belly of this N, and his honor in her mouth⁵²⁸

The goddesses represent the Netherworld as the womb of the sun, impregnated through their mouths by the rays of the sun. Their pour out the water-light on their fingertips onto the heads of serpents rearing up out of the ground, a reference to the birth of the sun through the body of Apep.

The section between the arms (plate 14):

The text in *Normalschrift*:

Wsir nswt nb t3.wy Nb-hpr.w-R ʿwnn=f m m3 ʿhrw hn ʿpd.t-psd.t ʿ3.t

In justification shall the Osiris king lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheperure exist together with the great ennead.

The group repeated three times below this text, connecting the two disks with ram-headed *ba*-birds is read by Hornung as *dw3 ʿq rmn šw*, “praising the entering one, carrying light.” Alternatively one could read the star as *dw3*, and the remaining signs together as *n ʿy* (the arm as ʿ because it is a writing of ʿ.wy, and the reed leaf as y)--“it is the praiser who travels,” or “praising the traveler.”

The arms which touch the disks at the center sides are termed ʿ.wy *htmy*, “the destructive arms.” In the parallel scene in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see below), the arms are also referred to as ʿ.wy *htmy*.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁸*ibid.* This recalls *s ʿh=f pr m r n R ʿ*, “his honor has come forth from the mouth of Re” (*Wb* III 49, 5).

⁵²⁹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 10 ll. 5-6: ʿ.wy *htmy.w hnty htmy.t*. This parallel supports the reading ʿ.wy *htmy* for the cryptic annotation of the Tutankhamun shrine (*contra* the unsupportable *ʿ.w.j *wt(s).j*, “les deux bras qui supportent” of Mysliwiec, *BIFAO* 81 Supplement [1981] 98). An alternative reading for the Tutankhamun annotations is *rmn.wty*, “carriers, supports” (*Wb*. II 420, 12).

The bulls are labelled *ng3.w*, “longhorns,” and represent the supports of the sun,⁵³⁰ and the winds of the four corners of the cosmos.⁵³¹ They may also be the corresponding

These possible *rmn.wty* arms on the Tutankhamun shrine are raised, recalling the designation of the solar deity as *dsr rmn m i3btt*, “sacred of shoulder in the east.” The raised arms on the second shrine embody both the raised arm of the potent Min deity at the eastern horizon, and the raised arm of Osiris as Nun through which the sun is to be reborn (see the section on the concluding scene to the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX [chapter 5]). The discussion of *dsr rmn m i3btt* in J.K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt, the Term DSR, with Special Reference to Dynasties I-XX* (OBO 59; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1985) pp. 40-2, 44, 65, is incomplete (he reads “whose arm clears/wards off”), ignoring as it does material from the Book of the Dead, the Book of Gates, the Amduat, and related compositions (as H. Goedicke indicated in his review of Hoffmeier’s, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt*, in *JARCE* 22 [1985] 235). The arms as *rmnw.ty* could also refer to their locations at the liminal areas of the perceived solar orbit, their names meaning also “those at the sides” (cf. W.R. Faulkner, “Ptahhotpe and the Disputants,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientalforschung, Veröffentlichung 29]*; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955] p. 83 n. k).

⁵³⁰Hornung, *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 222-3. These horned animals recall the association of cow’s horns with the birth of the sun (see E. Feucht, “Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt,” *SAK* 11 [1984] 412).

⁵³¹See de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, p. 399a (=chapter 162):

ind hr=tn i3w fdw ipw nyw p.t k3.w nyw p.t
Hail to you, oh four winds of heaven, bulls of heaven.

These may also be related to the “bull of heaven” discussed by J.F. Borghouts, “A New Middle Kingdom Netherworld Guide,” in S. Schoske, ed., *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985* (*SAK Beiheft* 3; Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1989) p. 134 (citing in n. 14 de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 214a). These heavenly bulls recall the bull head emerging from the waters of Nun in the Book of the Day and of the Night, there also apparently the bull form of the wind. There are four bull heads in the introductory scenes to the upper and lower registers of the raised portion of the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI; one of these is named *kh3-‘b.wy*, “ramming of horns.” The verb *kh3* is there fallen together with *khh* (*Wb.* V 137, 2-3), which can mean the ramming of bull horns, and also the storming force of wind and water (*Wb.* V 137, 11), appropriate to a bull as a symbol of one of the four corners of the cosmos. Compare also the “Rinderkopf” for heaven--W. Spiegelberg, “Ein Skarabäus mit religiöser Darstellung,” *OLZ* 33 (1930) 249-52 (specifically p. 249 and the references in n. 2).

masculine forms of the four cows of the necropolis.⁵³² The bulls may also be Osirian symbols, for Osiris can be said to rise from Nun in the form of a bull.⁵³³ As the Heavenly Cow can represent the primordial waters,⁵³⁴ the bull's head as Osiris rising from Nun and carrying the sun would be particularly appropriate. As the bull symbolizes the raising up of the sun, so it also recalls the arm of Osiris that is raised to support the sun in the tomb of Ramesses IX. In the middle register of the third hour of the Book of Gates (scene 11), two bulls and two bull's heads form an Aker-like representation of the Netherworld.⁵³⁵ Although this scene contains elements alluding to the nocturnal journey of the sun, it is not a true closing scene, for it closely parallels the opening scene of the enigmatic composition on the the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see pl. 15 [left]).

Other celestial bovids are the *ng3.w* referred to in text 1 of the Book of the Day and of the Night:

⁵³²For which see W.F. Petrie, *et al.*, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (BSAE 24; London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, and Bernard Quaritch, 1915) pl. 42, no. 43, four cow heads called *idr.t ny.t hr.t-ntr*, "herd of the necropolis" (Atfiyeh, tomb of *is.t-htmt*); pl. 43 no. 105, with same name (same tomb). These beings are represented as Hathor-cow-headed posts at the entrance to the tomb of Ramesses III (B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I The Theban Necropolis Part 2 Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries* [revised ed.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964] p. 519).

⁵³³The hymn for which the demotic version is recorded on O. Hess, 1. 6 9--see M. Smith, "A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn," *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 131 n. c. Osiris *wbn=f m Nwn*, "when he rises from Nun;" the demotic version follows this with *gy n k3*, "in the form of a bull," for the hieroglyphic *imy q3yt* and *n q3*, "in the high land." For the north wind associated with Osiris and the Inundation, see Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 734 n. (17).

⁵³⁴E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, pp. 96-101.

⁵³⁵Hornung, *Das Buch von Den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 84-9.

d3=k p.t m htp

pd n=k ng(3).w m inw

in imy.w-p.t shr n=k pp

ndm ib=k m š.w=k št3.w

htp=k m shw.t=k n.t mfkyw

You sail across heaven in peace,

for there has been stretched out for you the *ng3*-cattle as tribute.

It is the westerners of heaven who overthrow Apep for you,


with the result that your heart is pleased with your hidden waterways,

your offerings being in your fields of the turquoise gods.

This section was read by Drioton (p. 88) as “Sont étendus pour toi des boeufs en tribut par les habitants du ciel. Lorsque tu as abattu Apophis, se réjouit ton coeur dans tes domaines secrets, tu te reposes dans tes prairies de turquoise.” The Medinet Habu parallel has for this section:⁵³⁶

iw imn.tyw p.t s[hr]=sn n=k hfty.w=k...

...3w htp.w=k m sh.t=k [nt] mfkyw


That *in* is the initial element of a participial statement is shown by the parallel in *MH* pl. 421, l. 5, which has a Middle Egyptian gnomic *iw* + subject + *sdm=f*. The reading of “offerings” for *htp* in the Book of the Day is also made clear by the parallel in *MH* pl. 420, l. 6; an oval food determinative () is certainly to be restored in the lacuna. This line in the Medinet Habu parallel further insures the reading of *mfkyw*, “turquoise gods.”



Only *...3w* remains of the word *št3.w* in the Medinet Habu example, which thus provides no assistance in establishing the reading of the three apparent *š*-signs in text 1 of the Book of the Day and the Night. Drioton’s transliteration *š.w* is possible, as is his

⁵³⁶The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 421, ll. 5-6.

translation “domaines,” if *š.w* is read as “garden domains.”⁵³⁷ Retaining Drioton’s *š.w*, yet another understanding is possible--the *š.w* could be “water divisions,” in the plural referring to the waterway travelled by the solar deity through the hours of the day and night, the divisions of the waterway corresponding to the different hours.⁵³⁸

Re can sail peacefully because the *ng3.w* are stretched out as offerings (*Wb*. II 349, 2), and he can be at peace because Apep is overthrown. The section is chiasmic: first the desired condition, then the mention of the conflict which allowed the pleasant state; then a mention of another conflict, and finally the desirable conditions which resulted from the second struggle. The *ng3.w* here are parallel to Apep, recalling the identification of Seth with a *ng3* bull in PT Utterance 580 (specifically §1544 c); in the context of travel, the fact that the *ng3.w*-bulls are stretched out means a lack of opposition in heaven. The use of *ng3* to refer to this potential opposition recalls the *ng3.w* as the winds at the four corners of heaven, implying that Re is sailing and ruling

⁵³⁷*Wb* IV 398 B, and see further below. If, however, a more all encompassing way of referring to the god’s domains is sought in , another reading is possible.

Taking  as an attested form of the more usual sign , the reading *sp3.wt*, “districts,” is possible (see above, this chapter, n. 84). Whereas there appears to be no attestation of *š.w* referring to the sun god’s otherworldly realms, *sp3.wt* does designate his domains in the first division of the Book of Caverns, wherein we find mention of the *iry.w-‘3.w sp3.wt iḡr.t*, the “doorkeepers of the domains of Igeret” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 [1942] pl. 3, l. 1). The adjective should then have taken the form *št3.wt*, but the absence of the feminine *t* here would not exclude the possibility of reading *sp3.wt*.

⁵³⁸Peasant B1.239; Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 32, where *š wr* indicates the portion of the Nile between Philae and the Abaton; Gardiner and Bell, *JEA* 29 (1943) 39-40; note also the watercourses mentioned in the Book of Gates, not *š* “lake,” but “division of a watercourse.” These waterways are called *mr.w*, “canals,” in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk: *‘p.in ntr pn ‘3 m itn=f m-ht spr=f r mr.w št3.w...*, “then this great god passes by in his disk after reaching the mysterious waterways ...” (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 16, ll. 5-6). The use of the term *š* has specific cosmic implications (see above, chapter 2, and n. 80 there).

heaven to the four corners of the sky.⁵³⁹ The orthography without *3* is attested already for the Old Kingdom.⁵⁴⁰

The arm at the bottom center of the concluding scene is perhaps to be read simply as the arm of Re. Also possible is a connection with the term *ḥḥ*, “morning glow,” attested above in the name of the goddess *ḥḥy.t*, and in the Ramesses VI treatise in the name of a deity.⁵⁴¹ *ḥ* here can also be read as a pun on the word *ḥ*, “raise, support;” the word is used in the group *ḥ p.t* (*Wb.* I 224, 4), and recalls the raised arm of the reclining Osiris on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

The lower, enigmatic text in the concluding section is:

imy.w šhr pn m-ḥnt ḥbs sn

n m33.n=w ḥd.wt=f

ntryt m s3

Those who are in this manner⁵⁴² in the presence of the one who conceals them.

They are unable to see his light,^a

the goddesses being as protection.^b



⁵³⁹On the bulls of the four corners, see chapter 4, pp. 237-239. The *ng3.w* as potential opponents of the free movement of the sun, parallel to Apep, may be related to the appearance of a *ng3* as a gate keeper in the “bull of heaven” discussed by Borghouts, *SAK Beiheft* 3 (1989) p. 134 (citing in n. 14 de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 214a).

⁵⁴⁰Alternatively, one could read the first, left-facing bull in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 88, as *k3* in a writing *ng/k3* (compare the *nk* attested for the Graeco-Roman period in *Wb.* II 349), the two right facing bulls representing the dual as a writing of the plural (or a masculine counterpart to the *ng dšr.ty* of *Wb.* II 349, 5).

⁵⁴¹This may also be the term *ḥ*, “Feuerbecken” (*Wb.* I 223, 13-16), a further reference to the eastern horizon as a place of the final fiery consumption of the damned.

⁵⁴²Myśliwiec, *BIFAO* 81 Supplement (1981) 98, suggests reading “[*nn n ntr*]w m *šhr pn*...,” declaring “seul le début du texte nous paraît intelligible.”

^a This is reading the plural strokes for the weak third person plural suffix pronoun *w*.⁵⁴³ The *f* of *h_d.wt=f* requires a referent, which speaks in favor of reading *hbs* as “the one who conceals.”

^b The *s3*-bird for *s3*, “protection;” for the substitution of  for  in *s3-t3* and *s3w*, see *Wb.* III 416.

This scene on the second shrine of Tutankhamun is the first attestation of a scene which appears next, somewhat changed, on the exterior of the foot end of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV. The scene is incorporated within the “Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk” in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and is attested as late as the Ptolemaic period on sarcophagi.⁵⁴⁴ The texts accompanying the Ramesses IV (and later) version are:⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³See E. Edel, “Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural-*w*,” *ZÄS* 84 (1959) 17-38.

⁵⁴⁴The examples of this scene have been collected and discussed by Myśliwiec, *BIFAO* 81 Supplement (1981) 91-106, pls. 14-17; the translations given there are to be used only with extreme caution.

⁵⁴⁵Myśliwiec indiscriminately takes portions of the readings from later and somewhat garbled versions; his resulting translation suffers accordingly, and he does not appear to have consulted the Ramesses VI parallel. The transliterations and translations given here are based on the text on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV; as Piankoff and Myśliwiec note, there is an incompletely published example of this scene, with accompanying texts, in the interior of the sarcophagus of Ramesses III. A large piece of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV, containing the lower portion of this scene, has been put back in place in the tomb, and figures neither in Lefebure’s drawing, nor in the reproduction of that drawing in Myśliwiec’s article. The version used here is based on a collation of the text in the tomb in early 1991. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 125-6, pl. 92b, discusses the text. The plate shows the foot end of the sarcophagus without the added piece at the lower right (according to pp. 4-5, the photography was accomplished in 1966 and 1971); on p. 125 Hornung reproduces Lefebure’s imperfect drawing.

The upper, horizontal band of text:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn mhw k3r Wsir 't imn.t h3p(.t) shr.w iw.ty rn.w[=s]^a

These gods are in this fashion, the watchers over the shrine of Osiris, the hidden chamber that hides the conditions, which has no name.

^a The later versions have *iw.ty r t3 imy.t* at the end (as Hornung p. 126 n. 3 notes, the later versions change the *n* to *t3*). Hornung⁵⁴⁶ takes the *h3.t*-sign in Ramesses IV as a mistake for the “strong arm” of the other versions, and reads “Gefüllt ist der Osiris-Schrein, der Verborgene Raum, mit verhülltem Wesen, ohne Name dessen, das darin ist.” In fact, the *h3.t* sign is a mistake in copying made by Lefebure, and the Ramesses IV version, like the others, has *mhw* determined by the strong arm.

The text to the right of the scene:

ntr pn Wsir hn.ty imnt.t <m> shr pn^a
st.wt R 'q.w m^b h3.t=f
shd kkw-sm3w hr tb.ty=f
sšm št3 hr rd.wy=f
b3=f 'q=f n-htw R^c

This god, Osiris Foremost of the West, is <in> this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered into his corpse;^d
 the utter darkness having been illumined beneath his soles,
 the mysterious image being beneath his feet.^e
 His *ba* enters after (that is, follows) Re.

^a According to Hornung, the later versions omit the *p* of *pn*. This is probably a confusion of the *p* and the plural strokes, not uncommon in Egyptian religious texts.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁶Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 2.

⁵⁴⁷See above, pp. 119-120.

^b The later versions show a *pr*-sign following *ʿq*, apparently garbled from the plural strokes of the stative ending as written in Ramesses IV.

^c Either a writing of *m-ht* as *n-ht* (see *Wb.* III 347, 7), or a writing of *htw* with an otiose *n* through confusion with *nh.t* (compare *Wb.* III 342, a D. 19/10 orthography of *htl*, “zurückweichen;” Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 2, p. 196 [*nh-t3* for *ht-t3* in Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 5, 11, 10]).⁵⁴⁸

^d The plural strokes in the Ramesses IV version show this to be the noun “light;” the later versions suggest a reinterpretation as *stl* the verb, allowing a reading “Re shining, he having entered...”⁵⁴⁹ This is the action--the light of Re entering into the corpse of Osiris--which results in the label of the corpse of Osiris in the second scene of the first register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI: *h3.t imy(.t) R ʿ*, “the corpse in which Re is.” In the text accompanying the scene above this, Re resides in the solar bark upon the back of Aker:⁵⁵⁰

dī=f hḏ.wt m h3.t 3h.ty
ʿq=f m itn
h3y=f h3.t št3y.t

⁵⁴⁸See also R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (SAOC 52; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1992) p. 121 (note M to line 6/8). Hornung does not read *R ʿ* here, although he suggests (*Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 7) “lies *jtn*?” He takes the *ntr pn m šhr pn* of the following section here, reading “sein *Ba* tritt ein hinter diesen Gott in dieser Art.” For other writings of *ht-t3*, see *Wb.* III 349, 15 (in the stele of Nesumonthu, *ht3 < ht-t3*); *Wb.* III 343, 3 (Libyan War Inscription of Merneptah = *KRI* IV 4, 14).

⁵⁴⁹According to Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 5, this is “so nach den Parallelen zu ergänzen;” the signs are there, however, on the replaced portion of the sarcophagus.

⁵⁵⁰Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, ll. 3-4 (text III).

as he sheds light in the corpse of the one of the horizon,
entering in the disk,
lighting up the mysterious corpse.

For the orthography of *‘q* here, compare the enigmatic orthography in pl. 5 A (side one, right, middle band), and the discussion there.

^e This section recalls the events within the Chamber of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of the Amduat.⁵⁵¹

ḥ3y rd.wy m q3b ntr 3

s3=f sšm=f

It is in the coils of the great god that the two feet light up,
he protecting his image.⁵⁵²

This image which he protects is apparently, like the *sšm št3* of the Ramesses IV text, a *sšm št3* beneath the god. In the introduction to the 5th Hour of Amduat,⁵⁵³ the great god is hauled “on the proper paths of the Dat in the upper half of the mysterious cavern of Sokar Who is Upon his Sand”:

n m33 n ptr sšm pn št3 n t3 ḥr iwf ntr pn

without there being seen and without there being perceived this secret
image of the earth which is under the flesh of this god.

⁵⁵¹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 93, ll. 4-5.

⁵⁵²For the expected orthography *s3* of the circumstantial form here, the Ramesses VI version has *s33* (*ibid.*, p. 93 n. *m*); on orthographies of circumstantial *s3* with two alephs, see immediately below, in the discussion of the text to the left of this scene.

⁵⁵³Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 75, ll. 5-6 = E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 3 *Die Kurzfassung, Nachtrag* (Äg.Ab. 13; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967) p. 9, ll. 90-1.

The text to the left of the scene:

ntr pn m šhr pn wnw.t

R ʿ q.w m h3.t=f m h ʿw=f

s3w^a=f wnw.wt ʿq.w m kkw-sm3w hr tb.ty=f(y)

i ʿr.ty=fy s3w=sn sw r- ʿ Wsir ...Ramesses IV m3 ʿ-ħrw

This god is in this fashion at the (appropriate) hour,

Re having entered into his own corpse,

he protecting the hours which which have entered into the utter

darkness beneath his two soles,^b

His two uraei protect him, even^c the Osiris ... Ramesses IV, the vindicated.

^a The circumstantial *s3* appears to be written here with two alephs as *s33*. One might be tempted to read the first aleph as an enigmatic substitution for the *s3*-bird, which would allow one to read the expected *s3*. The circumstantial of *s3* occurs, however, elsewhere in the royal Netherworld books in a form with two alephs. In Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 93 l. 5 and n *m*, the tomb of Ramesses VI writes *s33* for the circumstantial *s3* of the other versions. Also in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the circumstantial *s3* of scene 67 in the 10th Hour of the Book of Gates occurs in the geminated form *s33*.⁵⁵⁴ Further apparent writings of circumstantial *s3* as *s33* appear in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁵⁵⁵ In the enigmatic corpus studied here, the form occurs in the Ramesses VI Corridor G treatise (see here pl. 21, l. 3; pl. 23, l. 64; and possibly pl. 25, l. A43).

In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, a further form of the circumstantial

of *s3* appears as



, apparently a writing of *s3wty*.⁵⁵⁶ The use of two

⁵⁵⁴*idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 346.

⁵⁵⁵Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 4, ll. 7 and 9; pl. 15, l. 4.

⁵⁵⁶*ibid.* pl. 10, l. 5; pl. 27, l. 8. On the form *s3wty*, see A. Gardiner, "The Egyptian Word for >>Herdsman<<, etc.," *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 119 n. 1; *idem*, *Ancient*

alephs in this orthography suggests that the second may represent *w*, the circumstantial *s33* forms being orthographies of a circumstantial *s3w*. In the same composition, the orthography of the circumstantial *s3* as



is also apparently to be read

s3w.⁵⁵⁷ The circumstantial *s3* of scene 67 in the 10th Hour of the Book of Gates appears as *s3* in the Osireion, as *s3w* in the tomb of Sety I, and as *s33* in the tomb of Ramesses VI.⁵⁵⁸ In the text to scene 69 in the 11th Hour of the Book of Gates,⁵⁵⁹ the circumstantial *s3* of the Osireion version appears as *s3wty* in the tomb of Sety I, and as *s3ww*, *s3* with two coil *w*'s, in the tomb of Ramesses VI, further support for reading the apparent *s33* circumstantial forms as *s3w*.

Alternatively, one could read the second aleph in the examples of circumstantial *s33* as a writing of the *tyw*-bird for *s3wty*. Yet another--though less likely--possibility is to read the two alephs as a sportive false dual, *s33* for *s3y*.⁵⁶⁰

^b Compare the annotation above the parallel scene in the tomb of Ramesses VI: *wnw.wt* *ꜥ kkw hr tb.t*.

Egyptian Onomastica vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947) p. 90*; Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* vol. 2, p. 874 (n. 1435).

⁵⁵⁷Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 6, l. 1.

⁵⁵⁸Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 346.

⁵⁵⁹*ibid.* p. 359.

⁵⁶⁰One should note, however, an apparent geminating form of the verb *s3i* in the Old Perfective (see E. Edel, "Beiträge zur ägyptischen Grammatik," ZÄS 84 [1959] 105-108). I have discussed the apparent *s33/s3w* form of *s3i* with Andrew Baumann, and he is reaching similar conclusions regarding the circumstantial form *s33*; he leans towards reading *s3wty*.

^c As Hornung notes, the parallels have *r d.t nhh*.⁵⁶¹ The Ramesses IV version of the text appears to be parallel to the concluding line in the cryptic annotation to the reclining ithyphallic Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX, with the wish that the king partake of the deity's fate and be placed with the god. This translation reads *r-* 'in the sense of "even" of the Coptic ΡΩ.

The texts in the tomb of Ramesses VI (the second scene in the third register of section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk):⁵⁶²

The annotation preceeding the scene:

p h3.wt h3.w-hr in ntr pn 3
tf^a p=f hr h3.t Hpry^b
i h3.wt n.t h3y.w-hr.w 3 hr.wt m imnt.t

Passing the corpses of the 'ones warlike of face' by this great god,
 when he passes by the corpse of Khepri (saying):

"Oh corpses of the 'ones warlike of faces, great of condition in the West.'"

^a Reading *rf* as *tf*, with Piankoff, *La création de la disque solaire*, p. 21 n. 5.

^b The determinative book-roll has become a *t* in the annotation.

The annotation following the scene:

⁵⁶¹Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 126 n. 9.

⁵⁶²Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 10, ll. 2-8; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, pp. 441-2. All previous commentators on this scene omit the first portion of the annotation, assigning it to the end of the preceeding scene; this ignores, however, the content of the text, which refers to the entites termed *h3y.w-hr.w* of this scene.

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
s3w=sn ʿwy ḥtmy ḥn.ty ḥtmy.t
ntsn wts=sn ḥtn=sn
ʿwy=sn wts R ʿ
ʿwy=sn ḥnm=sn ḥ3.wt d3.tyw
wnw.t s3w=sn wnw.t b3 n b3 R ʿ

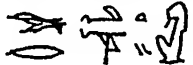
These gods are in this fashion,
 protecting the destructive arms within the place of destruction.
 They lift up their disk,
 It is their arms which support Re.
 Their arms join with the corpses of the Datians,
 at the hour when they protect the hour of the *ba* of the *ba* of Re.

The text above the scene:

wnw.wt ʿp kkw hr ḥb.t
 The hours that enter the darkness beneath the sole.

The arms which reach up to the disks on the Second Shrine, like those in the parallel scene in the tomb of Ramesses VI, are reaching out from the lowest region of the Dat, out of the Place of Destruction, lifting up and supporting the disk of Re. This is an image of the connection of the lowest realms of the Dat with the sky on the cusps of the upper and lower worlds. In the tomb of Ramesses IX, the place of the arms is taken by the Osiride king and his uplifted arm(s). The arms of Re may be said to form the two heavens.⁵⁶³ In this scene, the arms of the solar Osiris emerging from the Netherworld lift up the sun and form the sky across which the disk sails.

⁵⁶³Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1925, les inscriptions*, p. 18:

ʿwy ḥm=f m ḥr wḥm n p.ty m  *wr.ty-ḥk3w*

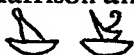
the arms of his majesty acting again and again for the two heavens by
 means of (the Double Crown) “The Two Great of Magic”

Except in the version of the scene in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the grouping of the labels naming the depicted entities are somewhat confused.⁵⁶⁴ The text of the Ramesses IV version, and the versions of the Late Period, is the same as that accompanying the Ramesses VI example only in the *hr tb.ty* section. Hornung⁵⁶⁵ reads the name of the entity atop the leftmost arm as *wnmy*, “Linker,” and the name of the entity atop the rightmost arm as *n ʿwtj*, “Fahrender (?),” suggesting a possible connection with the Litany of Re,⁵⁶⁶ and PT 702a.

The leftmost scene on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun--with its later parallels--is not, as Mysliwiec (p. 94) would have it, a representation of two different worlds, nor is it an attempt at a reconciliation of the “enemy” gods Re and Osiris. The scene in all its permutations fits well into the group of images which conclude the Netherworld Books. This is a description and depiction of the rejuvenation of the sun and the Osirian corpse.

The enigmatic signs on the second shrine of Tutankhamun are primarily common hieroglyphs, with primarily uniliteral enigmatic values, derived for the most part through substitution of signs. The more uncommon sign of the spitting mouth also occurs, along with the grasshopper, but these signs appear frequently in other New Kingdom

The closing portion of this should not be read as “en qualité de Grand Magicien” (so Drioton). The *wr.ty-ḥk3w* are the Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt--cf. E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum 2* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1912) pl. 7 (no. 147 [839]), ll. 6-5 from the left: *ḥry sšt3 n W3d.ty*



wr.ty ḥk3w.

⁵⁶⁴Mysliwiec’s translations of the annotations in the version represented by the Tomb of Ramesses IV, reading the run-together annotations as so intended, are thus incorrect.

⁵⁶⁵*Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 125.

⁵⁶⁶Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 134 n. 364.

cryptographic inscriptions. Thematic cryptography does not occur (the two occurrences of a pot on its side over a jar stand appears to be a sportive arrangement of the enigmatic signs, but in neither group does a thematic interpretation appear possible). For no enigmatic sign value occurring on the second shrine of Tutankhamun need recourse be made to acrophony; the origin of the value *p* for the mouth remains uncertain (the root *pī*, and onomatopoeia are the two possibilities suggested here), and the origin of the value *r* for the grasshopper remains wholly obscure, and acrophony is not particularly helpful.

The texts and iconography of this enigmatic treatise all describe the rejuvenation of the sun in the east, overseen by the giant figure of the unified Re-Osiris. Other elements refer to the resurrection of the blessed dead in the east, and the final fiery punishment of the dead in the bowels of the morning. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the texts and depictions on the second shrine form two sections, each corresponding to one of the two exterior sides of the shrine:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| exterior left panel | beginning of the treatise |
| exterior right panel | end of the treatise |

This corresponds to the decoration of the third shrine:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| exterior left panel | Amduat 2nd Hour |
| exterior right panel | Amduat 6th Hour |

The end of the treatise on the second shrine of Tutankhamun features six entities in each discreet group, suggesting a reference to the sixth hour of the night, the time of the unification of Re and Osiris.⁵⁶⁷ On the first side, most of the annotations begin with

⁵⁶⁷So in the Amduat and the Book of Gates; see W. Barta, "Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches," *JEOL* 29 (1985-86) 98-105.

nn n ntr.w m shr pn m qrr.t=sn....; on the concluding side, most begin with *nn n ntr.w m shr pn hdw.t R<* On the second side, the disk of the sun is everywhere to be seen, whereas on the first side the disk is absent, except for the two disks in which the ram-headed soul of the sun travels. The first side is thus a place of caverns and darkness, the second side a place of light and the travelling disk of the sun. The first side suggests the Books of Amduat and Gates, while the second side, with its omnipresent solar disk, suggests the Books of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The shrine is composed of two sections, one on each of the long sides of the shrine, each of the sides divided roughly into three horizontal registers. This arrangement of the treatise in two sections of three divisions each parallels the organization of the divisions of the Book of Caverns. A number of names and text allusions also recall the Books of Caverns and the Creation of the Solar Disk;⁵⁶⁸ the standing figure of the giant deity and the concluding scene both are similar to scenes in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, one of the earliest records of the New Kingdom Netherworld Books, shows the Amduat and Caverns styles, and Amduat and Book of the Dead texts, all mixed in a single composition. The beginning of the first side of the shrine recalls the opening of the Book of Gates, but other references to the Book of Gates are few.⁵⁶⁹ A number of the names of the entities on both sides allude to

⁵⁶⁸Caverns: pl. 5 B, 4th deity from the right; pl. 5 C, 3rd and 6th deities; pl. 7 A, 5th-7th deities; pl. 7 B, 1st deity; pl. 8, annotation and scene; pl. 9 A, last name (?); pl. 9 B, allusion in text, 1st entity; pl. 10 A, 2nd-3rd deities. Creation: pl. 5 B, 6th deity (and annotation [?]); pl. 7 A, 2nd deity; pl. 7 B, 3rd deity; pl. 8, text and scene; pl. 13 B, 2nd deity.

⁵⁶⁹There is a possible allusion to the Book of Gates in the use of the term *3h.t* in the pl. 7 B annotation, and in the names pl. 7 A, 4th deity (and 5?), pl. 13 A, 1st and 2nd deities; and the 2nd name in pl. 13 B.

the Litany of Re.⁵⁷⁰ There are perhaps two direct references to the Book of the Day and the Night,⁵⁷¹ and more to the Amduat,⁵⁷² most of these on the second side.

Hornung also states that: "It has long been recognized that Akhenaten suppressed all the richness and complexity of the Osirian netherworld, of the nocturnal journey of the sun so elaborately presented in the *Amduat* and the *Litany of Re* (to mention only compositions probably known to Akhenaten)."⁵⁷³ It is difficult, however, to accept an actual malevolent suppression of the Osirian element in Amarna religion. Belief in such suppression would ignore the possibility that the Second Shrine originally bore an Atonist name.⁵⁷⁴ The theology of this shrine supports Drioton's conclusion that: "Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est bien aux spéculations d'Amarna..qu'il faut aussi rattacher le

⁵⁷⁰Pl. 5 B, 1st-3rd, 7th-8th deities (5 of 8); pl. 5 C, 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 8th deities (the 6th name is similar); pl. 7 A, the 3rd and 4th deities; pl. 9 A, the 5th deity (?); pl. 9 B, the 1st deity; pl. 10 A, l. 5 (similar); pl. 13 A, 4th deity (?). pl. 5 B, 8th deity; pl. 5 C, 1st and 8th deities all recall the 12th Address of the Great Litany.

⁵⁷¹Pl. 7 B, 5th deity (?); and pl. 10 A, 4th deity.

⁵⁷²Pl. 5 B, 5th deity; pl. 7 B, 3rd-4th, and 6th deities; pl. 8 name of the serpent; pl. 9 A, 3rd deity; pl. 10 A, 1st deity; pl. 12, 1st deity (?), 4th deity, and 5th-6th deities; pl. 13 B, 3rd-4th deities.

⁵⁷³Hornung, "The Rediscovery of Akhenaten and his Place in Religion," *JARCE* 29 (1992) 48.

⁵⁷⁴R. Engelbach, "Material for a Revision of the History of the Heresy Period of the XVIIIth Dynasty," *ASAE* 40 (1940) 138, believed the name of Tutankhamun on the second shrine replaced the name of Smenkhkare; Piankoff, *Les chapelles*, pp. 51-52 (n. 2 to p. 51) disputed the claim that the names on the second shrine had been surcharged, and suggested that chemical changes had resulted in the different appearance of the gold leaf within the cartouches. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, p. 104, believes that the name of Tutankhamun on the second shrine is in fact written over "an original name, a component part of which, according to Carter, was '-aten.'" In *Valley of the Kings*, p. 55 n. 103, Reeves cites J.R. Harris as suggesting that the second shrine of Tutankhamun was originally inscribed for Akhenaton; according to Reeves' suggestions in *ibid.*, pp. 40-41, this might indicate that the second shrine was prepared for Akhenaton as part of a projected Theban burial, prior to his move to Akhetaton.

synchrétisme le plus important, et somme toute le plus difficile à réaliser, de la vieille religion égyptienne: l'indentification théologique d'Osiris avec Rê."⁵⁷⁵

The second shrine of Tutankhamun retains a certain amount of its mystery, but Edward's⁵⁷⁶ statement that the enigmatic script here is "still largely undeciphered," his claim that for the Osiride figure of the giant deity "no meaning can be given to it," and his statement that "still less is it possible to understand" the scenes of the clothing light and the pairs of arms on the second side of the shrine are all far too pessimistic.

⁵⁷⁵Drioton, "Trois documents d'époque amarnienne," *ASAE* 43 (1943) 15-43 (quoting his conclusion p. 43). For Hornung's comments on this article, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 124. See also A. Piankoff, "Les grandes compositions religieuses du Nouvel Empire et la réforme d'Amarna," *BIFAO* 62 (1964) 207-218, on the relationship of the Netherworld Books with "Amarna" religion. Piankoff, points out that, on the basis of the royal Netherworld Books, Aton and Amun were not deities at odds with each other; they were rather "des éléments—on pourrait même dire—des pièces détachées d'une vaste machine cosmique" (*ibid.*, p. 208).

⁵⁷⁶I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: his Tomb and its Treasures* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1978) p. 105.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE ENIGMATIC NETHERWORLD BOOKS OF THE SOLAR-OSIRIAN
UNITY: CRYPTOGRAPHIC COMPOSITIONS IN THE TOMBS OF
TUTANKHAMUN, RAMESSES VI, AND RAMESSES IX

VOLUME TWO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES
AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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Chapter 4

The Enigmatic Treatise on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI

Work on tomb Number 9 in the Valley of the Kings began during the reign of Ramesses V, and the excavation of the chambers appears to have reached at least the first pillared hall before the death of the king; Ramesses VI then appropriated and completed the unfinished tomb. Due to some error in calculating the proper angle of descent for the corridors, the tomb of Ramesses VI collided with the last chamber in the tomb KV 12, resulting in a two foot by 2.8-foot hole in corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI.¹ The architects of Ramesses VI were forced to alter the appearance of the fifth corridor (G), and the result was a sloping floor, a ceiling with a dropped portion at the far end, and a relatively high lintel above the doorway into Hall H.² The ceiling of Corridor G, both the raised and dropped portions, along with the lintel at the end of the corridor, bear Netherworld scenes with enigmatic annotations (plates 15-16, 27, and 29). Already Champollion published copies of the scenes and texts on this ceiling,³ and more recently, Hornung has offered the first attempt at interpreting any portion of the

¹See F. Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.* (OBO 89; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989) pp. 28-31; on the work completed during the reign of Ramesses V, *ibid.* pp. 40-48; on Corridor G, *ibid.* pp. 98-110, 150-4, 157-8.

²For a sketch of this Corridor G, with a reconstruction of the progression of the quarrying work at the time of the break through into KV 12, see *ibid.* p. 30 fig. 5.

³J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, Librairies-Éditeurs, 1844) vol. 2, pp. 570-2.

ceiling, presenting a brief study of the right-hand annotation on the lintel; no one has treated the other texts and scenes in Corridor G.

The main, leftmost portion of the composition is divided into three registers (pls. 15 and 16). The upper and lower registers begin to the left side with three doubled, domed structures. These features, with the bark of the sun sailing between them, are similar to the concluding scene of the Book of Caverns.⁴

upper register (above the bark, plates 15-16, plate 17, figures A and B):

The introductory scenes to the upper and lower registers have each four bull's heads, one at each corner of the scene, with a disk between his horns. In the center of each scene there stand two female entities, back to back, a cauldron on the head of each. In the upper register, the rightmost cauldron contains disks, the leftmost stars; in the bottom register, the rightmost cauldron holds three shadow signs, the leftmost three aleph-birds. The three birds are apparently enigmatic substitutions for three *b3*-birds, elsewhere found in close associations with shadow signs.⁵ These scenes are together reminiscent of the leftmost scene on the second side of the second shrine of

⁴On which see E. Hornung, "Zu den Schlusszenen der Unterweltsbücher," *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 223-5; compare also the similar scene (but without the bark) in the tombs of Merneptah and Tawosret (*ibid.* p. 224 fig. 8 and pl. 38 b).

⁵Cf. the shades and *b3*-birds cooking together in the same cauldron in the lowest register of the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI [Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 1; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954] p. 115 fig. 19); *b3*-birds, in a semi-cursive, aleph-like form, in the pit next to a pit containing shadow signs in the bottom register of the 11th Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.* fig. 86 [opposite p. 305]); *b3*-birds next to shadow signs, and some with shadow signs atop their heads, in the Sarcophagus Hall of the tomb of Ramesses VI (*ibid.* fig. 108 [opposite p. 350]). In these scenes, the shadow signs are opposite the star signs, recalling the close association of these in the third scene in the first register of Section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (*ibid.* p. 332 fig. 90).

Tutankhamun (pl. 14).⁶ The figures of Osiris (above) and Re (below) there find their parallels here in the middle mounds to the right of these scenes.

The four bulls heads are labelled *šw.t*, “shadow,”⁷ in the version of the scene in the lower register. In the upper register, each is given a separate name: the lower two are given names describing qualities which they possess--*kh3*-*ḥ.wy*, “ramming of the two horns,”⁸ and *ḥry*, “the far one;” the upper two are called simply by terms denoting “bull”--*k3w*, “the bull;” and *kymy*, a writing of *q3m*, “young bull” (*Wb.* V 38, 1),⁹ the demotic *gm* and Coptic Ⲅⲁⲙ.¹⁰ They are the four bulls of the four corners of the

⁶As noted in the discussion of this plate in chapter 3, the similarities with the scene in the Ramesses VI Corridor G treatise confirm that the scene on the Tutankhamun shrine is not simply a closing scene.

⁷Twice reading the disk following the *šw.t* sign as a determinative; a reading *šw.t R* is also possible.

⁸*Wb.* V 136, noting *kh3* “seit Ende *N.R.* mit *khb* zus[ammen] geworfen;” *Wb.* V 137, 2-3; *kh3/khb* is appropriate to a bull representing a cosmic corner (see above, chapter 3, pp. 219-223).

⁹Though often transliterated *qm3*, the word underwent a *m3* > *3m* shift (for which see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* [*Analecta Orientalia* 34; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955] vol. 1, p. 60 §136), as is shown by the orthographies in P. Harris I 30, 3 and in the Turin Indictment Papyrus (see A. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* [Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1948] p. 74, ll. 2 and 5). The two reed leaves here represent the aleph, the double strokes at the end represent the -w shown in the Turin Indictment Papyrus orthography. For *gm* of demotic as *qm3/q3m*, “young bull,” compare the writing of *gm*, “to find,” as though it were *qm3* (see R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text* (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135) [*SAOC* 52; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1992] p. 21 n. 13, citing I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* 2 vols. [*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* 4th series; London: the Trustees of the British Museum, 1960] vol. 1 p. 5 n. 31; and J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville* [*BdE* 35; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961] p. 70 n. e).

¹⁰Following K.-Th. Zauzich, “Ein Kaufvertrag aus der Zeit des Nektanebos,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969) 226 n. g; and J. Ray, “The *Gm* of Memphis,” *JEA* 58 (1972) 308-10, in deriving *gm* and Ⲅⲁⲙ from *q3m* (*contra* N.J. Reich, “New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis,” *Mizraim* 1 [1933] 83-7, who related *gm* to *km.t*, the “black

cosmos, on which see the discussion of the similar scene in the chapter on the 2nd Shrine of Tutankhamun. For the area of the horns of the bulls' heads as cauldrons, places of punishment, one may compare scene number 75 in the Book of Gates (in the middle register of the 11th Hour). There a demon *bsy*, "flaming one," holds a fiery pot over a bull's head, the flame falling between the horns; the head of the bull is on a post across the middle of which is a knife.¹¹ This is a reference to the eastern corner of the cosmos (bull's head) as the place of fiery rebirth (flame) and final perdition (flame and knife). The use of *ḥḏm*, "young bull," is probably a reference to the sun as a calf.¹²

The horned head with arms in each version of the scene is labelled *ʿry*, "horned animal."¹³ For this feature in cosmographic contexts, there is the close parallel of the

herd" [*Wb.* V 125, 5-9]); see also E. Cruz-Uribe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents, a Study in Legal Forms and Principles in Ancient Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology 26; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1985) p. 49; S. Vleeming, "Notes on Some Early-Demotic Cattle Documents," *Bi.Or.* 42 (1985) 513. For *ḥḏm*, see W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1939) p. 815b; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965-77) p. 455; and W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1984) p. 340. F. de Cenival, "Un acte de renonciation consécutif à un partage de revenus liturgiques memphites (P. Louvre E 3266)," *BIFAO* 71 (1972) pl. 11, pp. 60-61 and n. 50, discussing an occurrence of the word *gm* in P. Louvre E 3266, 4, suggested reading *t3 gm.t*, which she tentatively relates to *t3 km.t*, the "black herd." Rather than an indication of a possible relationship between *gm* and the *km.t*-herd, De Cenival misread the demotic *n3 gm.w*, "the young bulls."

¹¹E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* 2 vols. (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 7 and 8; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1979-80) vol. 1, p. 365; vol. 2, pp. 256-7.

¹²See Kees, *Die Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1980 reprint) p. 78 and n. 3 (see the reference to Re as the "golden calf" in Pyr. 1029).

¹³D. Meeks, *Anée lexicographique* vol. 1 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1980) pp. 67-8, no. 77.0692, noting H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies* vol. 2 *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs Part 1 Reversals* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977) p. 129 and n. 429, who comments on the variant *ʿry* for *ʿr*.

four upside-down antelope heads in the 33rd scene of the Book of Gates, called *hmhmy.w*, “Brüllende,”¹⁴ and the *ʿrt* and *ʿrt-wr.t* in the Book of the Day.¹⁵ The disks between the hands of the *ʿry*-beings show that we are here dealing with solar deities. The name *ʿry* parallels the entity *ỉ ʿry* in the upper right section of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5, fig. B), and the sun as *ỉ ʿry* in the 11th and 12th Addresses of the Great Litany of Re.¹⁶



In the left portion of the upper register are three texts, each associated with one of three pairs of domes. The texts run in columns above the outermost dome and columns between the two domes. On plate 18 the texts appear as they are laid out on the ceiling; on plate 19, each text is shown as a continuous column. In the following transliterations, the order of reading the upper and lower columns is indicated by T for top and B for bottom, followed by the line number. The columns of text for each pair of domes read from right to left. These T and B numbers are indicated on plate 18.









¹⁴Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 147.




¹⁵A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (*BdE* 13; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1942) p. 7 [and n. 8] and p. 11). *ʿrt* in these names is written as though it were the word for “horned animal/gazelle.”

¹⁶E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* 2 vols. (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 2 and 3; Geneva: Editions de Belles-Lettres, 1975-76) vol. 1, pp. 16-7; vol. 2, p. 103 n. 42. The participle *ỉ ʿry* has a divine determinative in each of these addresses in the tomb of Thutmosis III. There may yet be a reference to the Judgment Hall of Osiris, for the name *ʿry* may be interpreted as a play on words, with “he of the staircase” a possible reading (for such a play on words, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 141 n. 459, and further chapter 3, pp. 92-93).

^c The vulture appearing here between *pn* and *pr* is not expected, on the basis of the similar texts in pl. 19 C and pl. 20 A and C. The texts in pl. 19 B and pl. 20 B do begin by referring to the deity being *m shr pn m nm.t*; the apparent vulture for owl-*m* in the pl. 19 A text may be an unfortunate insertion from such a text.

möchte man in  verbessern: 'der die Trogodyten fängt.' The word *rth* can be used as an action directed against an enemy (*Wb* II 460, 3-5);  would then have to stand for *t* or *h*, with a sign missing. The apparent "undersky" here finds a parallel in section Ia of the obelisk (Erman, "Römische Obeliskten," p. 200), where the

Nbty name of Domitian is given as *wr*  . The titles of Domitian there are, as noted by Erman, copied from those of Ptolemy III Euergetes I; we can be certain in reading *wr phty*, "gross an Kraft." The *hr* sign stands for *h*; regarding the other signs, Erman thought they were perhaps to be read *p.ty*, "the two heavens," "aber die beiden H. schreibt man immer mit  und nicht mit  . (*ibid.* p. 18 n. 2)" Iversen has commented on the "barbarous shapes of the signs," noting that the inscriptions were probably not executed by an Egyptian carver (E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile* vol. 1 *The Obelisks of Rome* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad Publishers, 1968] p. 80 n. 3). Rather than being the undersky, the sign below the face is the attested elongated form of the *dw*-mountain hieroglyph (for the use of the *dw*-sign for the sign of the undersky in the Ramesside period, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 249 [orthographies of *nm.t* in the tombs of Sety II, Siptah, and Ramesses III]). Read thusly, the sign  is for *p*,  for *h*, and  stands for *t* (see H.W. Fairman, "Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu," *ASAE* 43 [1943] 236 [#239]); the final *t* represents the *y* ending of *ΠΔΖΤΕ* (see also the orthography  [Wb I 539]). Returning to IIb, the second sign in 

 is thus to be read *d/t*. To assume an omission of *h* in order to read *rth* with Erman is somewhat drastic. If  stands for *p*, then we have here the word *pd*, "stretch out," and Domitian is said to be one who "stretches out the Trogodytes" (on *pd* in this context, see *Wb* I 568, 7-8). For this orthography of *pd*, compare the odd writing of *p.t* as  , as though misinterpreted as *pd*, in J.E. Quibell and A.G.K.

Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side* (*Excavations at Saqqara* 8; Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1927) pl. 9, l. 10 (although, as Prof. Wente has suggested, the composer of the text may rather have confused *p.t* with *pt<pt>*).

^d The first of the two mouths here could conceivably belong to a writing of the divine name R^{ζ} ,²⁰ but this would leave the second r unexplained. Taking the first as the preposition r , the second, on the basis of the parallel text in pl. 20 C, should have the value f . The snake is commonly attested for r in cryptography;²¹ the value f for the mouth- r here is then the reverse of this enigmatic process. Yet another enigmatic value for the mouth- r derived from another reversal of an enigmatic process occurs in the dropped portion of the enigmatic treatise on this ceiling. There, the use of the $s3$ -goose for r is reversed, and the mouth- r has the value $s3$ (see below, and pl. 27).²²

Alternatively, one might read the second r as the third person suffix pronoun w . The mouth r for the value w is attested sporadically in this treatise (in $\dot{t}n.w \dot{t}ry.w=sn$ in ll. 18 and 32 [pl. 24], and in $sn \underline{d}w\dot{t}=sn$ in l. 37 of the second section of the bottom register [pl. 26], in the word $\underline{d}w\dot{t}$ in the rightmost text in the *Schutzbild* [pl. 30, rightmost text, ll. 4 and 5] and in the word $\underline{d}w\dot{t}$ there [pl. 30, rightmost text, l. 6]).²³ Overt Late

²⁰This would, however, require a reversal of the determinative and the r , with a curious absence of the ζ -arm.

²¹É. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413; *idem*, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie," *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; K. Sethe, "Die aenigmatischen Inschriften," in the Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, and P. Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London: Archibald Constable and Co, Ltd, 1908) p. 10*.

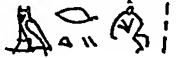
²²Cf. the grasshopper with the value p , through extension of the value p for the mouth- r for the grasshopper for r , pl. 21, l. 28.




²³For the mouth- r as w , compare the confusion possible between the mouth r and the coil w in hieratic--ie. J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 6*; London: the Trustees of the British Museum, 1991) p. 13 n. 13 (to P. BM 10411 verso 3-4). This value was passed on to the grasshopper--usually with the value r --in the New Kingdom cryptographic syllabary (see chapter 3, pp. 128-132). For w and r see also W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter 8*; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962) p. 22, §34, 5. According to É. Drioton, "Les principes de la cryptographie égyptienne," *CRAIBL* (1953) 360, the value w for the mouth- r (derived by Drioton



Egyptianisms do not appear to occur elsewhere in this text, however. This fact, along with the parallel in plate 20 C, support the proposal here to read the second mouth-*r* as *f*.

^e The suffix pronoun *f* is not written here, although on the basis of the parallel text plate 19 C one would expect it. The *f* of l. B 5 may have served as the haplographic writing of the pronoun. This entity lights up "by means of that which is in him," a reference to the "flame which is in his mouth."²⁴ For Netherworld denizens lighting up from their own flames, compare text 12 in the second register of section D in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, wherein demons light up from their own punishing fire (...*nty hdd=sn m sd.t...*).²⁵ Plate 20 C has *m imy.t r3=f*, perhaps intended here.

Alternatively, the third person singular masculine pronouns following the mention of Re may refer back to Re, reading "his (Re's) corpse lighting up by means of that which is on him (Re)," the disk of the sun being what is on Re's head.²⁶

through acrophony from *wnm*, "ce qui mange") is attested "dans les inscriptions énigmatiques de certains scarabées dont l'étude n'a pas encore été publiée." The work appears to have remained unpublished. The orthography  of *mw.tyw*, "the

dead," on the coffin of Ankhnesneferibre [l. 77 = C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1937) p. 71] does not show a use of mouth-*r* for *w*; rather, as B. Gunn concluded (in his review of Sander-Hansen in *JEA* 28 [1942] 73), " is probably a resolution of , which is a late writing of *mw.t* and is itself doubtless derived from .



 (According to Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre*, "in  ist das  falsch aus O transkribiert," also a possibility).


²⁴The flame *imy.t-r3* is probably behind the statement from the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns cited above.

²⁵A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (*BdE* 19; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953) pl. 28, ll. 5-6.

²⁶For the solar disk as *imy.tp* Re, see *ibid.*, p. 47 n. 5. For the preposition *m* as "on, atop something," see E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (*SAOC* 33; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1967) p. 31 n. *af* and p. 46 n. *b*; see also in the commentary to *imy.w-î3.wt=sn* in chapter 5, p. 439.

(second figure: plate 18, figure A; plate 19, figure B) (T1) *nt(i)* *pn* (B1) *m*
 (T2) *shr* (T2+B2) *pn m* (B2+T3) *nm.t* (the determinative is the circle in line B3)^a
 (B3) *nm.t* [label]^b (B4) *hd=f* (T4) *m* (B5) *imyt* (T5) *r3=* (B6) *f m-ht*^c (T6+B7)
dwi.R *r=* (T7) *f*


^a For the *nm.t*, compare the identical cryptic orthography in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX. In the upper register, no. 1, middle B2+middle T3+middle B3 has the orthography . The word is written  in the bottom register,

no. 1, T6 (the group  following *nm.t* in this line also stands for *nm.t*, being an annotation to the scene). The contexts of the word *nm.t* on the corridor G ceiling is: upper--*ntr pn m shr pn m nm.t*; bottom--*ntr pn m shr pn m nm.t*.

In both tombs the cryptic writings of *nm.t* have the determinative *O*, early found for the word in non-cryptic contexts (*ie.* PT 214c=Utterance 223). A *nm.t* can be a block or a pile of sand; it can also be a pit, as is shown by its equation with *hb.t*, a term which can refer to a pit.²⁷ The circular determinative suggests that the *nm.tw* in both tombs may be seen as pits. Alternatively they may be the “mounds” in the tomb of Ramesses IX actually referred to in that enigmatic composition (pl. 33, l. 5) as *i3.wt*, “mounds.” For an object referred to both as a hole and a hill, compare the first scene in the second register of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns. In P. Bremner-Rhind 29,

²⁷On the *nm.t* and *hb.t*, see Blok, “Eine magische Stela aus der Spätzeit,” *AcOr* 7 (1929) 97-113; H. G. Fischer, “The Butcher *Ph-r-nfr*,” *Or.* 29 (1969) 172-3, and n. 3 to p. 172; M. Verner, “A Slaughterhouse from the Old Kingdom,” *MDAIK* 42 (1986) 181-9 (particularly pp. 185-6). For the circular determinative of *nm.t*, compare the pits called *hb.t* depicted in the tomb of Monthuerkhopeshef (N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* [Archaeological Survey of Egypt 21; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1913] pls. 8-10), and in the tomb of Amenemopet (*ibid.* pl. 43).

17 there is a reference to *rdl.t šm=fr nm.t ntr*, “sending him [Apep] to the slaughtering place of the god.” These slaughtering places are of sand.²⁸

^b In line B3 of the second pair of domes, the annotation  is perhaps to be read as a writing of Shetayet. However, on the strength of the parallel in line T 6 accompanying the middle pair of domes in the first section of the lower register, the annotation in line B3 is another writing of *nm.t* as an annotation to the domes. The *š*-lake for *n*, through substitution for another water sign, is possible.²⁹ The hobble-*t* for both the flat *m*³⁰ and the final *t* parallels the orthography of the *nm.t* label in the bottom register. The plural strokes probably represent *w*, foreshadowing the demotic orthography of the word as *nm3.t*, *nmy.t*, *nme.t*.³¹

²⁸For sandy pits/hills, and their association with the destruction and burial of the damned, see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993) pp. 155-7. Note also the apparent pun of *š*‘, “sand,” and *š*‘.t, “slaughter,” in F.-R. Herbin, “Une nouvelle page du livre des respirations,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984) 294 n. (80), and the writing of *nmt* as the knife on a *h3s.t*-sign at Hibis (listed by E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project* vol. 1 *Translation, Commentary, Discussion and Sign List* [San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1988] p. 226 no. 565).

²⁹Cf. Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 409, and compare also the substitution of the *mr*-canal with *n* (see Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 46; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 11*).

³⁰Compare the examples from the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

³¹W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954) p. 218; J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1976) vol. 1, pp. 258-9; vol. 2, pp. 831-2 (n. 1115). *Nmt*, *nám.at, has the *status pronominalis* *n m.át, NMOYT= in early Coptic. For the *status absolutus* one might then expect the plural strokes, were they to correspond to the OY of the early Coptic *status pronominalis*, between the *n* and *m* rather than between the *m* and *t*, unless the plural strokes do indicate the final -3, -y, -e of the demotic orthographies.

^b The *t* at the top of line T6 is apparently a dittography of the *t* of *ht* at the end of line B6).

(third figure: plate 18, figure A; plate 19, figure C) (T1) *nti pn* (T2) *m s<hr>* (T3) *pn* (T3+B2) *pr^a* (the two grasshoppers) (B1) *sd.t imy.t r3=f* (B2+B3) *m-ht* (B3+4) *dwi R r[=f]* (T4+5) *hd* (T5+B5) *h3.wt=f* (T6-7+B6) *m im.yt=f^b*

^a The two grasshoppers are the *rr* of *pr*.

^b The similar text in plate 20C has *m imy.t r3=f*, perhaps intended here.

Though somewhat garbled and different, the annotations to the first and third figures appear to have derived from the same original text:

This god is in this fashion:

when Re calls out to them,

there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth,

his corpse lighting up by means of that which is in him.

The feminine *imy.t* refers back to *sd.t imy.t r3=f*; “the flame which is in his mouth.” In the annotation to the third figure in the corresponding group in the lowest register, this is (B13 + T21) *m imy.t r3=f*.

The text for the middle *nm.t* is:

This god is in this fashion,

in the *nm.t*,

he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth

when Re calls out to him.

The names of the entities:

kmn-ir.ty, “blind in both eyes” (pl. 18, figure A, beneath rightmost domes)

h3.t-msw.t, “corpse of (re)birth” (pl. 18, figure A, upper name below middle domes)

h3.t ..., "corpse ..." (pl. 18, figure A, lower name below middle domes)
3m-ṯ3w, "burning of breath" (pl. 18, figure B, rightmost name below middle domes)
h3.t-ṯtm, "the corpse of Atum" (pl. 18, figure B, leftmost name below middle domes)
dy, "giver (of light ?)" (pl. 18, figure B, names below rightmost and leftmost domes)

The entity in the third *nm.t* is not labelled. In section 1 of the lower register, the name of the being in the third *nm.t* is the same as that of the inhabitant of the first *nm.t*. If this parallelism is followed in the corresponding section in the upper register, the name of the entity in the third *nm.t* was the same as that of the occupant of the third *nm.t*. The name there is to be read *kmn-ṯr.ty*, "blind in both eyes."³² This is the skin sign with the value *k*, common in orthographies of *kkw*, "darkness," in the Book of Caverns and related compositions. The *šn/* *ʿn*-ring here substitutes for the sign of the pupil, representing the eye.³³ The deity is not in complete darkness, but apparently does not

³²*Wb.* V 107, 1-4 lists the verb as *k3mn*. The word is, however, to be read *kmn*, the aleph vulture representing *ká-* instead of *k3-* (see P. Vernus, "Un décret de Thoutmosis III relatif à la santé publique (P. Berlin 3049, vo. XVIII-XIX)," *Or.* 48 [1979] 179, text n. f, citing col. XVIII, l. 5 [pl. 1]).

³³The *ʿn*-sign substitutes for the pupil in the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, representing *r* in *hryt* (pl. 37, fig. A, col. 1); elsewhere in the Corridor G treatise (pl. 23, l. 45), and on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 7, figure B), the sign of the *ʿn*-ring writes the verb *ʿn*, "to turn back." For the pupil representing the eye in cryptography, already in the Coffin Texts (A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 4 [OIP 67; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951] 338a, *ṯr.t*, "making"), see Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, 9* (*ṯr*); A. Piankoff, "Le livre des Quererets, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division," *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, ll. 1-2 (*ṯr*); H. Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," *ZAS* 72 (1936) 24 (*ṯr*); 27 (*ṯr.t*); Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 38 (*ṯr*); Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 100 (*ṯr*). For *ṯr.ty* written as two pupils see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, 9, and compare orthographies of the divine name *Mḥnty-n-ṯr.ty* (see H. Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott (Mḥntj-ṯrtj und Mḥntj-n-ṯrtj)* [Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Abteilung 1947 Heft 7; Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1947] pp. 7-8, 15).

behold sun or moon, lighting up only by means of his own internal flame.³⁴ There are significant eyeless beings in the Netherworld Books (Excepting Apep, and the

³⁴The term *kmn* may refer specifically to blindness produced by “removal or injury of the eyeball itself” (L. Manniche, “Symbolic Blindness,” *CdE* 105 [1978] 15); as in the case of *Mḥnty-n-ir.ty*, these missing eyeballs may be the sun and moon (Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott*), from the sight of which the double-domed *nmt* hides *kmn-ir.ty*. The light of the sun has not penetrated the *nmt*, and so has not opened the eyes of the Janus-headed being. A text in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6 *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (OIP 84; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963) pl. 431 B, ll. 11-12, says of the nocturnal sun:

psd.t dw3yt m i3.wt / sd.n=k ḥtyt ḥtm.ty wn=k ir.ty špy

The ennead is up early^a in praise, for you have opened the throat, it having been destroyed,^b and because you have opened eyes, they being blind...

^a The word *dw3yt* here is parallel in meaning to *nḥp* elsewhere--see chapter 5, pp. 373-374.

^b For *ḥtm* as a stopping up, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 2 *Later Historical Records of Ramses III* (OIP 9; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932) pl. 82, l. 31 (the following line of the couplet says “because you have broken the neck of *ḥtmty*-Apep”).

The reference to blindness is also appropriate to these *nmt* denizens as dead (H. Brunner, “Blindheit,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 1 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975] col. 830; the beings in the central mounds are each called *ḥ3.t*, “corpse”). For *ḥ'y m ir.ty*, “appearing in glory in the two eyes,” referring to the sun becoming visible at the time of dawn, see E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* 2 vols. (Äg.Ab. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) vol. 2, p. 187; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (MÄS 19; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969) pp. 31, 41-2, 286-7; and The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6 *The Temple Proper Part 2*, pl. 431 A, ll. 3-4 (*s3tw tḥn ḥ'c=k <m> ir.ty*, “the ground scintillates when you appear in glory in the eyes”). In Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 46, col. 3, *Mḥn.ty-ir.ty* is illumined by the disk of the sun, not by his own flame; however, as this deity lights up by means of the flame in his mouth only after Re calls out to him, this need be no great barrier to identifying *k3mn-ir.ty* with *Mḥn.ty-ir.ty*. A descendent of the blind deity may be Ialdabaoth in the “Hypostasis of the Archons”: ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ... ΝΕΒΛΛΕ and ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕΛΛΕ, “blind god” (see M. Krause, “Zur ‘Hypostasen der Archonten’ in Codex II von Nag Hammadi,” *Enchoria* 2 [1972] 12-13; note, however, that I.S. Gilhus, *The Nature of*

watchman špy at the seventh portal of the Book of Gates),³⁵ such as the n ʿry.w addressed in the first register of the second division of the Book of Caverns as imy.w Mhnty-n-ir.ty, perhaps “you among whom is the Eyeless Deity,” and Horus Mhnty-n-ir.ty in the third scene of the first register of the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁶ In the introduction to the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns, the eyeless deity is in a sarcophagus, which is compared to a mound, suggesting the depiction of kmn-ir.ty here:³⁷

iw itn=i ʿq=fkkw

iw Mhnty-n-ir.ty m-ht db3(.t)=f nsw.t R VI m3 ʿhrw <m> i3.t

My disk enters the darkness;

Mhnty-n-ir.ty is in³⁸ his sarcophagus, as king Ramesses VI is in the mound.

This text also describes the position of the eyeless being on the Corridor G ceiling, near the beginning of the composition, at the place where Re in his solar boat is entering the Netherworld. The being is blind and without eyes because it is cut off from the solar

the Archons, a study in the soteriology of a Gnostic treatise from Nag Hammadi (CGII, 4) [Studies in Oriental Religions 12; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985] pp. 7, 39, and 112, still reads “god of the blind”).

³⁵Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 156 nn. 1 and 4, and pp. 190-1.

³⁶2nd Division: Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 12, l. 3; 4th Division: Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 26.

³⁷Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 53, l. 1.

³⁸The compound preposition m-ht, occurring twice in this passage, is here interpreted in the light of *Wb.* III 345, 8: “in einem Gebäude u.ä.”

and lunar eyes, through the light of which other beings may see.³⁹ Comparing *kmn-îr.ty* to *Mhn.ty-îr.ty*, we may further assume that we are in the west, the entrance of the Netherworld, for *Mhn.ty-îr.ty* resides within *db3=f îmn.ty*, “his western sarcophagus.”⁴⁰

In the central dome in the upper register, the bearded head with arms is labelled *h3.t-msw.t*, “the corpse of (re)birth;” the standing, mummiform being which this “corpse of rebirth” encloses within its arms is annotated *h3.t* ..., “corpse ...” In the central dome in the lower register is the *h3.t-îtm*, “the corpse of Atum,” a falcon head emerging from the top of a solar disk. This “corpse of Atum” is enclosed within the arms of the fire-spitting head appropriately labelled *3m-t3w*, “burning of breath.” These central domes are then parallel to the domes in the upper and lower registers in the corresponding concluding scene to the Book of Caverns, each there called *î3.t-št3.t*, “mysterious mound.”⁴¹ In the introductory text there, Re calls out to two corpses:⁴²

î h3.t=î tw hnt.t î3.t sn̄tw=î tw(t)=î

î h3.t tw nt îtm sn̄tw=f tw(t)=f b3=f

Oh this corpse of mine which is in the mound, my body, and my image;

³⁹For this concept see H. Jackson, “*Κόρη Κόσμου*: Isis, Pupil of the Eye of the World,” *CdE* 61 (1986) 116-35.



⁴⁰Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) 37 n. 16, pl. 46, ll. 3-4. There may also be a hint of the eastern horizon as well, as suggested by *Tkmy* on the solar boat in the middle register. Horus of Letopolis as *Mhnty-n-îr.ty* can be associated with the deity *Akephalos*, the headless giant of the eastern horizon (see chapter 3, pp. 165-166, and chapter 6, p. 661).

⁴¹A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, sixième division,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 144, l. 3; pl. 145, l. 2.

⁴²Following the Osireion version, H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos* 2 vols. (*Egypt Exploration Society Memoir* 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933) pl. 48, ll. 4-5 (slightly different in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 137, ll. 7-8).

oh this corpse of Atum, his body, his image, and his *ba* !

The *h3.t-msw.t* is the corpse of Re,⁴³ and the *h3.t itm* is the same in the Book of Caverns and the Corridor G treatise.

The first and third entities within the dome-like *nm.t.w* are called . This name is paralleled for one of the slightly bowing, praising beings in the upper register of the concluding scene of the sixth division of the Book of Caverns, named  *d y* , “giver (of light ?),” who is followed by an entity *psdy*, “shining one.”⁴⁴

upper register section no. 2 (plate 21):

Names of the disk-headed beings:

shdw, “the shining one” (pl. 21, l. 1 bottom)

This name is, along with the form *shdw-wr*, a designation of the solar deity occurring already in the Coffin Texts.⁴⁵

⁴³ Re in the parallel conclusion to the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns refers to his (re)birth (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 137, l. 3: *ms.kwi*).

⁴⁴Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 45 (*wḏi* and *psdy* are a pair, following the pair *imy-š* and *hn.ty-š*). For the *wḏy* / *rdi.t* of light, see *Wb.* I 387, 5; II 466, 6. See also the commentary to *dī sd.t* in chapter 5, p. 444. There is also an entity at the end of the middle register of the tenth hour of the Amduat called *wḏ(y)w* (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, 175, 8; vol. 2, 169); Hornung reads “Schleuderer,” a reference to his sending out of arrows (for fiery arrows, see P. Vernus, “Études de philologie et de linguistique (II),” *RdE* 34 [1982-3] p. 124 and n. 65; A. Volten, “Das Harpunierergestirn,” *MDAIK* 16 [1958] 354-5; D. Kurth, “Esna 400; 405,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* [Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1984] p. 141 n. 41; see further chapter 5, pp. 449-450, and notes 125 and 392).

⁴⁵*Wb.* IV 226, 10-11; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 23. In the Litany of Re, the sun is specifically *shd-imn.tyw*, “illuminer of the Westerners,” and *shd-h3.wt*, “illuminer of corpses” (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9 [*shd-imn.tyw*], 15, and 271 [*shd-h3.wt*]). See also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 338n no. 77.3771; D. Meeks, *Anée lexicographique* vol. 3 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1982) p. 265, no. 79.2705 (citing R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*

hnty, “the one of the forehall” (pl. 21, l. 10, bottom)

The mouth-*r* writes *n* here, through an hieratic confusion.⁴⁶ The two hobble-*t* signs may write *ty* as a sportive writing of a false dual. Also possible would be a conscious play on the potential confusion of the hieratic versions of *tt* and *ty*, a confusion which does result in the common later writings of *tt* for *ty* in *hnty* (*Wb.* III 304). This name refers to the end of the Netherworld as the forehall,⁴⁷ a term discussed in detail in chapter 6, pp. 622-626, in connection with the designation of the Osiride figure at the end of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise as *hnty-d3.t*, “one of the forehall of the Netherworld.” The reading of this name as *hn.ty*, specifying the being as a resident of the eastern hall of the Netherworld, finds some support in the final name in this group, *ḥḥ*, “he of the morning glow.” Together the names *hn.ty* and *ḥḥ* suggest that these beings are associated with the eastern end of the Netherworld.

Other interpretations of this name are also possible. With the circular sign read as the pupil standing for the eye, the being might be labelled *ir.ty*, “he of the (solar) eye.” A reading *inty*, the name given to the form of Re in the 64th Address in the Great Litany,⁴⁸ is also possible. The mouth-*r* for *n* is not difficult to explain through hieratic

by the Sacred Lake of Karnak [*Brown Egyptological Studies* 8; Providence: Brown University Press; London: Lund Humphries, 1979] p. 59 n. 47 and pl. 24, l. 25).

⁴⁶A. Gardiner, “The Transcription of New Kingdom Hieratic,” *JEA* 15 (1929) p. 54.

⁴⁷Hornung, *das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 202.

⁴⁸*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 73 and 270; vol. 2, p. nn. 176 and 178. Compare also the demons *intyw* in the first scene (no. 69) in the upper register of the 11th Hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 356; vol. 2, pp. 246-7). Not “the held back one,” the name of the goddess who is entity no. 468 in the first scene in the lower register of the 6th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 113).

confusion, but the pupil for *i*, though explicable as a derivation of the use of the pupil to write *r* (cf. upper register text no. 2, l. 47 [pl. 21]; lower register text no. 2, l. 10 [pl. 24]), appears otherwise unattested in this corpus.

m3 ʿty, “proper one” (pl. 21, l. 14 bottom)

For *m3 ʿty* as a designation of various deities, see *Wb.* II 21, 14-6. The *m3 ʿtyw* figure in the final scene in the upper register of the 7th Hour of the Book of Gates.⁴⁹ In chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead, the *m3 ʿty* is carried in the *nšm.t* bark like Re, and Osiris is called *m3 ʿty* in Book of the Dead chapter Pleyte 169 a §P 1.

Both Osiris and Re can be *m3 ʿhrw*.⁵⁰ For a depiction of this *m3 ʿhrw* state of Re-Osiris, and further discussion of the vindication of the solar deity, see chapter 6. In the tomb of Ramesses IX the gesture of the unified Re-Osiris is likened to the gesture of *m3 ʿhrw*.

nn.ty, “he of the nether sky,” or “he of the oval” (pl. 21, l. 20 bottom)

Ntr.w-nn.tyw appear in the Pyramid Texts (*Wb.* II 213, 11), and the *nn.tyw* occur in the Book of the Day and of the Night. A being *nn.ty* appears in the final scene (no. 81) in the lower register of the 11th Hour of the Book of Gates.⁵¹

⁴⁹Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 254; vol. 2, p. 178.

⁵⁰Osiris: C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35; Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976) pp. 98-101; C. Sourdiv, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Berne: Peter Lange, 1984) p. 409; Re, in his victory over Apep, is *m3 ʿhrw* (*Wb.* II 16, 11).

⁵¹*Nn.tyw*: Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 38, 61, and 66; *nn.ty*: Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 372; vol. 2, p. 264.

Alternatively, this could be read as *nn(w)ty*, a reference to the *nnwt*-oval pushed by the solar scarab. The name *nnw.ty*, “he of the oval,” appears in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁵²

ḥḥ(y), “he of the (morning) glow” (pl. 21, l. 37 bottom)

The expected nisbe ending has not been written. The term *ḥḥ/ḥḥ*, “glow (morning, and evening)” (*Wb.* I 126, 2-4), figures in the enigmatic texts of the second shrine of Tutankhamun in the name of the fifth goddess from the left in the lower right section of the second side--*ḥḥy.t* (pl. 13, fig. B). The goddess there occurs with others whose names suggest the fiery and punishing nature of the sun, and the east as the place of final judgment and punishment. The names of this masculine deity, and that of the goddess on the Tutankhamun shrine, may be related to the name of the upper guardian of the 12th portal of the Netherworld in the Book of Gates, *ḥḥy*.⁵³ One of the judges in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead is “flaming of foot,” *pr m ḥḥw*, “come forth from the twilight glow,” another association of *ḥḥ/ḥḥ* with the place of judgment and punishment, the eastern horizon.⁵⁴ These associations of *ḥḥ/ḥḥ*, clear in

⁵²*Nnwt*-oval: Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 48 n. 5, and Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 105-6; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 14 and 20.

⁵³Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 405; vol. 2, 286. The goddess *ḥḥy.t* on the shrine is followed by *ḥtmy.t*, parallel again to the guardians of the portal of the 12th hour in the Book of Gates, where *ḥḥy* is in the company of *ḥtmy* (reading *ḥtmy* with Zandee, *Liber amicorum* [*Fs. Bleeker*, 1969] p. 324, *contra* Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 286, who read *p3y*, “Auffliegender”).

⁵⁴J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960) p. 88 (who mistakes the term *ḥḥw* as *ḥḥw*, “darkness”).

the name of the goddess *ihhy.t*, may also be present in the name of the entity *hh* here-- compare the name of the second of these disk-headed beings--*inty*, "he of binding."⁵⁵

Upper register text no. 2 (pl. 21):

(above the disk-headed entities; total of 50 lines):

- 1) *nn <n> ntr.w m shy pn* [label--*shdw*]
- 2) *m-hn.t htmyt*
- sn* 3) *r=sn s33=sn wnw.t*
- 4) *R' dwi=f r h3.wt=sn*
- mn* 5) *tp.w* 6) *=sn hr* 7) *=sn (i)m=s*
- 8) *ht 'pp nti pn '3 hr=sn*

These gods in this fashion,

within the place of destruction,

they protecting the hours.

Re calls to their corpses,

with the result that their heads remain upon them therein,

after this this great god passes by them.

1. 1) The third Red Crown *n* is haplographic, or the indirect genitive has been omitted.

For the orthography of *shr* as *s* and the nose sign, one may compare the writings of *shr.w* in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 2, pl. 82 l. 16; pl. 86 l. 25; and pl. 107, 8-9,⁵⁶ orthographies of *shy* with the nose determinative (D 19). For *shr* without

⁵⁵For the disk-headed male entities, compare the form of Amun at Abydos shown in A. Mariette, *Abydos, description des fouilles exécutées sue l'emplacement de cette ville* vol. 1 (Paris: A. Franck, 1869) pl. 40 c. Compare also A. Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes, Chronological and Typological Studies* (Theben 5; Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1988) pl. 22, disk headed beings to either side of an elaborate *dd*-pillar in the interior bottom of the coffin of *H3's*, Cairo 29665 (from the Bab el-Gusus).

⁵⁶See the discussion by W.F. Edgerton and J. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III* (SAOC 12; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936) p. 77 n. 16b, and p. 91 n. 25a.

the final *r*, compare the orthography of *shr.w* as *shw* in the tomb of Amenophis III and in the tomb of Ramesses IX.⁵⁷ The orthographies of *shr* written with the nose sign derive from the hieratic confusion of the “hairy” ear for *shy*, “to be deaf,” with the nose sign,⁵⁸ a confusion exploited to enigmatic ends on the Corridor G ceiling. Lines 4 through 13 seem to form a group, with *dwỉ* in line 4, *nỉs* in line 9, and *dwỉ* again in line 13.

The *n* of *pn* is found at the top of the second column, separated from *p* by the name of the first disk-headed entity, given in the final three signs of the first column.

1. 2) The word *htmy.t* is written out alphabetically, with the vulture before the *pr*-sign determinative representing the *htm*-bird.

1. 3) One might read *s3*, taking the first vulture as *s3*, with a phonetic compliment before and after. The prevalence in the tomb of Ramesses VI of an orthography *s33* for the circumstantial form of the verb *s3*, however,⁵⁹ suggests the reading *s33* preferred here.

⁵⁷Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53 n. d (3rd Hour). Note also the writing of *shr.w* as *s* and *h* followed by the book roll determinative in K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* 1 part 1 (*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 2 part 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904) p. 178, l. 7 (l. 18 in the Nabaireh version of the Decree of Memphis). The name of the *shr(w)* granary also appears as *sh* in certain Old Kingdom inscriptions (H.G. Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery,” *MIO* 7 [1959/1960] 304-310), showing a similar loss of the *r*.

⁵⁸See A. Egberts, “A Secret Disclosed,” *Enchoria* 16 (1988) 133-4, discussing the sign of the “hairy ear” as having the value *sš* in *sšt3*). These orthographies suggest a confusion of *shr/shy*, “plan,” and *shỉ*, “to be deaf” (on which verb see Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, vol. 1, p. 130). Compare the orthographies of the word *s3hrt* as *s3hwt* and *s3hyt* (E. Edel, “Beiträge zur ägyptischen Lexikon V,” *ZÄS* 96 [1969] 7-8; Aufrère, “Études de lexicologie et d'histoire naturelle I-III,” *BIFAO* 83 [1983] 1-17).

⁵⁹See above, chapter 3, pp. 228-229.

l. 5) Reading the first vulture as *t*, from the *tyw*-bird for *t*.⁶⁰ The mouth as *p* occurs often in this text (see above, n. *b* to text no. 1 in the first section of this register). The second vulture then represents the plural ending *-w*,⁶¹ followed by the plural strokes as graphic indicators of that plurality. *Tp.w* could also conceivably be read *ītn.w*, the first vulture as *ī* (through the substitution of 3 and *ī*), the mouth as *t*, and the second vulture as *n* (through substitution of the vulture for the owl-*m*, with *m* for *n* through phonetic change).

The heads of these entities remain upon their corpses, rather than accompanying the sun on its voyage (on the latter concept, see chapter 3, pp. 159-167). One may also compare another passage from this Corridor G treatise, namely middle register text no. 1 (pl. 23 here), ll. 41-3: *tp.w (n) nn n ntr.w mn īm*, “the heads (of) these gods remain therein.”


A portion of the first cryptic text in the Book of the Day and of the Night could describe these entities. The concluding line of enigmatic text I reads:

h3.wt=sn pw hr hpr.w(=w)

it means: their bodies bear their manifestations.

⁶⁰The vulture G 1 corresponds to the loaf-*t* in the infinitive *īr.t* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, l. 3 (P version of the enigmatic annotation); cf. also the cryptographic use of the *s3*-bird for *t* (through substitution for *tyw*) in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413; Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105.

⁶¹Not an uncommon value, as Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 10*, indicates. In *ibid.*, p. 7*, cryptogram no. 179, the vulture does not have the value *w*, however; it stands there not for the plural ending alone (so *ibid.*, p. 10*), but represents *tyw* in *mfk3.tyw*, “the turquoise deities” (*Wb.* II 57, 3).

Drioton reads the group  as *šp̄iṯw* for *ḥp̄iṯw*, a writing of *ḥprw*, assigning the value *šp* from *šsp* to the hand.⁶² Drioton translated (p. 89): “Ce sont leurs corps aussi les scarabées.” While not unthinkable, the sense of this translation rightly distressed Fairman. This line describes the bodies of the eastern spirits, which the beginning of the text described as those of baboons (*bntyw*). He assumed that the scarab determinative was in error for the squatting baboon, and suggested the reading *dīw*, a term which Fairman suggested may have existed as a designation for the baboon.⁶³ He read the closing line as: “their bodies also are those of apes,” and concluded by terming his suggestion “admittedly speculative.”

Drioton’s reading *ḥprw* does account for the determinative, but Fairman is correct that the eastern spirits are not scarabs at any time. Fairman’s assumption of a wrong determinative, and use of an at best rare term *dīw* are almost equally unsettling. The problem with the passage is not Drioton’s reading of the above cited cryptogram 68 as *šp̄iṯw/ḥprw*, but the reading of *ḥr* as “also.” Reading *ḥr* as “carrying, with,” a reading “their bodies carry *ḥprw*-realizations,” perhaps “their *ḥprw*” (*ḥprw=w*), is possible. The eastern spirits do have *ḥprw*,⁶⁴ and undergo a *ḥpr* realization before they appear at the eastern cusp of heaven, which results in their baboon forms.⁶⁵ For *ḥr ḥprw*, one may

⁶²Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, cryptogram no. 68; on the hand, p. 107.

⁶³Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 257-63.

⁶⁴J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (*Theben* 1; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983) p. 21 l. 18.

⁶⁵At the beginning of enigmatic text I of the Book of the Day and the Night: Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 85; in Taharqa’s sacred lake structure: J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (*ADAIK* 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970) p. 29 n. 1; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, pl. 21 (room D, east wall): 12) *ḥ*‘=sn [n=f m ḥ]t 13) *īw ḥprw=sn* ..., “It is [whe]n their realisations come that they are wont to appear [to him]...”

examine the illuminating passage from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,⁶⁶ where the female figures of the hours hold their hands over stars, and are described as having: *irw.w=sn m db^c.w=sn* “their *irw*-forms at their fingertips.”⁶⁷

translation continued (pl. 21):

9) *nīš R^c*

kk h3.wt

10) *īmn sn_t.w=sn*

10) *hr* [label--*hn.ty*] 11) *nīl pn* 12) *3* 13) *dwī=f*

14) *nn n ntr.w* [label--*m3^c.ty*] 15) *m nn.t*

nīl st=f 16) *šy hr* 17) *īryw=s*

18) *dw3* 19-20) *qrtyw*

When Re calls out,

the corpses grow dark,

and their flesh becomes hidden.

Then this great god summons these gods in the nether sky.

The god casts light before its (*nn.t*) denizens,

while the cavern-dwellers give praise.

1. 9) As specified in line 20, these deities are in darkness. Whereas elsewhere the call of the sun brings light (*cf.* lines 5-9, lower register no. 2, pl. 24), here it brings darkness.

⁶⁶Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, l. 8.

⁶⁷This position of stars at the fingertips of the deities suggests that they are ushering in their attributes--compare the description of a deceased priest as having “opened [the doors] of heaven, seeing the one who is in it, the disk coming forth beneath your finger,” apparently a cosmic image of the priest opening the shrine and taking out the divine image (C. Robichon, P. Barguet, and J. Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV (1949-1951)* [FIFAO 25; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1954] figure 143 [opposite p. 148], and pl. 126]).

In the first text of section A of the Creation of the solar disk, Re calls out, and lights up certain deities, *wpw nn n ntr.w m kkw*, “except for these deities in darkness.”⁶⁸

ll. 9-10) For *h3.wt* and *snt.w* found in association here, compare the final entities (*snt-h3.wt* and *snt-snt.w*) in the central scene of the bottom register on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 13, fig. A).

l. 10) In the orthography of *imn* the arm has the value *im*, attested elsewhere in a writing of *imh.t*,⁶⁹ derived through substitution with the loaf-bearing arm, from *imi*, the imperative “give,” which early could be written with the sign of the loaf-bearing arm alone (see *Wb. I* 76).⁷⁰

In *snt.w*, the *hbs*-sign represents the simple cloth-*s*, and the mouth-*r*, again through a cryptographic exploitation of an hieratic confusion, writes *n*. *Snt.w* is a term appropriate to entities which do not see the light of Re. In text 16 accompanying the second scene in the third register of section D of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the term

⁶⁸Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1, l. 4.

⁶⁹Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 29.

⁷⁰Also attested in New Kingdom cryptography--ie. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*.

sn̄t.w appears as a designation of the headless and inverted corpses of the damned.⁷¹

Elsewhere in the same composition, *sn̄t.w* designates a mummiform corpse.⁷²

The final signs in column 10 appear to give the name of the seated entity.

l. 11) The signs *t̄* and *ṯ* are in reversed order, as in line 15.

l. 15) *Nn.t* is, as Hornung as indicated, an uncommon term in the Netherworld Books.⁷³

l. 16) Reading *hr̄* for *hr*. The light being cast before the entities implies a wall of concealing light, behind which the entities are dark and unseen.

translation continued (pl. 21):

20) *wnn.hr nn* (*n* --haplography) [label--*nn.ty*] 21) *n̄r.w*

m kkw

stt 22) *n̄ṯ pn ʿ3*

h̄d ṯm̄ht

23) *ʿpp.t* 24) *n̄ṯ* 25) *pn ʿ3*

26) *hr st(t) kkw-sm3w ṯmn* 27) *h̄3.wt*

These gods exist

in darkness.

⁷¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 31, 7, p. 56: *sn s3[3]=sn h̄3.wt ḥsqy.w=sn sh̄d=sn sntyw=sn*, “they gu[ard] the corpses of those whom they have decapitated and whose portions they have inverted;” the deities are depicted holding decapitated corpses (the *h̄3.wt = sn̄t.w*) upside down. *ibid.* pl. 22, 1 the *sn̄t.w* of the damned are cooked. Note also the *ʿm sn̄t.w* in the first scene of the first register, section D (*ibid.* p. 39).



⁷²*ibid.* p. 25 (first scene of the fourth register, section A). Compare the *b3.w ṯmy.w snty.t ṯmy.t d3.t* in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 71, 5-6, and the *snty.t* as the dead in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 104.

⁷³Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 100 n. 6; *idem*, *das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 150 n. 563.


When this great god casts light,
 Imhet brightens,
 that which this great god travels,
 while illumining the utter darkness which hides the corpses.

l. 20) The reed leaf substitutes for *h3* for *h*; ⁷⁴ the bird is for *r* from the *r3*-goose. ⁷⁵
 Compare the orthographies of *hr* in lower text no. 2, l. 16 (pl. 24), and in the dropped
 portion of the ceiling (pl. 28, upper l. 5, lower l. 6).

l. 21) The *m* of *m kkw* is misplaced, being written before *nn* in l. 20. The reading *stt*
 interprets each of the birds as *t*, from *tyw* (cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 62, l. 3)

l. 22) The verb *hd* appears here as the disk with the snake as the phonetic compliment *d*.
 For the disk as *hd*, compare  as *hd* in Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 26, and  for
shd in Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 10*. Imhet is an Amduat term designating an area
 in the fourth and fifth hours, a portion of the realm of Sokar. ⁷⁶

ll. 23-25) For this passage, compare Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 180, l. 1: *qrr.t št3.t*
nyt d3.t ʿpp.t ntr pn hr=s r pr.t m dw i3b.ty n p.t, “the mysterious cavern of the
 Netherworld, that by which this god passes, in order to go forth from the eastern

⁷⁴The reed leaf for *h3* for *h* occurs in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 45; *h3* for reed leaf
 may be found in *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 410. For  for *hr*, see the bottom of
 the

second column from the left in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in this treatise
 (pl. 30). See also Drioton, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 49 n. 21.

⁷⁵Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42, etc.

⁷⁶W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern* (MÄU 1;
 Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990) p. 47; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 82 n. 11.

mountain of heaven;" and *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 135, l. 3: *qrr.wt št3.wt nyt imn.t 'ppw ntr '3 hr=sn*, "the mysterious caverns of the west, by which the great god passes."

l. 26) Only one *t* of *stt* appears to be written.

translation continued (pl. 21):

27) *'pp wnw.wt*

28) *'r/ 'p* 29) *itn ht* 30) *wnw.t*

31) *mdw=sn m htw R'*

h<3=sn m> 32) *hprw=f*

'pp itn 33) *htm.t-wsr.wt*

'q 34) *h3.wt* 35) *m kkw<=sn>*

When the hours pass,

a disk ascends/passes in the following of an hour.

When they speak in the following of Re,

they descend by means of his realization.

When the disk travels *Hetemet-Weserewt* ("She-Who-Destroys-Throats"),

the corpses enter into <their> darkness.

ll. 27-35) These lines are parallel to ll. 39-47; the restorations provided for this text are based on the reading of ll. 39-47.

ll. 27-30) The disk is in the following of the hours, themselves following the solar deity. In Creation of the Solar Disk section D first register second scene, the solar deity follows his hours:

'p.hr ntr pn '3 m-ht wn.wt=f

"This great god passes in the following of his hours"⁷⁷

⁷⁷Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 23, l. 9 (text 4), p. 43. In *ibid.* p. 65 (text accompanying the scene of the ithyphallic deity), *Št3y*, who should guide the deceased ruler, is called *imyw (sic)-wn.wt=f*, "the one who is in his hour."

In a portion of the introduction to the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns, the solar disk follows the god:

nfr.wy R ʿ sn=f kkw

ʔtn=f ʿ3 htp=f m htw=f

how beautiful is Re when he traverses the darkness,
his great disk resting in his following⁷⁸

For the disk as ascending, compare the disk raising up the *ba* of Nephthys in the first scene of the first register of the text preceding the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns.⁷⁹ In the second scene of the second register of section D of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the Datian lifts himself up and joins those in his following:⁸⁰

ʔ wts t(w) Pn-dw3.t dʔ=ʔ hnm=t ʔmy.w htw=k

Oh raise yourself up, One of the Dat, as I cause you to join with those in
your following !

For the hours passing, and the ascension of the disk, compare the texts accompanying scene 2, register 3, section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk--there the *wn.wt ʿp kkw*, “the hours enter the darkness,” and

ntsn wts ʔtn=sn

⁷⁸Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 39, l. 6. Compare also Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 86, l. 7 (text preceding the 6th division of the Book of Caverns: *ʔtn=ʔ ht=ʔ*); note also a portion of the introductory text to the 6th Division: *ʿp=ʔ r tph.t ʔtn=ʔ ʿ3 htp=f htw=ʔ*, “I travelling to the well, my great disk resting in my following” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 102, l. 2).

⁷⁹Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 112.

⁸⁰Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 26 (text 8), l. 2, p. 47.

‘wy=sn wts R ‘

It is they who lift up their disk(s),
and their arms that lift up Re⁸¹

l. 28) In ‘p, the grasshopper represents the mouth-r, here with the value p.

l. 30) Wnw.t, “hour,” is singular here. The passage suggests that as each hour passes by, one of the disks rises and passes in its following.

l. 31) The voices of the entities assist in the manifestation of Re’s hprw. What the beings utter may be a scream, or an incantation, both of which may be beneficial to the solar deity.⁸² In lines 223-4 of the Great Litany,⁸³ crying assists in the glorification of the corpse of the sun:

i3kby.w nwn=sn hr=k hwi=sn n=k m ‘wy=sn
sbh=sn n=k hwt=sn n=k rmm=sn n=k
h ‘‘ b3=k hwt=sn 3h h3.t=k

⁸¹ibid. p. 21 and pl. 10, ll. 6-7.

⁸²On beneficial screaming: Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 209 n. 97, and E. Lüddeckens, “Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen,” *MDAIK* 11 (1943) p. 172; compare also J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *l’Hommage aux dieux sous l’Ancien Empire Égyptien, d’après les textes des pyramides* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954) pp. 90-91; Horus cries out (sbh) to Osiris the news of the overthrow of Seth in the “livre de protéger la barque du dieu” (J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques I. <<le livre de protéger la barque du dieu>>,” *Kêmi* 19 [1969] 48-9); Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 223-4; vol. 2, p. 90 and n. 505 pp. 145-6. On crying and its positive relation to creation, see W. Guglielmi, “Lachen und Weinen in Ethik, Kult und Mythos der Ägypter,” *CdE* 55 (1980) 69-86. See also chapter 5, pp. 538-541, and the references cited there.

⁸³Hornung *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 223-4; vol. 2, p. 90, and n. 505 pp. 145-6.

The mourning ones toss their hair because of you, and they flail for you with
 their arms;⁸⁴
 they cry out for you, and they scream for you, and they shed tears for you
 so that your *ba* rejoices when they scream and your body bedomes effective.

The beings speak in the following of the god, assisting the deity to continue his nocturnal journey.⁸⁵ Calling out to the solar deity is also associated with the deity in his aspect as *nb-ḥprw*; compare P. Berlin 3050, col. 7, ll. 5-6:⁸⁶

nty.w-īm tp=sn ṯw ṯry=sn n=k hy hn m ḥprw=k pwy n nb-ḥpr.w
 Those who are therein (the dead) breath air and make screams and cries for
 you in this your realization as 'lord of realizations.'

Crying out for the solar deity is also particularly appropriate for that deity in his aspect of the giant deity of the eastern horizon. According to a hymn to Re-Horakhty in P. Berlin

⁸⁴For flailing with the arms as sadness, compare *Wb.* III 48, 6.

⁸⁵This association of the effectiveness of the corpse of the sun with the screams of Netherworld entities also suggests the possible reading *n ṯr.w* instead of *m-ḥt.w* in line 31, although the parallel in ll. 41-43 speaks for the reading *m-ḥt.w* preferred here. The *ṯrw*-form of the sun is the unchanging, Netherworldly appearance of the deity (see E. Hornung, "Der Mensch als 'Bild Gottes' in Ägypten," in O. Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* [Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1967] p. 127); awareness of the *ṯrw* form is associated with resurrection and rejuvenation (cf. Ph. Derchain, "Un projet d'empereur," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* [Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, Sondernummer 1991; Cologne: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, 1991] p. 117 n. 4, and further below, in the discussion of the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G).

⁸⁶S. Sauneron, "L'Hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048," *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 88, ll. 4-6.

3050, col. 8, ll. 1-3, concerning the immense solar deity who has “exalted heaven to the extent of [his] two arms,” and “extended the earth according to his course”:⁸⁷

nhm n=k t(3) p.t n wr b3=k snd n=k t3 n dsr s3m=k



As heaven shouts for you because of the greatness of your ba,
so earth trembles before you because of the sanctity of your image.

For the association of the ascension of the solar disk, and the appearance of the realizations of Re, the text accompanying the scene of the birth of the sun from the body of the crocodile (Pen)wenty provides a clarifying parallel:⁸⁸

Wnty b3=f 3 3=f ir.t R 3 imy h.t=f

km.t=s 3 q=s m h 3.w=s

Wenty vomits and spews forth⁸⁹ the eye of Re which is in his belly,
its pupil entering in its glorious apparitions.

In *h3=sn m*, the group   has been omitted in the transition from one line to the next. The text may be restored with confidence, however, as ll. 27-35 are parallel to ll. 40-47.

l. 33) One may compare also line 45 here, and the dropped section of the ceiling in this corridor (pl. 28, upper l. 4, lower l. 4). The enigmatic annotations on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling describe a place of constricted breathing, perhaps as a general term for the Netherworld; with the punishing guardians in the dropped portion of the

⁸⁷S. Sauneron, “L’Hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048,” *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 89, ll. 1-3.

⁸⁸Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire*, p. 68.

⁸⁹On 3 3 see below, chapter 5, n. 202.

treatise, a place of punishing the damned is suggested.⁹⁰ According to the 1st Division of the Book of Caverns, the damned in the Place of Destruction are without throats.⁹¹

l. 35) On the basis of the parallel text in ll. 46-47, the plural strokes following *m* here are taken to be otiose. Reading the *m* with following plural strokes as *imy.w*, a translation “the corpses who are in <their> darkness” would be possible. The *sn* of *kkw=sn* is restored on the basis of the parallel text in ll. 46-47.

translation continued (pl. 21):

36) ‘*p.t* 37) *in nti pn* ‘3 *m s.t* [label-- ‘*hh*] 38) *iryw kkw-sm3w*

39) [...]

‘*pp* 40) *wnw.wt*

‘*r/* ‘*p* *itn ht* 41-42) *wnw.t*

mdw=sn m ht w 43) *R* ‘

h3=sn m 44) *hpr.w=f*

‘*pp* *itn* 45) *htm.t-wsrt*

46-7) ‘*q h3.wt m kkw* 47) =*sn*

sn ir=sn 47-48) *iry.t=sn*

48-9) *b3.w=sn* ‘*q m-ht* *R* ‘

50) *sšm=sn sw m št3.t*

Passing by this great god, in the place of the denizens of the utter darkness; [...]

When the hours pass,

a disk ascends/passes in the following of an hour,

When they speak in the following of Re,

they descend by means of his manifestation.

When the disk travels *Hetemet-Weserewt* (“She-Who-Destroys-Throats”),

⁹⁰For inability to breathe as a quality of death, see Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 67 (§A.5.c, *itm w*), pp. 71-2 (§A.5.s, *g3w*), and pp. 72-3 (§A.5.u).

⁹¹In Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) pl. 9, ll. 1-2, the damned lack throats in the Place of Destruction.

the corpses enter into their darkness,
and they do what they have to do,
their [...], their ba's having entered after Re,
they guiding him in the Shetat.

l. 37) The seated god is the logographic writing of *ntr* in this line.

l. 37) 𓆎 is here written as the 𓆎-arm, the *r*-mouth for 3, and the book roll as determinative. The mouth-*r* as 3 is also found in a writing of *h3p* in the register of the seated female deities, the third line of text in front of the second deity from the right (pl. 24, l. 26); in the dropped portion of the ceiling (pls. 27-28, in the words *s33* and *r3.w*), and in the word *b3y.w* in the fifth column from the left in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30).⁹² Compare the opposite of this, the tent post 𓆎 (O 29) as a writing for 𓆎 in a text in the Second Hour of Amduat.⁹³

The sign following 𓆎 appears to be the sign of meat on the bone (F 44). This sign occurs in line 12 of the second section of the bottom register (pl. 24, l. 12 bottom), and in the name of the fourth adoring, disk-headed being in the middle register; in both

⁹²This value perhaps also occurs in 𓆎 for *p3* in A.-P. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'Ibis, recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte* vol. 1 *Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources* (BdE 66 part 1; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1975) p. 94, n. *p* to doc. 23. For the well attested interchange between *r* and 3 in Ancient Egyptian see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. 57 (§129); G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* 2nd ed. (BdÉ 12; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955) §37; A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1933) §50; J. Vergote, *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien, les consonnes* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 19; Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon, 1945) pp. 109-14, 128-30; Westendorff, *Grammatik der medezinischen Texten*, p. 32, §49, 1, and pp. 34-5, §§ 512 and 6; and note also A. Leahy, "An Unusual Spelling of *krst*," *GM* 31 (1979) 67-72. Compare also the attested 3 and *n* interchange in Ancient Egyptian (P.J. Watson, "The Interchange of 3 with *n* in Ancient Egyptian," *GM* 37 [1980] 41-57).

⁹³Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 42 n. *jj*.

occurrences the sign has the value *m*. After this, the text is more difficult. The cloth for *s* and the *t* for *t* are standard values, allowing a reading *s.t*, “place.”⁹⁴ The arm and the two roughly round signs below it are the name of the seated entity below--similarly, the names of others of these disk-headed beings are found at the end of the first long column just behind the preceding being. Omitting the label giving the name of the deity, one may read *p.t in ntr pn 3 m s.t iry.w kkw-sm3w*, “this great god passing by the place of the denizens of the utter darkness.”

l. 38) The word *kkw* appears to be written here as two flesh signs for the two animal skins of the common cryptogram.⁹⁵

ll. 39-47) These lines are parallel to ll. 27-35.

l. 47) The pupil as *pars pro toto* substitutes for the eye as *iri*.⁹⁶ The horizontal *m* substitutes for the hobble-*t* through graphic similarity. The word *iry.t* here is that of *Wb. I 113, 5-7*.⁹⁷

⁹⁴This term is used often in the Litany of Re--see the examples cited in Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, pp. 298-9 no. 77.3302.

⁹⁵For the use of the flesh signs here compare Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 26, l. 8.

⁹⁶For the pupil for the eye, cf. Sethe, *Northampton* p. 9*; Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 38; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24 and 271; de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 338a.

⁹⁷One might also consider the term *iry.t* of *Wb. I 105, 17*; I thank Prof. Wente for several suggestions in reading this passage.

ll. 47-50) These lines describe the *bas* as following Re and remaining in the area of his light, whereas the corpses, which remain in their places, revert to darkness.⁹⁸

l. 50) The reed leaf represents *sw*, through substitution of plant signs; for this interchange of *l* and *sw* in New Kingdom cryptography, cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 26, l. 7; confusions of reed leaves and *sw*-plants occur in non-enigmatic texts.⁹⁹ The final signs in this line appear to be a garbled writing of *št3.t*, with *š* and the first hobble-*t* for *t3* reversed. A parallel for this line appears on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 10, figure B; *Št3y.t* is incompletely written there); compare also a portion of the annotations to the middle register of this ceiling, pl. 22, figure C, ll. 2-8.

Middle Register, Introductory Scene (plate 22, figure A):

The ram-headed bird symbolizing the dead sun travelling through the Netherworld¹⁰⁰ is perched atop a stela. This stela appears to mark the entry into the

⁹⁸Compare Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 37, pl. 20 (text 17), ll. 7-9:

iw ntr pn '3 dwi=f r=sn nls=f b3.w=sn
sn r=sn 'p=sn htw=f
h3.wt=sn mn.w m s.wt=sn
ir m-ht 'p ntr '3 hr=sn
h3p.hr sn kkw

This great god calls to them, and summons their *ba*'s.
 They (the *ba*'s) pass after him
 their corpses remaining in their places.
 Now when the great god passes by them (the corpses),
 darkness covers them.

⁹⁹Cf. R.A. Caminos, "A Record of Nesbanded Son of 'Onkhperkhrod in the Cairo Museum," in *Drevni Vostok* vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauk Publishing, 1975) pp. 54 and 59, and fig. 3 (Cairo Journal d'entrée 38039, col. 11).

¹⁰⁰Cf. the ram-headed bird riding through the Netherworld in the belly of the giant Re-Osiris on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 6, fig. A).

Netherworld. As such it parallels the human head-capped stelae of the first two hours of the Book of Amduat, and may be another comparison of the roads of the Netherworld with the desert tracks of Egypt in the upper world.¹⁰¹ In the middle register of the small Amduat papyrus in the Lowrie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, there is a ram's head perched atop what may be a stela, just to the left of the bark of the night sailing to the right. The apparent stela there parallels the location of the stela in the Corridor G treatise, and may also derive from the 1st Hour of the Amduat.¹⁰² The text within the stela in the ceiling composition may be read as:

Hprî 'q m-ḥnt d3.t

Khepri, who enters within the Netherworld

¹⁰¹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 11, ll. 3-6 (nos. 58-61) and p. 28, l. 3 (no. 135); vol. 2, pp. 23-4 and 47 (middle register of the 1st Hour, four stelae before the bark of the sun; one stela in the middle of the first register of the 2nd Hour). Compare the Dashour road with its commemorative and marking stelae: W.F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt, 1887* (London: Field and Tuer, "The Leadenhall Press," E.C., 1888) pp. 33-6 and pl. 26; H. Goedicke, "Psammetik I. und die Libyer," *MDAIK* 18 (1962) pp. 26-49 and pl. 1; M. Basta, "Excavations in the Desert Road at Dahshur," *ASAE* 60 (1968) 57-63; H. Altenmüller and A. Moussa, "Die Inschriften der Taharkastela von der Dahschurstrasse," *SAK* 9 (1981) 57-84 and pl. 1; A. Moussa, "A Stela of Taharqa from the Desert Road at Dahshur," *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 331-7 and pl. 47. For further examples of road markers, and the desert tracks of Thebes, with their cult centers and stelae, see J.C. Darnell and D. Darnell, "New High Places at Thebes, and the roads of the eastern Darb el-Arbain Desert," forthcoming. A further reference to stelae marking roads in the Netherworld is perhaps behind the name "[Knower?] of Stelae" in P. BM 10569, 33.19 (W.R. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958] pp. 23, 37, and 53). "Stele" in late magical texts comes to refer to magical formulae (W.H. Worrell, "Coptic Magical and Medical Texts," *Or.* 4 [1935] 25, ll. 170-171: ΩΔΡΕ ΤΕ4CTHΛΗ ΤΡΕΟΥΛΟ, "his stela will make them recover;" see also the note by Bonner, *ibid.*, p. 34 n. 10), a meaning perhaps derived from objects such as Horus stelae. This recalls the association of Thoth and his baboons with obelisks, as markers of the course of the sun--see L. Kákosy, "Hermetic Obelisks," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989) pp. 235-9.

¹⁰²L. Lesko, "The Shortest Book of Amduat?," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39; Chicago, 1976) pp. 133-38.

The walking legs are perhaps ‘q, inverted as a reference to the inverted entry of the sun into the Netherworld (see above, chapter 3, pp. 179-180, and chapter 7).¹⁰³ The arm is here read as m, a not impossible substitution for the arm holding the loaf for m,¹⁰⁴ although one which appears thus far otherwise unattested. For the five strokes as d3.t, one may compare the late use of the five-pointed star for dī “five,” on the bases of the number of points and the similar pronunciation of the words.¹⁰⁵ This enigmatic use of five strokes substituting for the sign of the star appears to be unique in Egyptian cryptography. To the right of the stela is a group which may be read:

‘q^a R ‘mb-hn.t īmn.t^c
Re entering within the west

^a This is the orthography of ‘q in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 (cf. p. 3, l. 1).

^b This use of the š sign for m, derived through substitution for the mr-sign for m, is discussed above, chapter 3, pp. 59-60.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³One might read the inverted walking legs and the arm as sqd.t, with the arm as t (through substitution with rdi, as proposed for the sign by E. Hornung, “Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch,” *JSSEA* 13 [1983] p. 34). This would correspond to orthographies of sqd.t as walking legs over t in the Amduat (Hornung, *Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 79, l. 8; vol. 2, p. 8).




¹⁰⁴Arm with loaf for m: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 39; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*.

¹⁰⁵See K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten ägyptern, und was für andere volker und sprachen daraus zu lernen ist, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Rechenkunst und Sprache* (Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Strassburg, Heft 25; Strassburg: K.J. Trubner, 1916) p. 89 n. 2.

¹⁰⁶cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43 and 46; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 11*.

^a Grammatically this is an example of the *sdm=f* as a synchronous present tense (see the discussion of the heraldic groups in the middle register at the far right of the first side on the second shrine of Tutankhamun--pl. 5, fig. A). This form occurs again at the beginning of text no. 1 in this register.

This label parallels closely the "inscription" on the stela to the left.

The remaining groups of signs to the left and right of the base of the stela are indications of the course of the sun through the upper and lower skies; the leftmost group may be read *sb3* 'q () *pr* () (*m*) *d3.t* (), "the (solar) star, who enters and who goes out (from) the Netherworld," Re being the *sb3 n d3.t*, "star of the Netherworld."¹⁰⁷ The rightmost group is perhaps *sb3 phr d3.t*, "the (solar) star, who goes around/enchants the Netherworld."¹⁰⁸ This reading takes the walking legs to either side of the circular sign as a writing of *phr*, with the circle itself a writing of *d3.t*. The use of the star in these annotations to refer to Re as the star of the Netherworld may be intended to stress the Solar-Osirian Unity. The sun may be termed *dmd* (*Wb.* V 462, 15 and 460, 1), "the unified one," like *b3 dmd*, "the unified *Ba*," a designation which may be spelled (in the royal tombs also) with the star as *dmd*.¹⁰⁹

The group below the lower left edge of the large disk, the second group to the right of the stela, is perhaps to be read *R* ' *q pr (m) d3.t*, "Re, who enters and goes forth

¹⁰⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 77; vol. 2, pp. 119-20 n. 188.

¹⁰⁸Compare the groups similar in meaning and appearance above the hands of the two prone *Tkmy* figures in the middle register of the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pls. 10 B and 11 A); see also chapter 7 below.

¹⁰⁹See B. Grdseloff, "Notice sur un monument inédit appartenant à Nebwa', premier prophète d'Amon à Sambehdet," *BIFAO* 45 (1947) 178-80.

(from) the Dat.” Alternatively, this group could be read as “Re, who goes forth and who enters (into) the Dat.”¹¹⁰ The possibility of the two readings is perhaps intentional. If this label is meant to describe the scarab emerging from the bottom of the disk, then this annotation is parallel to the cloth sign labelling the ram head emerging from the top of the disk. The possibility of understanding Re as both going forth from the Dat, pushing ahead of him the ball of the sun, and leaving the sun of the day to enter into the ball of the Dat, is appropriate to the scene depicted here. A similar image in the bottom right section of the main portion of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX supports this conclusion (pl. 31).¹¹¹

Above the ram head emerging from the top of the stela is a cloth sign, labelling the head as *hbs*, “the clothed one.” This use of the cloth sign is attested in the lower left scene on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 12). This is the night sun, the concealed one (for a discussion of clothed and clothing light, see chapter 3, pp. 188-194).

To the right of the scarab head emerging below the disk, oriented according to the scarab, is a label in *Normalschrift*, with the exception of the final word *kkw*:

¹¹⁰The expected preposition *m* is not written in this annotation; it is also absent in several enigmatic groups to the right of the stela. Similarly, the preposition *r* is absent in the enigmatic group above the outstretched hand of the prone figure in the middle right section of the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun. For the omission of prepositions from these groups, compare the missing prepositions in the groups *pr<r>p.t*, “going forth <to> heaven,” and *h3<r>d3.t*, “descending <into> the Netherworld,” on a 21st Dynasty coffin from the Bab el Gusus, E. Hornung, *et al.*, *Geschenk des Nils, ägyptische Kunstwerke aus schweizer Besitz* (Zürich: J.H. Waser AG, 1978) fig. 271d (and pp. 78-79). Each of those groups is positioned to either side of the head of a human-headed *ba*-bird.

¹¹¹For the scarab as pushing the sun ahead and entering the circle of the Dat, see Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 23-5; and compare the relief in J. Cooney, “Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin,” *JNES* 12 (1953) p. 17 and pl. 55 (no. 89).

wnn nsw.t nb-T3.wy nb t(3) p(.t)^a Nb--M3 't-R 'mry-ïmn m p.t d(r)=f kkw^b

The King, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of Heaven, Nebmaatre
Beloved of Amun, is in heaven, driving away the darkness.

^a For the writing of *t3 p.t*, compare E. F. Wente, in H. Rieke, G. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (OINE 1; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) commentary p. 11 nn. *e* and *o*.

^b This looks more like the verb *wdi*, but *wdi kkw* gives little sense. This could be shortened from something like *wd=f <stw.t m> kkw*, “he shedding <light in> the darkness,”¹¹² but this relies on the unpleasant assumption that the ancients left out more here than simply the *r* of the proposed *dr*.

Just below the disk between the front legs of the scarab are inverted walking legs followed by a hobble-*t*; the group suggests ‘*q m*, “entering into.” This text apparently continues in the two columns to the left. To the right of the inverted walking legs are two empty columns, and then a third with the prenomen of Ramesses VI. Left alone this column is relatively meaningless in the context of the composition. If it is read along with the columns to the left, a somewhat more coherent annotation is possible:

1) *Nsw.t-bi'ty nb-t3.wy Nb-m3 't-R '—Mry-ïmn* 2) ‘*q m* 3) *ïmy.w^a htmy.t* 4)
h3=f d3.t^b

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands,
NebmaatRe—Meryamun, who enters amongst those who are in the
Place of Destruction,
he uncovering the Netherworld.

¹¹²cf. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 133.

^a The animal sign stands for *m* in the writing of *imy.w*.¹¹³

^b The first three signs of the final column are *h3=f*; the translation offered here takes the undetermined verb *h3* to be that of *Wb. III 13, 13*, "Geheimen enthüllen." The first part of the object of this action, ending in *-yt* is then perhaps omitted. Not wishing to leave the text faulty, one might take the third sign from the top in the final column, the much-writhing serpent, to be a haplography. This would allow one to read the final four signs as *d3.t* (for which orthography compare that in the lower left scene on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, pl. 8, 8th column from the left in the upper annotation). For the deceased king as one who can effect the covering up of the Netherworld, one may compare a text from the Great Temple of Sety I at Abydos:¹¹⁴

d3.t h3p.ti wnf.ti hr shr.w=k
the Netherworld is covered and glad because of your counsel

The uncovering of the Netherworld would allude to the king as the Netherworldly sun, shedding light into the caverns of the lower world. More specifically, uncovering the Netherworld may refer to the removal of the shrouds and bandages from the faces of the mummies of the Blessed Dead. For this concept one may consult another text of Sety I. On the stela of Sety I for his father Ramesses I set up at Abydos, a section describes the quickening of the deceased king in the Netherworld:

¹¹³For the animal tail sign as *m* in a writing of *imy*, see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 60, l. 5, pl. 61, ll. 4-5, and *idem*, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 127, ll. 6-7 (all *b3.w imy.w*, "the *bas* who are therein"); in *Coffin Texts* I 16 the animal skin F 27 has the value *im*. The use of the animal tail for *m* is related to the use of the meat sign for *m* (for which see conveniently the examples in Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*). See also the discussion in chapter 3, nn. 148 and 334.

¹¹⁴A statement in a speech made by Sefkhet-Abwy to Sety I--K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd, 1975) p. 187, l. 5.

nml=f D3.t

sbh n=f Šw m s.t kk.t

kf3y=f hr=f

nh=f hmw=f

mhy.t m dnl.wt hf.t-hr=f

When he travels the Netherworld,
 the Sun shines for him in the dark place,
 that he might uncover his face
 and doff his dust,¹¹⁵
 the North wind whistling before him.¹¹⁶

As one of the Blessed Dead, the king in the Netherworld is uncovered and illumined by the sun. Identified with the nocturnal sun itself, the king would then himself uncover and illumine the quickening corpses of the dead.

The enigmatic treatise here incorporates the prenomen of Ramesses VI, preceded by brief titles, into an enigmatic text. This is parallel to a similar inclusion of the ruler's prenomen (there also preceded by brief titles, and followed by the wish that he live like Re forever) into an enigmatic annotation on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 13 A).

Names of the deities within the solar bark (plate 15):

(i)s.t, "Isis"



Nb(.)hy.t, "Nephthys"

¹¹⁵Compare Pyramid Texts chapter 662; Book of the Dead chapter 68.

¹¹⁶See S. Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Rameses' I. in Abydos* (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1964) p. 29, n. 6 to §23.

imn.t, "West"

Tkmy, "Tekemy"

The name of the goddess Isis is written with  for *s* and  for *t*. The name of Nephthys has essentially the same orthography as on the second shrine of Tutankhamun,¹¹⁷ although on the Ramesses VI ceiling the *t* of *nb.t* has been omitted. The bending goddess behind Nephthys is Imenit, the headless animal skin with the not uncommon value *im*,¹¹⁸ the first *t* as *n*,¹¹⁹ the second as *t*. Bending over, she appears to be hiding something, perhaps the hours indicated by the stars running below the "gunwale" of the bark.¹²⁰ The prone figure in the stern is labelled *tkmy*, the apparent š sign for *m*¹²¹ a cryptographic substitution similar to the use of the *iw/t3* sign for *m* in the

¹¹⁷For this orthography of the name of the goddess Isis, see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 27.

¹¹⁸eg. Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 110; A. de Buck, chapter 9, "The Dramatic Text," in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (Egypt Exploration Society Memoir 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933) p. 52 n. 1; É. Drioton, "La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhâmon," *JEA* 35 (1949) 118; W.R. Faulkner, "Abnormal or Cryptic Writings in the Coffin Texts," *JEA* 67 (1981) 173 (and note the opposite, sign Z 11 *imy* as *hnw*--*ibid.* 174).

¹¹⁹This value (also attested in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1942] pl. 78, no. 21) appears to derive through the cryptic confusion of *t* and the flat *m* (the flat *m* for *t* is attested--Drioton, *JEA* 35 [1949] 121--as is *m* for *n* [*ibid.* 119]). An alternative is to read the name as *Hnty* for *Šnty*, the goddess of the storm which bears up the deceased king (on whom see A. Piankoff, "La déesse Chenit," *Egyptian Religion* 2 [1934] 100-105).

¹²⁰Compare the text in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 35, no. 2: *imn.t dī=s* 'wy=s *r imn.wt=s*, "Imenit, she giving her arms towards those whom she hides," they being six of the twelve nocturnal hours depicted in the middle of the upper register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.

¹²¹Attested Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43 (this value derived through substitution for the *mr*-sign for *m* (eg. Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 46; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 11*; see further above, second shrine of Tutankhamun). A similar orthography of *tkm/tkn* with the š-sign is found in A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 5 (*OIP* 73; Chicago: The

writing of the name of the goddess *Smy.t* in the lower right portion of the beginning of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 4 C). The deity *Tkm/tkmy* (*Wb.* V 333, 8) appears in the Book of Gates; elsewhere he is a solar deity, and he may be present, though not labelled, on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, where his image is that of the giant deity (see chapter 6) supporting the sun (see chapter 7, pp. 661-663, for a further discussion of Tekemy).

According to Klasens, citing the occasional use of the walking legs in writing the name of the deity, *tkm/tkmy* could be derived from “to circulate, to make one’s rounds,” perhaps from *tkn*.¹²² The appearance of *Tkmy* here speaks in general for Hornung’s understanding of the name. The iconography of the figures on the Corridor G ceiling suit *tkmy* as one on his stomach, and the enigmatic readings *tkmy* are not strained, but fit the signs. The occurrence of similar figures on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pls. 10 and 11), who--though unlabelled--occur in a context suitable to *Tkmy*, supports the readings proposed here.

Names of the entites facing and adoring the approaching solar bark (plate 22, figure B):

ltny, “he of the disk”

University of Chicago Press, 1954) p. 70c, a garbled passage in chapter 395 of the Coffin Texts (for the reading *tkm*, see Meeks, *Anée lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.4611).

¹²²A. Klasens, “An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty,” *OMRO* 56 (1975) 27; see also U. Köhler, *Das Imiut* (*GOF* IV vol. 4; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) pp. 427-8 n. 2.

The name of this deity occurs in the epithet of Re as *R ʿ-ṯny*, “Re Pertaining to the Solar Disk,” the second form of Re in the first register of the Forms of Re in the Tomb of Thutmosis III.¹²³

dw3.ty, “he of the Netherworld”

This is a name attested for Re, Horus, Osiris, and underworld demons.¹²⁴ This name together with the following personifies the Netherworld.

ṯmnty, “he of the West”

Parallel to *dw3.ty*, this is the second of two entities whose names may show them to be personifications of the Netherworld.¹²⁵ Possible but unlikely would be an attestation here of the deity *ʿnty*. The arm D 36 has the value *ṯm* through substitution with the arm holding the rounded loaf, D 38.¹²⁶

¹²³A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 4*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1964) pp. 13-14; Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 105; vol. 2, pp. 43, 63, 75. In the papyrus of Ahaneferamon (*ibid.* p. 66, manifestation number 3), the sun disk beaming down on a pair of arms emerging from female breasts is referred to as *ṯny=k*. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, p. 134, translates “thy the One of the Disk.”

¹²⁴See the references in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, pp. 27, 30, 33, and 41.

¹²⁵For *ṯmn.ty*, see the occurrences listed in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, pp. 25 (Re), 31 (Osiris), 41 (demons); Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 124; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 47, pl. 5, ll. 6, 7, and 9, and pl. 6, ll. 1-3 and 5.

¹²⁶Compare the use of the arm D 36 for *ṯm* in writing the Netherworldly toponym *ṯmh.t* in Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 29; for the arm with loaf, D 38, as *m*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 39; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*.

tms, “the red one”

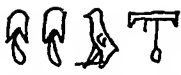
The reading of this name is uncertain. If the meat sign here is read as a variant of the cryptographically attested meat sign F 51, this name might be read as *tms*, “the red one,” a reference to the light of the being’s disk head. The flesh sign F 51 occurs several times with the value *m* in enigmatic texts at Dra Abu-n-Naga, and elsewhere.¹²⁷ In the bottom register this value *m* for the sign would give the possible reading *im3w*, “glint of light” (see below, pl. 24, l. 12). The name *tms* might be taken to refer to an angry, punishing, even bloody form of the sun,¹²⁸ but more likely refers to the sun at the cusps of the sky, the red color into which Re sets and from which he rises.¹²⁹ This name *tms* is similar to the name *tms-hr* given to the sixth entity in the lower right portion of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5 C; see the discussion in chapter 3, pp. 104-106).

Another possible reading of this name is *mkī*, which would take the hobble-*t* as *m*, the meat sign as a variant for F 51, but having the value *k*, and finally the reed-leaf as its usual *Normalschrift* value *ī*. The sign F 51 is found as *k*, as a variant of F 27, in

¹²⁷Cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*; A. Daneri Rodrigo, “An Enigmatic Inscription at Aksha,” *JSSEA* 15 (1985) 68-71 (reading *m*, not *im* as Rodrigo); see also above, chapter 3, n. 334.

¹²⁸See the references given in the discussion of negative connotations of the color red in Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 147-8.

¹²⁹One may compare the text in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 127-8, vol. 2, p. 129 nn. 300-302, wherein the sun is *dšr.ty*, “the one of redness,” the *b3 dšr wb3 imn.t*, “the red *ba* who opens up the west.” According to P. Carlsberg I, red is “the color which comes in the sun disk at dawn” (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 44, E = pp. 48-9); Re also “swims in his redness” (=Sety I Cenotaph = Frankfurt, *et al.*, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* [EES 39; London, 1933] pl. 81, lower left). See further above, chapter 3, n. 167.

the common enigmatic group  for *kkw*.¹³⁰ It is thus not inconceivable that the meat sign could substitute for F 51, and acquire the value *k*. Keeping with the pairs of names following *itny*, the name *mkî* would also form a pair with *št3*. The reading *mkî*, occurring as it does with the following name *št3*, finds support in a passage in the version of chapter 181 of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Gautsushen (11, 9-10):¹³¹

îw mh.t=s m št3w îh.t îw q3b.t=s m mk.t

her intestines are the one mysterious of things, her breast the
protective one (deity)

The value *k* for the sign does not, however, appear compatible with the use of this sign in line 12 of the second portion of the bottom register.

Yet another alternative reading of this name would be *trî*, reading the meat sign as *r*, a thoroughly unattested value. This would be the deity *trî*, "great of mystery," whose cavern is visited and his nature described in the text preceding the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns. He is:¹³²

ʿ3 sšt3w nb dšrw

¹³⁰For F 27 as *k*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*; Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 94 l. 4; second shrine of Tutankhamun; for F 27 in writings of *kkw*, see A. Grimm, "Zu einer kryptographischen (änigmatischen) Schreibung des Substantivums *KKW* 'Finsternis' im Höhlenbuch (Livre des Quererets)," *GM* 32 (1979) 23-6; W. Westendorf, "Die Tierfell-Hieroglyphe mit dem Lautwert *k*," *GM* 40 (1980) 57-8. This derives through a substitution of the skin sign for the *k3*-bull (the skin sign also substitutes for F 26--see Faulkner, *JEA* 67 [1981] 173, citing de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 147g).

¹³¹C. De Wit, "A New Version of Spell 181 of the Book of the Dead," *BiOr* 10 (1953) pl. 13, ll. 18-9 (xi, 9-10), p. 93 (cited Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 143 n. 479).

¹³²Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 87, ll. 1-3.

wḏ n nm.tyw
pn nty m-hnw db3.t=f
sd.ty=f m db3.wt=sn
nty ḥtp=f m sd.ty=f šm irw.w m s33 sw
 great of mystery, lord of red blood,
 who commands executioners,
 the one who is in his sarcophagus,
 his two children being in their sarcophagi;
 who is satisfied with his two children, mighty of forms as the one who
 guards him.

The solar deity's address to *trṯ* contains the repeated line *ḥpr ḥḏw.t m imn.t*, "light comes about in the west," suggesting a reference to the place of the birth of the sun as a place of punishment of the damned.¹³³

št3, "mysterious (corpse)"

This is *št3* as a personification of the corpse of the solar Osirian deity;¹³⁴ in the 52nd address in the Great Litany the sun god is *št3y/št3w*. The name of the first mummiiform deity in the upper right section of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun is *št3y*.

ḥḏdy, "one who lights up"

¹³³*ibid.* pl. 87, ll. 5, 7, 9; pl. 88, ll. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9; pl. 89, ll. 1-6. See further the discussion of the east as the place of ultimate destruction (chapter 3, pp. 175-180). On the epithet *nb dšrw*, see B. Altenmüller, "Re und Herischef als '*nb dšrw*,'" *GM* 2 (1972) 9-13.

¹³⁴For *št3* as a term for "corpse," see chapter 5, pp. 428-435, text n. *e*.

The name *ḥḏdy* is a variant of the name of the entity *ḥḏdw* in the fourth scene of the upper register in the 6th Hour of the Amduat,¹³⁵ and twice in the Book of the Day and the Night.¹³⁶ *Ḥḏdy*, together with the following name *ḥsy*, personifies the light of the sun.

ḥ3y, “luminous one”

This reading takes the two *s3*-birds as substitutions for two aleph-vultures. The two alephs are a false dual, providing the final -y ending. This name *ḥ3y* suggests the being *ḥ3y-tp s3w-ḥ3.wt*, “luminous of head, guardian of the corpses,” who appears in the first scene of the first register of section A in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹³⁷


Taking the *s3*-birds as representing *sy* (each bird as *s*, together a false dual providing the -y ending) one might also read this name as *Ḥsy*, “praising one,” the name of the final labelled entity in the middle left section of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 7, fig. B). This is also the name of the last of nine praising deities in the third scene in the upper register of the 1st Hour of the Amduat.¹³⁸ The name *m3w-ḥ* in the same register as *ḥsy-ḥ* on the 1st side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun is also present in that group of Amduat beings. This suggests that the name of the final adoring entity in this parallel register is also *ḥsy-ḥ*, “praising of arm.” The use of the *s3*-

¹³⁵Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p 104, Nr. 422.

¹³⁶Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 6 and 72.

¹³⁷Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 7 (compare also the entities *ḥ3yty* and *ḥ3yty<ṯ>* on pp. 25 and 73).

¹³⁸Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 30.

bird to write ʿ, “arm,” is not the result of an actual cryptographic process, but an exploitation to cryptographic ends of the pronunciation of , Coptic H1, the status absolutus of which is Δ-.¹³⁹ The s3-bird thus substitutes for the 3-vulture.

One may divide the names of the entities adoring the bark of the night sun into distinct groups. The first name, *itny*, relates the first being to the disk of the sun. The next two beings, *dw3ty* and *imnty*, bear names relating them to the Netherworld. There follows a deity *tms*, “the red one,” the solar aspect of the unified Re-Osiris as the Netherworld about to be reborn. The next name, *št3*, alludes to the hidden corpse of the solar deity, the Osirian element which remains on the root of the eastern horizon.¹⁴⁰ Together *tms* and *št3* may be taken to refer to the two constituent parts of the giant unified Re-Osiris at the eastern cusp of heaven. Finally come two entities, *hddy* and *hsy-ʿ*, whose names describes the actions of the Netherworld denizens resulting from the presence of the solar deity.





no.1 (left section, 59 lines total; plate 22, figure C and plate 23):

1) *iw R ʿ / i3hw* [label]

¹³⁹See G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache* (Ägyptologischen Forschungen 21; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1960) pp. 96-103 (§§179-193). The use of 3 to write ʿ is well attested in later stages of Egyptian; cf. F. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique I, Introduction, orthographie, phonétique* (Prague, 1949) p. 49. A bird for ʿ is not common in pre-Late Period enigmatic writing. The example of a bird for ʿ cited by Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 42, is actually the s3-bird substituting for the ʿq-bird; the writing of the s3-bird for ʿ in *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 120 is actually the s3-bird substituting for the aleph vulture in a writing of the 3*h.t*-eye of the sun. The vulture for ʿ which Drioton cites in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108, actually appears to have the value *m* (in *m p.t*, “in heaven”), substituting for the owl-*m*.

¹⁴⁰Were either *mkî* or *trî* read instead of *tms*, then there would then be a pair of names relating to the hidden corpse, the Osirian element of the unified deity of the eastern horizon.

Re / the shining one travelling

This reading of the signs interprets the disk with plural strokes below as a writing of the shining disk, a writing simply of the name of Re, or of his epithet *i3hw* (*Wb.* I 33, 4).¹⁴¹ Retaining the plural strokes, and taking them as a representation of the quail chick *w*, yet another alternative reading would be possible: *iw/šm itny*, the disk as *itn* (as apparently in the name of the leftmost standing, disk-headed being in the middle register), the plural strokes as representing the nisbe ending.¹⁴² A less pleasing alternative, requiring the assumption of a perturbation which would not appear to be particularly meaningful here, would be to read  *q*  *šw*, “Shu entering.” For this one could compare a passage from the opening of the *Amduat*:¹⁴³ *q* ( = ) *ntr pn m rry.t imn.t nyt 3h.t*, “when this god enters into the western court of the horizon...” An entry into the western court of the horizon may in fact be what is depicted at the left side of the Corridor G ceiling. This passage contains a use of the synchronous present, the concomitant *sdm=f*, a circumstantial form describing the depiction which it accompanies (see chapter 3, pp. 85-86).

This opening line, a concomitant use of the *sdm=f* (see above, the discussion of pl. 22, fig. A), parallels a line in the Book of Gates:¹⁴⁴

iy R' htp=k d.t=k

¹⁴¹For the solar deity represented as a shining disk in a Netherworldly context, compare Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 92, oval in the upper right.

¹⁴²On the writing of the nisbe ending with a quail chick in Old Egyptian, see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, §§ 142, 146, and 343; see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172.

¹⁴³Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 = p. 3, l. 1.

¹⁴⁴*idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 344.

Re comes! May you rest in your body!

translation continued (pl. 22 C):

2) *nn n ntr.w* 3) *m sh(r) pn*
 4) *hd.wt R' q.w m* 5) *h3.wt=sn*
b3.w= 6) *sn p=sn* 7) *htw=f*
sšm=sn 8) *sw m št3yt*
 9) *p b3.w*
B3 hr stt 10) *šy m* 11) *št3yt*

These gods are in this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
 Their *ba*'s travel after him,
 and conduct him in Shetayet;
 the *ba*'s travelling,
Ba shedding light in Shetayet.

I. 4) The plural strokes represent the ending of the Old Perfective.

II. 2-8) These lines are similar to the annotation to the middle left scene on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (see pl. 10, figure B); compare also another portion of the texts on this ceiling, pl. 21, ll. 48-50.

II. 5-7) For the newly quickened *ba*'s travelling (*p*) after the sun, there is a parallel in the Book of Caverns:¹⁴⁵ *p=sn m-ht=i*, "they passing after me."

¹⁴⁵Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 13, 3.

l. 6) The hobble-*t* has the value *n* here;¹⁴⁶ this reading is more likely than seeing here a writing of the the third person plural suffix pronoun as *s.t.*¹⁴⁷

l. 9) The term *b3* with the seated god determinative is a term for the sun term occurring several times in the *Amduat*.¹⁴⁸

l. 10) For the orthography *šy* for *šwy*, compare Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, vol. 2, n. 1178, pp. 844-5; compare also demotic *h3j/hy*.

translation continued (pl. 22 C):

12-14) *nn n ntryt* 15) *m shr* 16) *pn*
 17) *hkn=sn* 18) *ntyw* 19) *m ꜥ m htm.t*
 20) *b3w=s<n>* 21) *htw=f*

These goddesses are in this fashion,
 praising those who are travelling in the Place of Destruction,
 their *bas* being after him.

ll. 12-14) The orthography *ntry.t* suggests “goddesses,” apparently referring to Isis and Nephthys, arms raised as in adoration, forming the ends of the deck of the solar bark. The portion of the annotation referring to the *ntry.t* is indeed positioned over Nephthys and Imenit.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶The hobble-*t* does have the value *n* below, in pl. 22, fig. C, l. 22, and pl. 23, l. 28.

¹⁴⁷Ermann, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §79, p. 36.

¹⁴⁸See Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, p. ; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 44 n. 13.

¹⁴⁹Alternatively, one might suggest a writing of the feminine form of *ntr* (NTWPE) to approximate the pronunciation of the plural form of the word (ENTHP,

l. 18) One could also conceivably read the final signs in this column as *mt.w*, “the dead,” but the Netherworld Books often use this as a term for the damned, those who have suffered the second death;¹⁵⁰ they are unlikely to be praised, or addressed by any but the solar deity himself.

ll. 20-21) The expected *n* and following plural strokes of the suffix pronoun *sn* are absent; they were perhaps intended to occupy the blank space at the top of column 21, a space which the Red Crown for *n*, followed by three strokes, would fill admirably.

translation continued (pls. 22 C-23):

22) *snkyt* 23) [*ī*[*mn*<.t> *s*[*n*] 24-25) *m št3yt*

26) *ṣ.w ḥr* 27) *šyw*

It is the darkness that hides them in Shetayet,
they having passed by the light

l. 22) In *snky.t*, the hobble-*t* has the value *n*.¹⁵¹

etc.). For the development of *ntr.yt* form *ntr.wt*, see Osing, *Nominalbildung*, vol. 2, p. 626.

¹⁵⁰Cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 198-99.

¹⁵¹The loaf-*t* also appears with the value *n* (F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* [Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1990] vol. 3, p. 170, no. 3608; É. Drioton, “Un cryptogramme relatif aux souffles de vie,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien* [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 29; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955] p. 44), probably deriving from the similarity of these signs in hieratic. The use of the hobble-*t* to write loaf-*t* may be the origin of the value *n* for the hobble-*t* (or, through comparison with the flat *m*, with which the hobble alternates on the second shrine of Tutankhamun [Drioton, *JEA* 35 p. 121], the hobble-*t* has the value *n* < *m* [for flat *m* as *n*, see *ibid.*, p. 119]). The use of the nb-basket for *n* (Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 106; Drioton, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 44) derives from its treatment as a variant of the loaf-*t* (the basket as an inverted loaf, for which see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 [1936] 8).

l. 23) The plural strokes following the *s* suggest that the *n* of *sn* is missing here. The few signs actually written in this column appear to be a corruption of [*i*]mn<.t> s[n], with the bookroll following the bird for *m* in col. 23 representing *n*, as in the suffix pronoun *sn* in pl. 23, l. 41.

l. 27) Or one might alternatively read šy *im*, “they having passed by the light therein,” with the second reed leaf an haplography.

translation continued (pl. 23):

28) wnn nn (*n*) ntr.w 29) m šhr pn
 30) sn ḥkn= 31) sn n 32) ntī pn
 33) dw3=sn 34) ʿ3 m imnt

These gods are in this fashion,
 they praising this god,
 and adoring the great one in the west

l. 28) In ntr.w, the hobble-*t* appears to represent *n* (see above, commentary to l. 22), with the land sign for *t* for *t*; alternatively, the *t3* sign is for *n*, switched with the hobble for *t*.

l. 34) ʿ3, “the great one,” is a term used of the sun, referring to the deity as the giant god uniting the heights of heaven and the depths of the netherworld.¹⁵²

¹⁵²Compare the attestations in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, p. 25 (numerous attestations in the Book of Gates, one each for the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk). See further the discussion of the giant deity in chapter 6.

translation continued (pl. 23):

35) 'pp 36) nṯi '3 37) ḥr=sn m 38) št3yt
 39) ḥr stt 40) šy m ḥt= 41) sn
 tp.w 42) nn n nṯr.w 43) mn im
 44) s<n> r s<n> sn 45) 'n=sn m- 46) ḥt dwi 47) nṯi pn '3 48) r=sn

When the great god passes by them in Shetayet,
 casting light in their following,
 the heads (of) these gods remain therein,
 they turning back after this great god calls to them.

l. 40) The word šy receives the seated deity as determinative instead of the sun disk, apparently deriving from the name of the god Shu.

The hobble-ḥ has here the value *m*, an enigmatic value exploiting the similarity of appearance between the hobble-ḥ and the flat-*m*. The aleph-vulture at the end of l. 40 represents ḥt.¹⁵³ A similar orthography of *m-ḥt* occurs in the lower left section on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 12, final column of text on the far right of the scene).

l. 41) The bookroll following the *s* at the top of this column writes the *n* of the suffix pronoun *sn*, from the general substitution of horizontal signs.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³The value ḥt for a bird sign derives from the word ḥt- '3, "Art Gans oder Ente," of *Wb.* III 342, 1, determined by the s3-bird. For a bird sign with the value ḥt see Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34; J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* [Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, Librairies-Éditeurs, 1844] vol. 2, p. 542 (tyw-bird for ḥtyw, correcting the reference to volume 1 of Champollion's work as given in Daumas, *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 2, p. 312).

¹⁵⁴Compare the use of a horizontal line to write *n* recorded in K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922) p. 126 (§156).

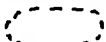
l. 43) The aleph-vulture following the plural strokes of *ntr.w* is the *m* of *mn*. The horizontal sign below the *n* of *mn* is either the bookroll determinative of *mn*, or part of the writing of the following *im*. The lack of a clear tie atop the sign speaks against the bookroll; the horizontal is thus most likely the *iw*-island sign, writing either the *i* of *im*, or *im* in full, with the following vulture for *m* as a phonetic complement.¹⁵⁵ For reading *mn im*, compare lines 4-7 in upper section no. 2: *mn tp.w=sn hr=sn (i)m=s*, “with the result that their heads remain upon them therein” (pl. 21, ll. 4-7). The heads of these deities do not join the solar deity on his netherworldly peregrinations (see chapter 3, pp. 159-167).

ll. 43-44) Alternatively, one might read *tp.w nn n ntr.w mn m s.t=s<n>*, reading the grasshopper for mouth-*r*, which may have the value *t*.

l. 44) The writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun *sn* as *s* (cf. the second shrine of Tutankhamun, plate 13, figures A and B) is a variant form attested already in the Old and Middle Kingdoms (see chapter 3, pp. 208-209, text note *a* to plate 13, figure A).¹⁵⁶

ll. 44-48) This passage, and the scene here, are parallel to a text in the middle left register of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun:

sn 'n=sn htw 'q b3.w
they turn back when the *bas* enter

¹⁵⁵For the island for *m*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 49; the use of the island for *im* derives from the sign's similarity to the *m-hnw* oval , a sign itself employed cryptographically for the value *im* (see *ibid.*).

¹⁵⁶The writing *s* for *sn* in pl. 22, figure C, l. 20, almost certainly results from the omission of the *n* and plural strokes of *sn*, for which sufficient space appears to have been left at the top of the following column of text.

translation continued (pl. 23):

49) *ir m-ht* 50) *dwı ntı pn* 51) *‘3 r=sn*
 52) *ir m-ht* 53) *dwı ntı* 54) *pn ‘3 r=* 55) *sn*
ir 56) *m-ht ‘pp=f* 57) *hr=sn*
ımn. 58) *hr=sn* 59) *h3.wt*

Now when this great god calls to them (and repeated),
 and when he passes by them,
 they hide the corpses.

ll. 49-59) The *bas* follow after the deity, but the corpses are hidden. For this series of events, one may compare text number XX, in the second scene in the fourth register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:

ıw R ‘dwı=f sn
wđ=fmd.wt n b3.w=sn
sn-r=sn ‘p=sn m-ht
tf h3.wt=sn ımn m s.wt=sn

Re calls them,
 giving orders to their *ba*'s.
 and they follow afterwards,
 though their corpses are hidden in their places.¹⁵⁷

The Datian Horus, the Horus-Upon-his-Throne in the bottom register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat, addresses the stars in his charge and informs them that they (their bodies) belong to him, but their stars belong to the one in heaven (Re).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 34, no. 20; on p. 60 (and n. 6), Piankoff reads *ımn* as *mn*, “restent,” an unnecessary emendation of the text.

¹⁵⁸Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 129, ll. 4-5 (*tn r=tn n=i sb3.w=tn n ımy-p.t*, “You belong to me, your stars belong to the one in heaven”); vol. 2, p. 136 (particularly n. 6).

l. 59) In the writing of *hr* in this line, the sign of the child has the value *h*, for which see above, chapter 2, p. 33.

middle register no. 2 (pl. 23):

60) *nn* 61-3) *n nty.w* 63-4) *m šhr pn*

64-5) *s33=* 65-7) *sn d3.t š3.t*

67) ‘*pp* 68) *nṯi pn* 69) ‘3 *hr nn n* 70) *wnw.t (sb3.wt ?)*

71-2) *pr sb3 m d3.t(?)*

These gods are in this fashion,

protecting the secret Netherworld.

When this great god passes by these hours,

the star emerges from the netherworld(?).

l. 62) The owl here has the value *tyw* in *ntyw=nṯr.w*, through substitution with the *-tyw*-bird. The loaf-*t* at the bottom of l. 62 appears to be otiose, unless it is a misplaced phonetic complement to the owl-as-*tyw*-bird. Although the divine determinative in l. 62 is bearded, it is conceivable that the *t* at the end of l. 62 could be an element in writing *nṯr.wt/yt*, “goddesses” (compare the male determinative of *nṯr.t*, “goddess,” on pl. 24, l. 9). The text appears to describe the standing male deities, however, and not the goddesses beneath their outstretched hands.¹⁵⁹

ll. 64-65) The signs writing the verb “to protect” here could represent the bolt-*s*, the *s3*-bird, and the aleph-vulture, providing the expected circumstantial form *s3*. In view of the circumstantial form *s33* attested in the Netherworld Books, and especially prevalent

¹⁵⁹The action of the gods is described as “performing protection;” the action of the gods in the lower right corner the dropped portion of the ceiling is also “performing protection” (pl. 28, upper ll. 3-4, lower l. 3), and they too have their arms extended, hands with palms down (pl. 27).

in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see the discussion in chapter 3, pp. 228-229), the signs are here interpreted as the bolt-s and two aleph-vultures.

ll. 65-67) The *d3.t št3.t*, the “secret” or “inaccessible” portion of the Netherworld,¹⁶⁰ is read here.

l. 72) The word that appears as a single round sign in l. 72 could also be *nm.t*.

The deities protect and turn over the upside down star and goddess, elsewhere described as the *pn* ʿ, “turning over,” the action necessary for the continued existence of the blessed dead in the Netherworld (see below, chapter 7, “Inversion in the Netherworld”).¹⁶¹ These scenes and their accompanying texts parallel and elaborate upon the upper register of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, for which see chapters 5 and 7.

translation continued (pl. 23)

72) *wnn* 73-4) *h3.wt h3.t(sic) m b3y pn*

75) ...?. *h3.wt=sn*

76) *h* ...?...*sn*

77-8) *p.t imy.w ? h3.wt ?*

79-80) *hpr hpr.w*

81-2) *m nw ??? ...*

83) ...*r hr hr.w=sn*

The corpses are in <th>is burial pit,

¹⁶⁰For references to the Netherworld as “secret,” see *Wb* IV 551, 14 and 553, 8; and Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 380, no. 77. 4308.

¹⁶¹Without attempting to read the enigmatic annotation, Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.*, pp. 153-4 suggests that the figures separate “die Unterwelt (quergestellte Figur) von Stern und Sonnenscheibe (mit menschl. Kopf).”

... their corpses, they ... heaven, those who are on their corpses (?),
 manifestation occurring in ...
 ... upon their faces.

l. 73) The word *h3.t* at the bottom of l. 73 appears to be a dittography. In l. 73 and l. 75, the word *h3.wt*, “corpses,” has the sign of a pustule as determinative.

ll. 73-4) The surface in the area of these lines is abraded, with the result that most of the signs are too unclear for establishing a context or attempting a running translation. the present translation assumes that the fish, pustule, and flat *m* (for *t*) at the end of line 73 could be dittography, with the next sign to be read being the flat-*m* at the beginning of l. 74. Alternatively the second fish in l. 73 could have the value *m*,¹⁶² with the following signs the designation of some place.

The place in which the corpses are said here to be is a masculine word, and written as a bookroll determined by a circle, suggesting a pit. This shape of the home of the corpses echoes the *nm.t*-domes at the beginning of the upper and lower registers of this portion of the ceiling, and the *b3y.w(t)*-pits mentioned in line 5 of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*. The bookroll can be read as *b*, a value it has in the orthography of the term *b3y.w(t)*, “burial holes,” in the right hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* of this enigmatic composition (pl. 30, l. 5--see the discussion below, pp. 380-385). The word in l. 74 is perhaps best explained as an abbreviated writing of *b3y*, “burial pit.” The *pr*-house and *n* are apparently a writing of *pn*.¹⁶³

¹⁶²For this value see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 414.

¹⁶³The *pr*-house for *p* also occurs in the annotation in the middle left section of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (in a writing of *šp* [Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 119]; see also Roccati, *RdE* 21 [1969] 151-153).

l. 74) The *pr*-house is apparently the determinative of *nm.t*.

ll. 77-8) These lines have twice the group š+aleph bird+hobble-*t*, perhaps a dittography of *h3.wt*. The fish hieroglyph appears several times in these final columns of the middle register, perhaps an allusion to the concept of the stars said to result from the tears of an unknown deity in the lake of the Dat.¹⁶⁴

ll. 82-3) These lines may mention the time (*nw* = *WB* II 219 [with preceding *m*, 219, 7]) of some beings doing something (a word ending in *r* and determined by a book roll) upon their faces, perhaps *hr*, “falling,” or some such.

lower register (pl. 18 B, pl. 20):

no. 1 (above and within the three pairs of domed structures in front of the female disks; total of 34 lines; T = top, B = bottom, numbered from left to right):

The first figure (plate 18, figure B; plate 20, figure A): (T1) *nti* (T1+2) *pn* (T2) *m* (T2, B1) *shr* (B1) *p<n>* (B1 + 2) *pr* (B2) *sd.t* (B2 + 3) *imy.t* (B3) *r3=f* (B3 + 4) *m-htw* (B4) *nn n ntiw^a* (B5) *d(w)i* (T3) *R<r=f* (T4) *hd* (T4 + B6) *imy.t*

^a Reading the two mouth signs as an attested writing of *phr* (*Wb*. I 544), allowing a reading *m-ht phr nti.w*, “when the deities travel around.”¹⁶⁵ The reed leaf here

¹⁶⁴ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 75. The stars are said to be fish at one stage of their development. For the pun on “fish” and “tears,” see also B. van de Walle, *L’humour dans la littérature et dans l’art de l’ancienne Égypte* (*Scholae Adriani de Buck Memoriae Dictae* 4; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1969) pp. 3-4 (and n. 7, p. 3).

¹⁶⁵ Taking the reed leaf as *h3* for *h* (cf. Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; the *h3*-plant M 12 for *i* occurs in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 410, and in the first two divine names in Piankoff, *BFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 146), one could propose the more unlikely reading *m-ht phr htiw*, “when the followers(*Wb* III 344, 9-11) travel around.”

represents *n*, a value attested in Ptolemaic texts.¹⁶⁶ Alternatively one could read the two mouth signs and the following bird as *nn n*.

The texts of the first and third figures here are not parallel, as they were in the upper register. The first group here is perhaps somewhat garbled towards the end, but a reasonable reading is possible:

This god is in this fashion:

When the deities travel around,

there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth.

Re calls out to him,

with the result that that which is therein (in his mouth) lights up.

If this reading is correct, then the statements that the deities light up by means of fire within their mouths are augmented by the information that this fire by which they light up (simply *imy.t* at the end of this section) is given to them by the call of Re.

An alternative reading of this text is possible, if one is willing to sort out the text in such a way as to require the workings of perturbation:

(T1) *nti* (T1+2) *pn* (T2) *m* (T2, B1) *shr* (B1) *p<n>* (B1 + 2) *pr* (B2) *sd.t*
 (B2 + 3) *imy.t* (B3) *r3=f* (B3 + B5) *m-htw* (B5) *d(w)i* (T3) *R' r=f* (T4) *hd* (T4
 + B4) *h3wt* (B4) *m* (B4 + B6 [top]) *imy.t*^a


¹⁶⁶The mouth signs could substitute for *n* through an hieratic confusion (Gardiner, *JEA* 15 [1929] p. 54). The apparent use of the reed leaf for *n* in *ns* in A.M. Blackman and H.W. Fairman, "A Group of Texts Inscribed on the Façade of the Sanctuary in the Temple of Horus at Edfu," in *Miscellanea Gregoriana: Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I Centenario dalla fondazione del Museo Egizio (1839-1939)* (*Monumenti Vaticani Archeologia e d'Art* 6; Vatican City: Tipographia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1941) p. 420 n. 95 is actually not a substitution of the reed leaf for an *n* sign, but part of a writing of earlier *ns* reflecting the actual pronunciation (cf. the Greek εσ-, σ-, on which see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, §219 and n. 352 [p. 116]; cf. also E.F. Wente, "The Suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep," *JNES* 25 [1966] 82 n. 21).

So is this god: when Re calls to him, there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth. It is by means of that which is therein (presumably the *nm.t*) that the corpse lights up.

^a Reading *imy.t* here requires taking the first of the two mouth-*r*'s in B 4 as *m*, the second as *i*, the bird as *m*, the read leaf at the end of B 4 as the nisbe ending, and the tall-*t* sign at the top of B 6 as the feminine ending.

This alternate disentangling of the cryptographic columns has the benefit of more closely paralleling the text of the third *nm.t*. (pl. 20, figure C). The organization of the various elements of the text would be somewhat more confused, however, than that of the other annotations accompanying the other *nm.t*-domes. Nevertheless, the perturbation would occur in a chiasmic manner (bottom right [B 5] to top left [T 6], then top right [T 7] to bottom left [B 8]), and cannot be excluded as a possibility. There would not appear to be any thematic significance to this perturbation.

The middle figure (plate 18, figure B; plate 20, figure B): *nt* (T5) *pn m* (T6) *shr* *pn m nm.t* [label--*nm.t*]^a (T7) [label--*3mw* (T8) -*hr*] *hd=* (T9) *f* (T10) *m* (T11) *imy.t* (T12) *r3=* (T13) *f m-hr* (B7) *dw i R r=f* [the beings in the center are called *h3.t itm* and *3m t3w*] (T 14) *im=s*

^a The second of the two writings of *nm.t* in line T6 is a label to the *nm.t*-dome. This parallels the label  in line B 3 in the text accompanying the second pair of domes in part 1 of the upper register (pl. 19, fig. B, §B 3), that name a writing of either *št3yt* or *nm.t*.

The text of the middle figure here is parallel to the text of the middle figure in the first section of the upper register, with the addition here of *im=s* at the end.

So is this deity
 in the *nm.t*,
 he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
 when Re calls out to him therein.”

The third figure (plate 18, figure B; plate 20, figure C): (T15) *nṯi pn* (T16) *m shr* (T17) *pn prr* (T18) *sḏt* (T19) *imy.t* (T20 + B8) *r3=f m-ḥt* (B8+9) *ḏwī* (B10) *R ʿ r=* (B11) *f* (B11+12) *ḥḏ=f* (B13 + T21) *m imy.t r3=f*

The third text group here parallels the first and third groups in the upper register, except at the end; here there is *ḥḏ=f m imy.t r3=f* for *ḥḏ ḥ3w.t=f m imy.t=f* in the upper register:

So is this god:
 when Re calls out to him,
 there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth,
 he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth.

lower register no. 2 (before the seated female deities and their disks; total of 47 lines; plates 24-25A):

1) *nn n nṯryt m sh(r) pn*

2) *m-ḥn.t ḥtm.yt*

nṯi <pn> [label styṯ] 3) ʿ3 st=f ḥḏ.wt=f m ḥ3.wt 4) nn n nṯr.yt

These goddesses are in this fashion

within the Place of Destruction.

<This?> [label: *styṯ*] great god casts his light in the corpses of these goddesses.

1. 2) There is a blank space between *nṯi* and the label of the goddess' name which could account for an unwritten *pn*, although *nṯi ʿ3* as written is acceptable (compare l. 36 of text 2 in the middle register).

translation continued (pl. 24):

5) *dwī nī šī3y*

6-7) *‘q 8) hḏ.wt 9) m ntr.t*

nīś.hr ḥtm.ytyw

When the mysterious god calls,

and light enters into the goddess,

then the ones belonging to *ḥtmyt* call out.¹⁶⁷

l. 5) There are *ntr.w šī3.w* mentioned in the Amduat and in the Book of Caverns.¹⁶⁸

ll. 6-7) The word *‘q* is split across lines 6 and 7. This apparent metathesis is perhaps a result of perturbation, although that cryptographic concept would appear to serve little purpose here. A more likely explanation of the orthography of *‘q* here is that it is the result of splitting between two columns an orthography where for graphic reasons the *q*-hill was written atop the *‘*-arm, fitting into the space between the shoulder and the forearm.

l. 9) The word *ntr.t*, “goddess,” has a male god determinative. For this, one may compare the possible orthography of *ntr.wt/yt*, “goddesses,” on pl. 23, l. 63. The *ḥtmyw* are mentioned in the title of the Amduat, apparently as the damned, in contrast to the *w3šy.w*, blessed dead in the Osirian entourage; later in the Amduat, their shades are butchered.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷For the use of the *sḏm.hr=f* form as a “contingent acorist,” see L. Depuydt, *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency: on Relationships between Events in the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) pp. 208-33.

¹⁶⁸See the references in Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, p. 40.

¹⁶⁹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, ll. 4 and 6; p. 82, ll. 1-2; vol. 2, p. 5 text n. 20, and p. 98 text n. 6.

translation continued (pl. 24):

10) *ʿpp wn.(w)t r kkw* [label *m3wti*]

11) *sḏm=sn ḥrw R ʿ*

srq= 12) *sn*

<sn>n=sn im3w= 13) *sn*

ir m-ḥt ʿpp=f 14) *ḥr t3=sn*

15) *hwt.* 16) *ḥr b3.w=sn ḥr ḥd<=f>*

When the hour(s) travel into the darkness,

they hear the voice of Re,

with the result that they breathe,

and they have their light/glow.

When he passes by their land,

then their *ba*'s call out before his light.

1. 10) Reading *r kkw*, with the pupil for *r* (cf. upper register text no. 2, l. 47 [pl. 21]).

1. 11) The placenta-*ḥ* is here replaced by the loaf-*t*, an attested enigmatic value.¹⁷⁰ The hemispherical *t*-loaf appears to have been used for the round placenta in this enigmatic text through application of the principle of *pars pro toto*.¹⁷¹

11. 11-2) The idea that the voice of a deity causes the Netherworld denizens to breathe is expressed several times in the Book of Caverns,¹⁷² and most frequently in the Book of

¹⁷⁰Cf. the occurrence in Drioton, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 49. This substitution of signs also occurs in the Pyramid Texts--see Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 4, p. 126 (§156).

¹⁷¹The alternation of the loaf-*t* and the placenta may also have been influenced by the use of the round loaf as a form of the more common loaf-*t* (cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. *12).

¹⁷²A. Piankoff, "Le livre des Quererets, 1er tableau," *BIFAO* 41 (1942) pl. 3, ll. 3-4 (*srq ḥtwt=tn sḏm=tn mdw.w Wsṛ...*, "may your throats breathe when you hear the

the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁷³ The ability to hear is itself a mark of divine favor,¹⁷⁴ which is not granted to all Netherworld denizens.

l. 12) This reading understands the *sn* following *srq* to be haplographic, and reads the mouth-*r* as *n*, through exploitation of the potential hieratic confusion.¹⁷⁵

The sign of meat on the bone occurs again in the name of the fourth adoring, disk-headed being in the middle register. The sign there most likely has the value *m*, as a variant for the flesh sign F 51, which has the value *m* in a number of enigmatic texts

words of Osiris ..."); *idem*, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 16 ll. 2-3 (*i snk-hr hn.ty dsr.t sbh srq r=f b3.w sbh=k srq r=f b3 nsw.t...*, "Oh one dark of face, foremost of the sanctuary, who calls and the *ba* of the King breathes ..."); *ibid.*, pl. 41, l. 1 (*iw n=k hy n R' srq=n r=n mdw=k n=n*, "hail to you Re--we breathe when you speak to us!").

¹⁷³Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1 (text 1), ll. 3-4 (*srq=sn m sdm=sn hrw=f*, "they breathe when they hear his voice"); *ibid.* pl. 6 (text 9), l. 7 (*srq=sn sdm=sn hrw=f*, "they breathe when they hear his voice"); *ibid.* pl. 9 (text 18), l. 4 (*srq=sn sdm=sn mdw.w=f*, "they breathe when they hear his words"); *ibid.* pl. 14 (text 1), ll. 2-4 (*sn šsp=sn hdw.t n R' sn srq=sn m stwt=f ...*, "they receive the light of Re, and they breathe from his beams ..."); *ibid.* pl. 15 (text 6), ll. 8-9 (*iw ntr pn dwi=f sn srq=sn <m> hrw=f*, "this god summons them, with the result that they breathe <by means of> his voice"); *ibid.* pl. 21 (text 1), l. 4 (*srq=k sdm=k hrw=i*, "may you breathe when you hear my voice"); *ibid.* pl. 23 (text 3), ll. 2-3 (*šspy.wt imy.t-r3=f srq r=f b3.w d3.tyw*, "those who receive his orders, that the datian *ba*'s breathe"); *ibid.* pl. 24 (text 5), l. 7 (*srq=k sdm=k hrw=i*, "may you breathe when you hear my voice"); *ibid.* pl. 32 (text 17), ll. 4-5 (*hrw R' pw sdm nn n ntryt sn r=sn srq=sn im=f*, "it is the voice of Re that these goddesses hear, and they breathe from it"); *ibid.* p. 63-4 (text accompanying the ithyphallic deity: *srq=sn sdm=sn hrw=f*, "they breathe when they hear his voice"); *ibid.* p. 65 (text accompanying the ithyphallic deity: *srq=sn sdm=sn hrw=f*, "they breathe when they hear his voice").

¹⁷⁴Compare a section of the Instructions of Ptahhotep, P. Prisse 16, 6ff. Hearing implies obedience (see Brunner, "Das hörende Herz," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 79 [1954] 699-701).

¹⁷⁵For the construction, compare W. Barta, "Das Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbialen Nominalsatz," in *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 101, example no. 26 = Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 41, l. 2: *tn n=tn b3.w=tn*, "You have your *ba*'s."

(see above, the discussion of the name of the entity *tms* in the middle register, pp. 283-285). This is perhaps the *im(3)w* of *Wb.* I 80, 9, “Glanz der Sonne,” a reference to the light given off by the disks lying in front of the goddesses. The signs are reed leaf for *i*, the meat on the bone for *m*, and the aleph bird for *w*. The plural strokes following the disk are either true plural strokes, or are attracted by the final *w* of *im(3)w*; they might also be corrupted from the three rays of the shining sun which more commonly determines the word.¹⁷⁶

11. 13-6) The passing of the solar deity brings a return to darkness. This section describes the same occurrence as that detailed in the concluding lines of the texts accompanying the portals in the Book of Gates:

hwt.hr imy.w smi.t=sn
sdm=sn h3 3 pn

Those in their desert necropolis scream,
when they hear this great portal slam shut.¹⁷⁷

1. 14) The snake has here the value *t3*. For this value, compare the use of the horned viper to write *t3* in *wi3-t3* in the Sety I and Osireion versions of the middle register of the 3rd Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 11), and the orthography of *t3* in the Ramesses III version of the address of the Datian Horus to the stars in the lowest

¹⁷⁶Possible, though less likely, would be a reading of the term as the *im3*, “schöne Gestalt, angenehmes Wesen (u.ä.),” of *Wb.* I 80, 10 (see also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 21, no. 79.0219).

¹⁷⁷Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 14 (first gate); similar texts for the remaining gates, *ibid.* pp. 48-9, 91, 146, 203, 251, 274, 298, 330, 355, 376, 408.

register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat.¹⁷⁸ The horned viper occurs with the value *t3* in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁷⁹ As Sethe has determined, the horned viper has the value of *t3* through hieratic confusion, and this viper-*f* and *t3*-sign interchange could be perpetuated in cryptic texts through the snake for *d* and *t*, and for iconographic reasons: in *wi3-t3* it suggests the often serpentine appearance of the bark (as here in Corridor G); as *t3* here it may indicate the Netherworld as the realm of Apep.

1. 16) In the writing of *hr* following *b3.w=sn*, the reed leaf stands for *h*, through substitution of the reed leaf for the *h3*-plant (cf. two orthographies in this composition, upper text no. 2, l. 20 [pl. 21]; the dropped portion of the ceiling [pl. 28, upper l. 5, lower l. 6]).

translation continued (pl. 24):

17) *nn n ntryt* [label: *h3tt*] 18) *m h3.wt itn.w itry.w=sn*

These goddesses are in the light of the disks which appertain to them.

1. 18) In *h3.wt*, the bird sign represents the *t*, from *tyw*; the plural strokes alone represent the plural ending.

The group *itn.w itry.w=sn* is repeated later in line 32. The two mouth *r*'s for *r(y)w* in l. 32 are here represented by two birds in l. 32, similar to the interchange of mouths and birds in *s33* in the upper and lower registers of the dropped portion of the ceiling (pl. 23, upper l. 3 and lower l. 3). The bird following *itn* in line 18, along with

¹⁷⁸Book of Gates: Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 63, II p. 85 (as a parallel for the reading *wi3 t3* Hornung refers to *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 24, ll. 6-7); Amduat: *ibid.*, p. 129 n. *u*.

¹⁷⁹Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* vol. 4, p. 126.

the mouth-*r* in the same position in line 32, could correspond to *t*, giving the reading *itn.t*, “female disks,” which is what are depicted here (see below). In this case, however, there would be no plural indication; furthermore, the plural strokes in line 18 would be otiose.

translation continued (pl. 24):

19) *‘pp ntī*

pr itn ‘3 20) <m> kkw

When the god passes,

the great disk comes forth <from> the darkness.

11. 19-20) The aleph-bird of ‘3 as haplography representing *m* also, were it not for the bookroll at the top of column 20.¹⁸⁰ The sun is called *itn ‘3* in the second scene of the lower register in the 12th Hour of the Amduat, this “great disk” being what the eight entities there depicted are said to raise up daily in the eastern horizon.¹⁸¹

translation continued (pl. 24):

wnwt htp= 21-22) sn m hḏ.wt= 23) sn

m-ht ‘pp ntī pn ‘3 24) hr=sn

ḏwī=sn n ntī pn

the hours become satisfied with their light,

when this great god passes by them,

they calling to this god.

¹⁸⁰For the “great disk” travelling the darkness, compare Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 39, l. 6. In Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 202, 12 the great disk is raised up in the eastern horizon (there *itn ‘3* is used as a name for the sungod himself--see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 192).

¹⁸¹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 202, l. 12; vol. 2, p. 192.

ll. 20-23) For the deities as *h̥tp m h̥d.wt*, compare a portion of the text preceding the sixth division of the Book of Caverns:¹⁸²

h̥pr h̥d.wt m imn.t
imy.w-t3 h̥tp m h̥d.wt=i
 light comes about in the West,
 those who are in the earth are satisfied with my light

translation continued (pl. 24):

25) *nti pn dwt=f r=sn*
ir [label: *imny.t/R 'y.t*] 26) *m-h̥t 'pp=f r=sn*
h̥3p. 27) h̥r s(.t) kkw=sn
 This god calls to them.
 When he passes by them,
 their darkness covers them.

lines 26-7) For the phrase *h̥3p.h̥r s.t kkw*, see Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 6 n. 9, and p. 49 n. 12.

line 27) The pronoun *st* here substitutes for the third person dependent pronoun *sn*. The pronoun *st* referring to the third person plural appears again in l. 28 (there fully written as *s.t*). This is a well attested Middle Egyptian usage,¹⁸³ and not an example of a Late Egyptian orthography.

¹⁸²Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 88, l. 5; compare also Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 47, pl. 26, l. (text 8, second scene in the second register of section D): *h̥tp=k m imy.w-tp=i*, “in order that you be satisfied with that which is on my head,” that being the disk of the sun.

¹⁸³A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* 3rd rev. ed. (London: The Griffith Institute, 1957) p. 46 (§46).

translation continued (pls. 24-25 A):

28) *imn.hr s.t kkw*

ht wnw.t 29) r h3.wt

30) *hr=sn im*

hd nn n ntryt 31) m hd.wt itn.w 32) iry.w=sn

pp ntī

pr 33) itn 3 m kkw

34) *htp=sn m hd.wt= 35) sn*

m-h.t pp 36) ntī pn 3 37) hr=sn

sn dwī=sn n ntī 38) pn

38) *ntī pn dw(i) sn*

The darkness covers them,

the hours withdrawing to the corpses,

their face(s) being therein,

these goddesses lighting up by means of the light of the disks which

belong to them.

When the deity travels,


the great disk goes forth in the darkness.

After this great god passes by them,

they come to rest in their light,

and they call out to this god

(it is this god who calls them).

1. 28) Alternatively one could read  here as a writing of *h3p*, with the reed leaf for *h* (this value appears to be unattested, but note the use of the three-pronged plant to write *h*,¹⁸⁴ and to write *i*,¹⁸⁵ through substitution with the reed leaf), the bird for *3*, and the mouth *r* for *p*.

¹⁸⁴Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 99; through substitution with the *h3*-sign.

¹⁸⁵Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44; Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 98.



ll. 28-29) The word here written as *ht* is read as the verb *htî*, “retreat, retire.”¹⁸⁶ The disk and plural strokes here are read as the logographic orthography of *wn.wt*, “hours” (cf. l. 20 of this section), here alone writing that word. For *ht wnw.t r h3.wt*, compare l. 41 below.

ll. 29-30) Between lines 29 and 30 in the vertical lines of text above the seated female beings, there is a change in the cryptic syllabary. In the writing of *ntryt*, the bird and hobble-*t* for *t* are replaced by the normal mouth *r* and the hobble-*t* for *t*. This change coincides with a blank column between columns 29 and 30.

l. 30) The faces of the goddesses are apparently in the place where the corpses are, the place to which the hours withdraw. This reference to the disks of the goddesses, the hours, in connection with the goddesses faces, is an allusion to the disk of a stellar or solar deity as the equivalent of his or her head (cf. the discussion above in chapter 3, pp. 159-167; and in this chapter, nn. 26, 55, 182, and 193). For the orthography of *im* in this line, see the writing in the final column of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in this composition (pl. 30, right-hand text, l. 6).

l. 31) The mouth *r* is for *m*, as in l. 47 below (pl. 25, l. 47: in *m shr pn*), in the writing of *m* in *m shr pn* in the lower register of the dropped portion of the main ceiling (pl. 28 B, l. 2), and perhaps in *nwd ntî pn im* at the end of the right-hand annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30 right, l. 6). The mouth-*r* for *m* is also found in the enigmatic

¹⁸⁶Wb. III 343, 3 and 349, 15; R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brown Egyptological Studies 1; London: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 184; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* vol. 2 (Berkeley and Providence: B.C. Scribe Publications, 1984) p. 196; R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text*, p. 121 (note M to line 6/8).

description of an expedition to Punt in the Amara Temple of Ramesses II.¹⁸⁷ Sauneron, writing on the origin of the value *m* for the spewing mouth, notes the similarity between the hieratic form of that sign and the hieratic form of the *mr*-canal.¹⁸⁸ He suggests that *mr* for *m* through a hieratic confusion is the origin of the spewing mouth for *m*. Here, however, the normal mouth-sign has the value *m*. Again, as with the value *p*, a seeming "Ptolemaic" value of the spewing mouth sign is encountered for the *r*-mouth in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The mouth-*r* substitutes for *m* in the Ramesses VI writing of  for the Osirieion's  in the 1st Division of the Book of Caverns.¹⁸⁹ The value *m* for the mouth-*r* is perhaps derived from an hieratic confusion.¹⁹⁰

ll. 31-2) See above, the discussion of line 17 in this section.

¹⁸⁷The mouth-*r* for *m* in the Amara version corresponds to the flesh sign for *m* in the Aksha version of the text (see Daneri Rodrigo, *JSSEA* 15[1985] 68-71; for the reading of the section, different from the interpretation offered by Rodrigo, see the discussion in chapter 3, n. 150, and in this chapter, n. 127). See also Drioton, *CRAIBL* (1953) 360.

¹⁸⁸S. Sauneron, "À propos de deux signes 'ptolémaïques,'" *BIFAO* 56 (1957) 77-9.


¹⁸⁹Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) pl. 8, l. 7 (apparently an hieratic confusion there).

¹⁹⁰Or *r* for *n* (Drioton, in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien*, p. 44; see also Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, pp. 29-30, §46, 5) may have lead to *r* for *m*. The values *r*, *3*, *w*, and *m* may all be related (for *3* and *w*, see *ibid.*, p. 11, §22, c, 3; for *3* and *m* see *ibid.*, p. 26, §43, 1; for *3* and *r*, see *ibid.*, p. 32, §49, 1, and pp. 34-5, §§ 512 and 6). The late writing of the mouth-*r* for *mr*, "overseer," based on the *r/l* interchange and the Coptic form of *mr* as $\lambda\epsilon$ - (*Wb.* II 388, 11), may also have influenced the use of *r* for *m*.

l. 35) 'pp appears here as the 'pr -sign for 'p , with the mouth- r for the second p . This is the only appearance of the 'pr sign within the known versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, and apparently within pre-Ptolemaic cryptography as a whole.

l. 37) The mouth r here has the value w , as it did earlier in the introductory section of the upper register (in $r=w$ in l. B4 to the first $nm.t$ in the first section of the upper register), and in $itn.w$ $iry.w=sn$ in lines 18 and 32 in the second section of the lower register; the sign also has this value in the word $\underline{dw}i$, "to call," in the rightmost text in the *Schutzbild* in this composition (pl. 30 right l. 4).

In sn $\underline{dw}i=-sn$ n $\underline{nt}i$, the horned viper has the value n .¹⁹¹ The final sign in this column is a seated, bearded deity, the determinative to $\underline{nt}i$.

l. 38) The verb $\underline{dw}i$ is here written with the snake for \underline{d} and the mouth- r for w , the usual reed leaf ending omitted. For this one may compare the writing of $\underline{dw}i$ in ll. 4 and 5 of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* portion of this treatise (on the origin of r as w , see n. 23, this chapter; n. 332, chapter 3). Apparently on the basis of the same phonetic shift, $\underline{dw}i$ is written  in the non-enigmatic title of Ukhhotep son of Ukhhotep and Henyhetib at Meir: $\underline{dw}i$ $psd.t$ $iw=sn$ (?), "who calls the ennead with the result that they come" (?).¹⁹²

translation continued (pl. 25 A):

38) $\text{'ir } m-h.t$ 39) $\text{'pp}=fr=sn$

¹⁹¹Drion, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 413; *idem*, *RdE* 1 (1933) 43; *idem*, "Amon, refuge du coeur," *ZÄS* 79 (1954) 10; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 118; the viper has the value n on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, pl. 8, col. 11 (n ꜥ).

¹⁹²A.M. Blackman, and M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 6 (*ASE* 29; London, 1953) p. 9 (with n. 1), pl. 13 (above the large fowling figure to the right).

$\dot{h}3p.\dot{h}r\ s[n]\ 40)\ kkw = sn$
 $\dot{h}tp\ R^c\ \dot{im}\ r\ s.t=f$
 41) $\dot{h}.t\ wn.wt\ r\ \dot{h}3.wt\ r\ [...] = sn\ 42)\ s\dot{s}t3$
 $b3(.w) = sn\ ^c q <m> \dot{h}[tmyt\ ?]$
 43) $s33 = sn\ \dot{ir}\ [...]$
 44) $s\dot{d}m = f\ n = sn$
 45-47) ... $nn\ n\ ntryt\ 47)\ m\ shr\ pn\ m\ nn.t\ (?)$

Now when he passes by them,
 their darkness covers them.

When Re rests therein at his (appointed) place,
 the hours withdraw to the corpses at their mysterious [...],
 their *bas* having entered <into> the P[lace of Destruction (?)],
 they protecting [...],
 he listening to them [...].

These goddesses are in this fashion in the Undersky (?)

l. 39) The mouth-*r* as 3 is found also in the writing of 3 in l. 37 of the second section of the upper register, and in the writing of $b3y.w$ in the fifth column from the left in the right-hand annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30).

l. 40) For the $\dot{h}tp$ of Re, see Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, p. 94 (citing the Book of Caverns). \dot{im} is written as the mouth-*r* for *m* alone, as at the end of the right-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild* portion of this composition (pl. 30, right-hand annotation l. 6). As Prof. Wente has suggested, one could also read this line as $\dot{h}tp.\dot{h}r=f\ s.t=f$, "then he occupies his place." This reading requires the mouth-*r* to have the value *f*, which is possible through substitution of the two signs, this substitution based on the use of the viper for *r* (see Drioton, *RdE* 1 [1933] 43, etc.). The mouth-*r* has the value *f* in the text accompanying the first pair of domes in the first section of the upper register of the Corridor G composition (see pl. 19, fig. A, section B4).

l. 41) For this line, compare ll. 28-29 above.

l. 44) The sign of the nose substitutes for the ear in writing *sdm*; this substitution, occurs above in pl. 21, l. 1. Alternatively one might also read *sdm=f r3=sn*, “he hears their utterance” (I thank Prof. Wente for several suggestions for reading this passage).

l. 47) The mouth-*r* occurs again here with the value *m*. The two horizontal line fragments following *shr pn* may be a flat *m*; the final word in this line, consisting now of three broken horizontal lines, may be *nn.t*, “nether sky,” occurring in l. 15 of the second section of the upper register, and in the name *nn.ty* of the fourth disk-headed being in that register. These suggest reading allow one to restore the end of l. 47 as:

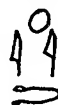



The seated female beings are female disks.¹⁹³ The names of the first three goddesses are *styt* (pl. 24, l. 2 bottom), “she relating to the beaming;”¹⁹⁴ *m3wtt* (pl. 24,



¹⁹³The “male” entities wear their disks as heads--the disk is their attribute. The female beings, however, cannot wear disks in place of heads, or their feminine quality would be concealed. Their disks must then sit before them, as they are the female counterparts of the male disks (on the “Austauschbarkeit von Kopf und Attribut” [p. 106], see E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973] pp. 101-114 [English translation = E. Hornung, trans. J. Baines, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982) pp. 109-25]).

¹⁹⁴Compare the *styt* in the Book of the Day and of the Night, the first of a group of five goddesses in the fifth register of the Book of the Day (*ibid.*, p. 30).

l. 10 bottom), “she relating to the *m3wt* -gleam;”¹⁹⁵ and *h3tt* (pl. 24, l. 17), “she relating to the *h3t* -light.”¹⁹⁶ The names of the two following goddesses are not discernible.

The disk in front of the fourth seated female entity is called  (pl. 24, l. 25

bottom), for which a number of readings are possible. This name corresponds to the name  found in the second portal of the Book of the Night.¹⁹⁷ If the eye in

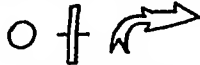
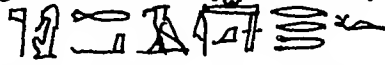
the name from the Book of the Night is read as *ir*, then the round sign in the name of the disk in Corridor G could be regarded as a pupil (representing the full eye), in which case it would be possible to read *iryt* as the name possessed by the two goddesses. What this would mean, however, is somewhat obscure. As a participle the sense is minimal, and bears no relation to the names of the associated deities. The name of the two goddesses must somehow relate them to light, or to the bringer of that light. In the middle register of the Ramesses VI scene, the first adoring being facing the approaching bark of the sun is named  *itny*, “he relating to the disk.” This appears to explain the name of the seated goddess just below--a single disk, the nisbe ending, and the feminine *t*. She is the “Female Sun Disk,” for which readings *itn(y).t* and *R(y).t* are possible. This is most likely the reading of the name of the goddess  in the

¹⁹⁵This is the feminine version of the sun god’s designation *m3wty*, found in the Litany of Re (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 39, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 94) and in the Amduat (*idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 51 no. 237; vol. 2, p. 69).


¹⁹⁶This name is attested twice as *h3yt<t>* in the the Book of the Day and of the Night (Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 25 and 73).

¹⁹⁷Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 41.

Book of the Night as well. There, the eye represents the pupil, which is the sun disk (cf. Wb. V 573, 1-3 [df]). Rather than the Ramesses VI goddess' name having the pupil for the eye, the name of the goddess in the Book of the Night has the eye for the pupil, itself representing the disk of the sun.¹⁹⁸ Like the fourth goddess in the Corridor G ceiling section, the goddess in the Book of the Night follows other goddesses whose names relate them to light: *nsr*, "the burning one," and *sšp.t*, "she who illumines."

¹⁹⁸Or the name of the goddess in the Book of the Night is *ir.t*, "Eye (of the sun)," parallel to "Female Disk" in the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling. A possible use of *ir.t* as a parallel to the solar disk is found in the Register 1 of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk ("das Buch von der Erde"). Beneath the scene of the solar bark riding atop the back of the Aker is a prone mummy, above which a large, falcon-headed disk hovers, and into whose body this disk pours light. The mummy is called by the name  in the tomb of Ramesses VI, 

in the tomb of Tawosret-Siptah (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 9). Texts III and VIII speak of light being produced within bodies in the Netherworld, and these alone would be sufficient to justify Hornung's reading of the name as given in the tomb of Ramesses VI as "Der Leichnam, in welchem Re ist" (E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* [Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1972] p. 429). The name in Tawosret-Siptah appears to be *ntr* 3 *imy* (the hill/second k appears to be carried over from writings of *wnm*, "to eat," which can be written with the hill sign, and also with the *im*-sign) *ir.t=f* (taking the first *r* for *ir*), "the great god in whom is his (solar) eye" (alternatively, the name could be *ntr* 3 *imy qrr.t=f*; the circular sign in the Ramesses VI version would then show the *qrr.t* as the determinative of the burial pit). The god in whom the solar eye is, recalls the large standing figure on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, in whom is depicted a solar disk, within which is a ram headed bird, facing a group of adoring entities. Of them it is said in the cryptic text above them: "They receiving the *m3wt*-light of his *3h.t*-eye when he illumines the corpses..." (for the *3h.t*-eye in the Netherworld Books, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2 p. 333 n. 1; see also the 3rd Hour of the Book of Gates (*ibid.*, vol. 1 p. 61, l. 2; p. 81, l. 20): "sein Glanzauge die Unterweltlichen erleuchtet."). A pun on *ir.t*, "eye," may be behind the name *iry.t*, if it is indeed a name, determined by a snake, in J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971) vs. 2, 5:

wnmw (for *wnmyt* ?) *pw iryt* () in *Si3*

See *ibid.*, p. 183 n. 449).

The term *îtnyt* appears in a text on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV,¹⁹⁹ and also appears in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. In section D, first register, scene 2, two goddesses stretch out their arms, touching the end disks in a hemisphere of alternating disks and stars--twelve of each--which surround a large sun disk. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the goddesses are called:²⁰⁰

left: 

right: 

For Piankoff these annotations were two versions of a single text, which he rendered as “les six qui passent a la suite de Râ. Imenit donne son bras a ceux qu’elle cache;” such was also the interpretation of Hornung: “Sechs, die hinter RE wandeln. Die <<Verbergende>> streckt die Hand aus gegen die, die sie verbirgt.”²⁰¹ The name of the rightmost goddess has a circular sign written after the final *t* and before the determinative of the seated, bearded god (sic).²⁰² The now-destroyed version of this text which Champollion copied in the tomb of Ramesses III is given in plate 25, figure

¹⁹⁹E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Theben 11; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990) p. 66, the seventh scene; the word there is a writing of *îtny.t*, the disk of the sun as the womb of the soon to be newborn solar deity (Hornung marks the final *t* as “sic”).

²⁰⁰Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 35, texts I and II.

²⁰¹*ibid.* p. 42; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 463


²⁰²As revealed by collation of the text in the tomb of Ramesses VI, December 1989. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives*, vol. 2, p. 606) and Piankoff incorrectly rendered the sign as egg-shaped, apparently under the influence of the common later combination of loaf-*t* and egg at the end of feminine nouns (on which see the comments of J. Málek, “A Graffito of Year 17 of Amenemhet II at el-Hôsh,” *GM* 24 (1977) 52 n. 6).

B.²⁰³ In these versions of the annotations, both corrupt and clipped at the end, Piankoff read the name of the left goddess as “*imn<y>t*,” the name of the right goddess as “*im<ny>t*.” Drioton had also assumed that the names of the two goddesses in the tomb of Ramesses III were one and the same, and equated these with the name of the rightmost goddess in the tomb of Ramesses VI; he gave no transliteration or translation.²⁰⁴ Although both annotations are admittedly corrupt; the lack of an *n* in the rightmost text is disturbing.

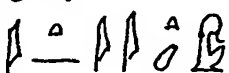
In the name of the rightmost goddess in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the loaf *t* could stand for *m* from comparison with the arm carrying the loaf as *m*, and the conical loaf alone as *m*,²⁰⁵ these values derived from the imperative *im̄*. The annotations in the tomb of Ramesses III are in cryptography, but those in the tomb of Ramesses VI appear to be in *Normalschrift*, which suggests reading the loaf *t* as *t*, which would give *itnyt* as the name of the goddess on the right in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The reading of the left goddess as *imn.t* is certain in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the enigmatic version in the tomb of Ramesses III is easily read as *imn.t*. At first glance, the


²⁰³J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, Librairies-Éditeurs, 1844) vol. 1, pp. 422-3, cited by Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 42 n. 1.

²⁰⁴É. Drioton, “La stèle d'un brasseur d'Héliopolis,” *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 20 (1938) 234 n. 4.

²⁰⁵The arm carrying the rounded loaf: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) p. 39; Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 9*; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943) 219; É. Drioton, “La cryptographie égyptienne” *CdE* 18 (1934) 194; H.G. Fischer, “Notes on the Macclesfield Collection,” *GM* 95 (1987) 36, and p. 43 n. 3; variant in S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* (Esna 8; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1982) p. 192; arm carrying the conical loaf: de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 84, 13-14; conical loaf alone: Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) p. 49; E. Winter, “Die Hieroglyphe  als *imj*-<<Befindlich in>>,” *RdE* 20 (1968) 175-76.

enigmatic name of the rightmost goddess in the tomb of Ramesses III might not seem compatible with a reading *itnyt*:

Ramesses VI: 

Ramesses III: 

The *n* of *itnyt* is missing, along with the final *t*. The absence of the final *t* should present no obstacle to the equation of the two writings--compare the enigmatic orthography of *hry.t* without final *t* in the upper right section of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5 B), corresponding to a writing with final *t* in the name of the first goddess from the left in the upper left portion of the same side of the second shrine.²⁰⁶ This leaves the absence of the *n* to explain. There are three writings of *itn* without final *n* in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk;²⁰⁷ Such an orthography in the goddess' name in the tomb of Ramesses III would allow the cryptic name to be read as *it<n>y(t)*, corresponding to the *itnyt* in *Normalschrift* in the tomb of Ramesses VI.²⁰⁸ Rather than

²⁰⁶See the section on the enigmatic book on the second shrine of Tutankhamun. Drioton, *Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte* 20 (1938) 234 n. 4, read the second plant sign in the name as *t*; the parallel from the Tutankhamun shrine suggests that the final *t* is lost, and the two plant signs stand for the two reed leaves. Note that in the text of the stela which forms the subject of Drioton's article, the plant sign stands not for *t*, but for *m3* *h**rw* (for the plant as *m3* *h**rw*, see B. Gessler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von *m3* *h**rw* mit der Blume," *GM* 116 [1990] 25-43; for the plant *m3* *h**rw* not necessarily indicating death, see K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* 2 vols. [ÄAT 8; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985] p. 55, n. 45).

²⁰⁷Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 79, pl. 11, ll. 1 (text 22: *it<n>3h.ty*), 3 (text 22: *it<n>=f 3 šw.t*), 6 (text 23: *it<n>=f 3 šw.t*); compare also the writing of *itn* without the final *n* in the text on the lower left of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 8), and the further examples of orthographies supporting the reconstruction *iati* cited in chapter 3, pp. 137-139.

²⁰⁸For a similar playing with the drop of final *n*, compare the use of *sn* for *s* in *hsf* in the partially cryptographic text in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 64, 1

both being goddesses of the west, there is *imnyt*, the west, and *itnyt*, the east. In representations of the two hills of the horizon, the rightmost hill can represent the eastern horizon, the leftmost hill the western horizon.²⁰⁹ So here *itny.t* is on the right, *imny.t* on the left.

The earliest certainly dated use of the appellation *itn(y).t* is born by a goddess in a single Dyn. XVIII example, in Theban tomb no. 82 (tomb of Amenemhat, reign of Thutmosis III);²¹⁰ the goddess' name is broken, and Gardiner restores Hathor.²¹¹ The goddess is, however, also called *[nb.t]ip.t-S.wt*. Hathor can be *hry.t-tp W3s.t* at Karnak, as well as *hry.t-ib Bnn.t* at the Khonsu temple, and *hry.t-ib ip.t* at Luxor Temple, but *nb.t ip.t-S.wt* would be otherwise unattested for her. Mut, however, is known as *nb.t* and *hry.t-ib ip.t-S.wt*.²¹² Gardiner appears to have questioningly restored the name of

²⁰⁹See J. Assmann, "Horizont," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980) cols. 6-7 n. 26. This equation is in fact the opposite of what one might expect, as the Egyptians faced the south, and envisaged the correspondances of left and right with the cardinal points as right = West and left = East. The reversal in the context of the solar journey is perhaps meant to emphasize the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun's travels, associating the place of setting with that of rising, and *vice versa*.

²¹⁰N. de G. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82) (The Theban Tomb Series 1; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1915) pl. 30; see also S. Tawfik, "Aton Studies," MDAIK 29 (1973) 79. J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1975) p. 607, cites *Wb* for *itnyt*, and adds "erst griech. belegt," the Berlin dictionary giving the indication "Gr." for the entry. The *Belegstellen* volume does, however, cite the Amenemhet occurrence, with the annotation "schon Dyn. XVIII."*

²¹¹The term *itny.t* is more common during the Graeco-Roman period, and at Dendarah "Hathor est appelée constamment *itnt* à Dendara" (F. Daumas, "Les propylées du temple d'Hathor à Philae et le culte de la déesse," ZÄS 95 [1968] 6 n. 40),

²¹²And *m ip.t-S.wt*--see P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo: Le Service des antiquités de l'Égypte avec la collaboration de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1977) vol. 1, p. 361 (§635); vol. 2, pl. 21 (bl. 309).

the goddess Hathor on the basis of the title *nfr.t hr*, a not uncommon epithet of Hathor.²¹³ However, Mut also can be called *nfr.t hr*. In horizontal lines 14, 18, 35, and vertical lines 41 and 66 of Stela BM 194, a crossword hymn to Mut, we read of *hr=s nfr*, and in horizontal lines 19 and 66 we find *nfr.t hr*.²¹⁴ Mut is also termed *nfr.t hr m h.wt-shm.w*.²¹⁵

After the example in TT 82, the next surviving attestation of the female Aton is in the tomb of Samut called Kiki (reign of Ramesses II), and there it is Mut who is referred to as *itnyt*, "She Pertaining to the Sun Disk."²¹⁶ Mut could substitute for the solar deity, and as such can *wbn*, "rise."²¹⁷ Given the epithet [*nb.t*] *ip.t -S.wt*, the titles

²¹³Wb. II 255, 9; the *Belegstellen* give no example of *nfr.t hr* appearing as an epithet of Mut.

²¹⁴H.M. Stewart, "A Crossword Hymn to Mut," *JEA* 57 (1971) pl. 25, p. 92. In vertical line 20: *nfr=s pw n hr=s*. See also vertical line 53

²¹⁵Offering table BM 422 (I.E.S. Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.* vol. 8 [London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1939] p. 55, pl. 47); on this epithet see M. Gitton, "Variations sur le thème des titulatures de reines," *BIFAO* 78 (1978) 397 n. 4. in A. Brack and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Haremheb, Theben Nr. 78* (AV 35; Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1980) pp. 29-30, text 11c, the goddess Mut, as the returning Hathoric goddess, is said to have a "beautiful face" (*nfr hr*).

²¹⁶M. A.-Q. Muhammed, "Two Theban Tombs, Kyky and Bak-En-Amun," *ASAE* 59 (1966) pl. 49 (ll. 22-23); see also P. Vernus, "Littérature et autobiographie, les inscriptions de *S3-mwt* surnommé *Kyky*," *RdE* 30 (1978) 115-146 (specifically p. 145), and the literature cited there; Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 376 (his line #52). In Stela BM 194, horizontal line 38 (see foll. FN), we read *hr=s [Mut] itn m p.t bkt*, "her face is the disk in the morning sky..."

²¹⁷Mut can also [illumine] (*shd*); see W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955-58) p. 2041, ll. 4ff (the song of the men towing the Mut bark, in the Opet scenes in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple); fourth flagstaff from the left in the depiction of the façade of the 2nd Pylon of Karnak on the East wall of the court of Khonsu Temple (OIP 100, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* pl. 52);

in question from the tomb of Amenemhet are more appropriate to the goddess Mut, although the choice of *nfr.t hr* may indicate an association of Mut and Hathor, a syncretism of the two goddesses being a well attested phenomenon.²¹⁸ From the Ramesside period on, Mut can also be *R ʿy.t*, the female Re, an appellation occurring already in royal usage in the reign of Hatshepsut, who termed herself *ḥtn*.²¹⁹ Mut already acts in this role in late Dynasty XVIII. The title of Queen Ankhesenamun (see below) is the earliest certain attestation of the goddess Mut in the role of *ḥtn.t* / *R ʿt*, preceded perhaps only by the broken example of a goddess *ḥtn.t* in Theban tomb no. 82.

As mentioned above, the goddess Mut is referred to in the tomb of Samut called Kiki as *ḥtny.t*, “She Pertaining to the Sun Disk.” Parallel to *ḥtn.t* as the feminine of *ḥtn*, *ḥtny.t* is the feminine counterpart of the manifestation of Re as *R ʿ-ḥtny*, “Re Pertaining to

stela BM 194, horizontal line 1 and *passim* (Stewart, *JEA* 57 [1971] pls. 24 and 25, p. 90).

²¹⁸See A. Rusch, “Mut,” in G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 31. Halbband (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933) col. 932; H. Te Velde, “Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut,” *JEOL* 26 (1979/80) 7. Note, however, that the *Mut-Hathor cited by H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1952) p. 492, based on a translation by J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906) vol. 2, §622, is incorrect, the text actually reading *mwt=i Ḥ.wt-Hr* (K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* [*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 4; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906-09] p. 71, l. 6). The Mut-Bastet in *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I* (OIP 107) pl. 36, ll. 13-16 is called [*nb.t*] *ḥp.t-S.wt*.

²¹⁹Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, vol. 1, p. 150, and A. Gutbub, “Rait,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984) col. 88. Hatshepsut also called herself *Hr.t*, “female Horus,” a term occurring as an epithet of Isis in the Late Period (L. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* [Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1988] pp. 58, 131, 184 n. 8); D. Devauchelle, “Le titre *RAiT*,” section 3 of “Notes ptolémaïques,” *RdE* 40 (1989) 190.

the Solar Disk,” the second form of Re in the first register of the Forms of Re in the Tomb of Thutmosis III.²²⁰

Slightly later than the epithet of Mut in the tomb of Amenemhet, the goddess Mut is indirectly referred to as the female solar disk in an epithet of Queen Ankhesenamun, usurped for Queen Mutnodjmet, in Luxor Temple. The titles of Queen Ankhesenamun are given above her barge on the east interior wall of the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple; her titles are known through several copies, and are published in facsimile by the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute.²²¹ The titles and name of the queen occupy 14 columns of text, of which the first 7 lines are well presented by Gitton.²²² Based on Epigraphic Survey drawings, plate 26, figure A is a copy of lines 8-13.²²³

wbn Mw.t r dī.t n=s ḥs.wt

ḥtp=s r q3b mr.wt=s

As Mut rises in order to give to her praise,
so she sets in order to double her love.²²⁴

²²⁰See above, the discussion of the name of the first praising entity *ītny* in the middle register.

²²¹The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1 The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (OIP112; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994) pl. 83.

²²²Gitton, *BIFAO* 78 (1978) 392-394; W. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet, die Festzugdarstellungen im grossen Säulengange des Tempels von Luksor* (*Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten* 5; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1931) pl. 3, p. 62 (#29); W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1935) pls. 199-200; Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 2037, l. 18-p. 2038, l. 7; R. Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Mutnedjemet, ou la fin d'une dynastie* (Geneva: Imprimerie la Sirène, 1964) pl. 32, p. 190.

²²³Solid lines represent what remains at present on the wall, dashed lines show what can be seen in archival photos.

²²⁴Taking the verbs *wbn* and *ḥtp* as nominal *sḏm=f* 's, forming a *Wechselsatz*. In his copy, Gitton makes several errors. He shows *ḥtp* as present, although it should be

This laudatory interpolation is paralleled in the epitheta of two other queens:

Nefertiti:²²⁵

wbn p3 itn r rdī.t n=s ḥs.wt

ḥtp=f r q3b mr.wt=s

As the Aton rises in order to give to her praise,
so he sets in order to double her love.

Mutnedjmet (?):²²⁶

[wbn] R< r rdī.t n=s [ḥs.wt]

[ḥtp=f r] q3b mr.t=s

As Re [rises] in order to give to her [praise],
[so he sets in order to] double her love.

In the titulary of Ankhesenamun/Mutnodjmet, the goddess Mut is in the position occupied by the solar deity (Aton and Re) in the other attestations of the epithet. According to Noblecourt and Kuentz:²²⁷ “on retrouve ici la même opposition *wbn/ḥtp*

in brackets; an *f* is then shown in brackets, ignoring the feminine *s* which is still present on the wall. These errors appear to be tied to Gitton's unfounded reading of the *Mwt*-vulture as a *p3*-bird, all bound up in an effort to force the Ankhesenamun epithet into the exact mold of the Nefertiti parallel.

²²⁵N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* part 4 (*Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 16; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906) pl. 31 (M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of AkhenAton* [*Bib. Aeg.* 8; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1938] p.55, 2-3).

²²⁶This occurs on a reused block, in raised relief, on the Khonsu temple roof, east side, Hypostyle Hall. After my identification of the title, and partial reconstruction of the portions of the titles still covered by another block, Ray Johnson kindly provided me with a xerox of his preliminary handcopy. I owe the suggested dating of the block to Dr. Johnson. Plate 26, figure B is a handcopy of the relevant portion of the text.

²²⁷C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou-Simbel* (Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'Étude sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1968) vol. 1, p. 141 n. 1.

que pour Nofretiti, bien qu'ici ces mots signifient, comme toujours quand il ne s'agit pas du dieu-soleil, «apparaître au cours d'une cérémonie du culte, se manifester de façon éclatante en quittant le sanctuaire pour participer à une fête», et «disparaître aux yeux des adorateurs en se retirant dans le temple». This misses the point of the title, as well as an interesting aspect of the goddess Mut. The other, similar expressions discussed by Noblecourt and Kuentz involve the solar god, and this epithet of Ankhesenamun is no exception.²²⁸ In the text to a scene of Sety I offering incense before a lioness headed Mut, the goddess is said to rise (*wbn*).²²⁹ The various epithets with which the king addresses the goddess all pertain to the eye/uraeus aspect of Mut, entirely in keeping with the feline form of the depiction. Mut rises here as the eye of the sun; the verb *wbn* in the queenly epitheta is not *wbn*, "to appear in procession, participate in a festival."

²²⁸*ibid.* pp.136-145 n. 57

²²⁹H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak 1 Part 1 The Wall Reliefs* (OIP 106; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981) pl. 205, ll. 10ff.: *r3 n ĩr.t snr n Mw.t wbn.t(ĭ) 3ĥ.t ĥ ĥy.t w3dy.t...*, "Recitation for thurifying for Mut when she rises: Oh Akhet eye, oh Glorious Rising One, Uto ..." (note that *ĥ ĥy.t* is used of Mut and Hathor [Wb III 242, 4 and 5]). Another scene stressing the solar disk aspect of Mut is found in a scene of Herihor in Khonsu Temple (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu 1 Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* [OIP 100; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1979] pl. 85). The goddess Mut wears the "Red-prominent" Pschent crown above the vulture headpiece. At the base of the Pschent, apparently a variation of the normal "Uräenkalathos," are three rearing cobras with disks on their heads. In the two spaces between the cobras are more solar disks, two in each space, one above the other, the topmost somewhat larger than the lower disk. Mut is here referred to simply as *Mw.t wr.t nb.t ĩšrw ĥnw.t-ntr.w*, "Mut the great, lady of Asheru, mistress of the gods." She has seven disks total. Compare the seven uraei, each with a disk, on the crowns of the aegises of the royal bark in the Opet scenes in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple, each seven-uraei crown apparently personified as Uto (Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Procession of Opet*, pl. 16, commentary p. 6). The crown is also called Uto in E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum 2* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1912) pl. 7 (no. 147 [839]), ll. 6-5 (from the left): *ĥry sšt3 n W3d.ty*

These epithets are foreshadowed by a portion of a hymn to Osiris on the stela British Museum no. 236 [1367], ll. 8-9:²³⁰

wbn R ʿ n ib=f r m33 nfr.w=f tp t3

h̄tp=f m ʿnh m̄itt r m33 n=f m h̄pr.w d3.t

As Re rises through love of him in order to behold his (Osiris') perfection upon earth,

so he sets in life likewise in order to behold him (Osiris) in the manifestations of the Netherworld.

The solar deity himself rises and sets here through love of Osiris, in order to behold Osiris' solarized form upon earth, and his hidden nocturnal manifestations in the Netherworld. This is not the appearance and disappearance of a deity on the context of a temple procession, but rather the actual rising and setting of the solar orb.

Both Mut and Hathor could be said to "rise." As Hathor was both the mother and daughter of Re, so Mut, the consort of Amun-Re, was also the mother (*nb.t p.t*) and daughter (*ir.t R ʿ*) of Amun-Re.²³¹ Exactly parallel to the interchange of Aton, Mut, and Re in the New Kingdom queen's title is de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 6, p. 48d (spell 482), wherein Hathor is said to rise (*wbn*). Two versions substitute Re for the original Hathor.²³² According to Troy, "Hathor, as the enclosing mother of the solar

²³⁰H.R. Hall, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, Etc., in the British Museum* vol. 3 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1912) pl. 28.

²³¹Conveniently see Te Velde, *JEOL* 26 (1979/80) 7.

²³²That Hathor was indeed the original deity in the passage is indicated by the retention of the feminine suffix pronoun in the versions substituting Re (as recognized by W.R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 2 [Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1977] p. 127 n. 2). For a further example of the solar eye goddess substituting for the solar deity himself, see the writing of Re as a seated, feline-headed deity with a sun disk and uraeus on her head in É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Edfu* vol. 4 (*MMAF* 21; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1929) p. 141, l. 11.

child, becomes, in the imagery of the Egyptian texts, the sun disc itself.”²³³ Mut, as the mother of the sun, is the mother of Amun-Re, and as such she is the solar egg, the female disk, representing the solar deity because she carries and delivers him.²³⁴ *ītn.t* was then a manifestation of both Mut and Hathor, as the disk-womb of the sun. Whereas the disk of the day is Re, *ītn*, masculine, that of the night is *ītn.t*, feminine, the womb in which the sungod regenerates.²³⁵ The supreme goddess as the nocturnal sun explains how Isis can be said to be “the one who illumines the divine corpse of the lord of Netjery (Osiris)” (*shꜥ d.t-nꜥr n nb nꜥr*)²³⁶—she is the disk of the sun visiting the

²³³Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, p. 22 (see her pages 20-25 concerning Re and Hathor; see also S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (MÄS 4; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1963) pp. 113-116, E.F. Wente, “Hathor at the Jubilee,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969) pp. 90-91, B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* [GOF IV vol. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975] pp. 134-35, and Ph. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons* [Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1972] pp. 36-44); in Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 305 there is rejoicing because *Hꜥw.t-Hꜥr whꜥm.n=s ms.wt*, “Hathor has repeated birth.”

²³⁴For the solar god as *īmy-ītn=f*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 39-40; for Amun as *īmy-ītn=f*, thus Mut as the solar disk by implication, see J. Černý and A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) pl. 90, recto 5. *ītny.t* and *Rꜥ.t* are, however, often called the “daughter of Re,” so perhaps no more than this solar association allows the goddesses Mut and Hathor to rise like the sun (*ie.* for the eye of Re, the daughter of Re, called *rꜥ.t wr.t* and *ītn.t tp.t*, see É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara* vol. 4 [Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1935] p. 67, l. 1).

²³⁵For Hathor as the nocturnal sky, see C.J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth, Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (*Studies in the History of Religion (Supplements to Numen)* 26; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973) p. 47; for the goddess as both the eye and womb of the sun, and the eye as a reproductive organ, compare O.F.A. Meinardus, “A Note on the Conception *per oculum* in Coptic Art,” *DE* 9 (1987) 37-43.

²³⁶C. Favard-Meeks, *Le Temple de Behbeit el-Hagara* (*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte* 6; Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1991) p. 71.

corpse of Osiris in the Netherworld. This *itn.t*, as the womb of the sun of the day, is also the sun at the eastern horizon, as it enters the day.²³⁷

Although the terms *itn(y).t* and *R'(y).t* appear during the XVIIIth Dynasty, the concept of the female disk may be traced back much earlier (*ie.* CT utterance 482).²³⁸ The use of *itny.t* (less likely *R'(y).t*) on the ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI suggests a New Kingdom composition date for the cryptic texts there, although conceptually a far older date would be possible.²³⁹

The Dropped Portion of the Ceiling of Corridor G (plate 27):

According to Abitz, the sun atop the lunar crescent here is a depiction of the “Vereinigung von Tag und Nacht oder der Dat mit dem Himmel.”²⁴⁰ The central disk with crescent corresponds to the central sun in the *Schutzbild* (pl. 29), suggesting the alternation of solar and lunar disks which demonstrates the *perpetuum mobile* of the

²³⁷See A. Gutbub, “Rait,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984) col. 90 n. 23. Note É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara* vol. 4 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1935) p. 76, l. 12--*R' t nb.t 3h.t*; *idem*, *Le Temple de Dendara* vol. 2 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1934) p. 16, l. 10--*R' t wbn m 3h.t*; *ibid.*, p. 127, l. 17--*R' t nb(.) 3h.t*; *ibid.*, p. 40, l. 1--*R' t* appears as *itny.t*; *ibid.*, p. 265, l. 3-- appears as *itny.t*, shines as *R' t*; Chassinat, *Dendara*, vol. 4, p. 265, l. 3--*ir.t R'* shines *m itny.t tpy.t n itn*; especially note *ibid.*, p. 248, ll. 3-4--*wnn R' t psd m pr=s m itn.t tpy.t n itn hr db' d.t=s hr ...*

²³⁸Perhaps already present in the Pyramid Texts (see Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, p. 22 and the refs. cited there).

²³⁹Not a post-Amarna assignment of solar qualities to non-solar deities (see the imagery in J.H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* [New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1912] p. 403).

²⁴⁰Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI.*, p. 154.

solar cycle.²⁴¹ The lunar crescent is also appropriate as symbol of the solar deity whose *hpr.w*-realizations are said to come about in this cavern, mentioned in the right-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30).²⁴²

The solar deity is depicted here, as described in the third column of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*, with the two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, as his arms; a falcon head emerges from each side of the deity.²⁴³ The surviving portions of the annotations are parallel (plate 28); the text begins:

²⁴¹This interchange of signs appears often in New Kingdom jewellery--see S.R.K. Glanville, "Some Notes on Material for the Reign of Amenophis III," *JEA* 15 (1929) 7-8; H. Carter, *Tomb of Tutankhamun* vol. 2 (London: Cassell and Company, 1927) pl. 84c (=I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: his Tomb and its Treasures* [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Alfred A. Knopf, Inc, 1976] no. 31, and references there); C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971) p. 32, color p. 75, pl. 91.

²⁴²That the text of the *Schutzbild* and the scenes of this portion of the ceiling of Corridor G are related is shown by the depiction here of the deity with the two goddesses as arms, described in the text of the right-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30). For the moon as symbol of the *hpr.w* of the supreme deity, compare the text in the first court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2, pl. 185), wherein the king is said to be one:

ir=f hpr.w mr=f mī i 'ḫ.t (?)

who completes the realizations which he desires like the female lunar deity.

Compare Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 2161, l. 6 (decree of Horemhab): *twi r whm ms.wt mītt i 'ḫ*, "I shall repeat births like the moon" (J.-M. Kruchten, *Le decret d' Horemheb* [Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1981] pp. 189 and 191) and H. Grapow, *Die bildliche Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen, vom Denken u. Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924) pp. 34-5. For the female moon, see Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2, pl. 185 n. 12. J.G. Griffiths' sweeping statement (*idem*, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* [Cambridge, 1970] p. 463) that "the Egyptians always regarded the moon as male" is thus to be modified). On the king and the moon, see É. Drioton, "Le roi défunt, Thot et la crue du Nil," *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933) 44-5.

²⁴³For this combination of attributes, compare the four ram-headed entity associated with a two falcon-headed being on gem no. 16122 in M. Pieper, "Die Abraxasgemmen," *MDIÄAK* 5 (1934) 143.

wnn^a nn n ntr.w m^b shr pn

sn s33^c=sn hty.wt

These deities are in this fashion,
they guarding throats

^a The verb *wnn* appears in the upper version only.

^b In the lower register *m* is written with the mouth *r* (see above, commentary to l. 31 part 2 of the lower register of the main portion of the ceiling, above the goddesses with disks [pl. 24]).

^c For the circumstantial form *s33*, see above, chapter 3, pp. 228-229.

The texts in the upper and lower registers appear to be parallel; the scene in the lower register parallels the final two figure groups in the middle register of the high portion of the ceiling of Corridor G (pl. 16). The text of this portion of the higher ceiling does not exactly parallel the texts of the lower portion, but a comparison does provide the reading *s33* in the text just cited. The word *s3* could be read for the word in the upper annotation, the first bird representing *s3*, the second the second *3*. In the lower annotation, the group of the two birds is replaced by a group of two mouth-signs. There a reading *s3* is also possible. The *s3*-bird can have the value *r* through the term *r* for a type of goose.²⁴⁴ By reversing this equivalence, the mouth *r* could be assigned the



²⁴⁴This use of the *s3*-bird for *r* occurs in Late Period texts as well--cf. S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (St. Petersburg [Leningrad], 1982) p. 192 n. *ah* to #B1, and l. 9, pp. 190-191.

value *s3*.²⁴⁵ A similar reversal of an attested enigmatic value occurs in the first pair of domes in the first text in the upper register of the main portion of this ceiling, where the viper-*f* for *r* is reversed, and the mouth-*r* has the value *f* (pl. 19, fig. A, section B4; perhaps also pl. 25 fig. A, l. 40).

The second mouth-*r* has the already attested value 3.²⁴⁶ Later in these annotations, *r3.w*, “mouths,” is written with two *r*-mouths in the lower register, and two birds in the upper register. That such a reversal of a cryptic value of the mouth sign is possible here is suggested by a similar reversal attested elsewhere in the tomb of Ramesses VI, with the *p* value of the mouth sign leading to the use of the *p*-sign for the value *r* in two words in the book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the burial chamber.²⁴⁷ In the upper register of the 4th Hour, one reads:

²⁴⁵Note also that the egg sign can have the value *s3* as well as the value *ir*, apparently through substitution with the pupil (Montpellier sign list). Drioton, *CRAIBL* (1953) 360, reports the value *s* for the mouth *r* in a group of scarabs which he was preparing for publication (they appear never to have been published). For a writing of *s33* with two *s3*-birds at the beginning, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 34 n. r. This substitution of the pupil and the egg, *s(3)* as (*i*)*r*, may explain the possible use of the grasshopper (in earlier cryptography *r*) for *s* at Esna--see above, chapter 3, n. 331.

²⁴⁶See above, the discussion of pl. 21, l. 37.

²⁴⁷Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 72 (*hpr* written ); p. 73 (*shpr* written ; this writing shows that neither metathesis nor perturbation should be sought as an explanation for the writing of *hpr* on p. 72). Reading *s3* on the strength of the scene in the middle register of the upper portion of the ceiling is to be preferred to other possible readings: *ie.* one could compare the orthography with the two mouth-*r* signs to the word *rriw* (?) in the fifth scene of the Book of Gates, in the upper register of the 2nd Hour (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 19; vol. 2, pp. 47 and 48 n. 9. Hornung reads the apparent verb *rrî* as “köpfen.” Another possible reading would be *tr(i)*, “respect,” or *twr* (written *tr[i]* ?), “to turn back” (see E. Hornung, “Lexikalische Studien II,” *ZÄS* 87 [1962] 117-8; *idem*, *das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 19). Less likely would be an occurrence of the word *rrî*, “köpfen,” discussed by Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 47-8 (n. 9). The groups could be read as *rmn* (assuming *rn* for *rmn*; see W.R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1962] p. 149), but the deities do not appear to be carrying *Htmyt*.

ntsn s33 nhp nhp t3

It is they who guard the quaking one, while the earth quakes.²⁴⁸

One may also compare also the second scene in the lowest register of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns,²⁴⁹ and the second scene in the third register of the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns. For *s3w* as “Strafgötter” in the Book of Caverns, one may conveniently consult the references given by Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, p. 77; in the text in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 6, p. 84g, the *bw.w*, the *s33.w iry.w ʿwt*, “the guardians responsible for the limbs,” are punishing demons. The *s33.w iry.w ʿwt* may, as their name suggests, have been attached to various parts of the anatomy.

The *hty.wt* here appear to be “throats.”²⁵⁰ The reference in l. 45 of the second section of the register of the upper register (pl. 21, l. 45) to *htm.t-wsr.wt*, “the place of the destruction of throats,”²⁵¹ supports the reading *hty.wt*, “throats,” on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling. The use of the heart determinative in l. 4 of the lower annotation is most likely a substitution of the heart for the expected throat-sign. The use

²⁴⁸Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 68, l. 3, t; cf. also *idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 170 n. 13 (scene 40).

²⁴⁹Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pls. 133, 6; 134, 6; and 135, 4.

²⁵⁰H. Grapow, *Anatomie und Physiologie (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter* 1; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954) pp. 47-8; W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation (Probleme der Ägyptologie* 7; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991) pp. 108-9.

²⁵¹For a less likely alternative for the meaning of the object of *s33*, one could compare Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 34, l. 2; vol. 2, p. 52 n. 10 (Hornung reads “hearts,” but better would be *Wb.* III 45, 4--“kettle”--“it is they who place the kettles upon the fire”).

of the city determinative for *ḥty.t* in col. 4 of the upper annotation is more difficult to explain, although it may have been suggested by the toponym *Ḥtm.t-Wsr.wt*.

The text continues:

*prṛ ḥmy.t^a r3.w^b ḥr^c=sn r nn n^d šw.wt r ḥtm=sn^e
ntr.w^f phr m8 ḥpr.w<=sn (?)>*

That which is in the mouths comes forth before them against these
shades, in order to destroy them,
the deities being surrounded by <their (?)> manifestations.

^a *ḥmy.t* is written with a *t* as *ḥmy* and a reversed *t* for *t* in the upper register; in the lower register, two hobble-*t*'s are used.

^b As above in the writing of *s33*, the birds in the upper register correspond to mouth-*r*'s in the lower register. The second bird and the second *r* in these orthographies represent the otherwise unwritten, though very infrequently indicated, 3.²⁵²

^c The reed leaf is written for *ḥ3* (cf. Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 105; note also the reverse of this, the *ḥ3*-plant M 12 for *l* in Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 410, and Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 146, first two divine names). Cf. two other orthographies of *ḥr* in this composition, upper text no. 2, l. 20 (pl. 21); lower text no. 2, l. 16 (pl. 24).

^d In the lower register two horned vipers write *nn*. In the upper register the owl-*m* is for *n* (substituting for the *t* below through the use of that sign for the flat-*m*); in the lower

²⁵²See Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, vol. 2, p. 484, n. 154, citing PT 421 b and de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 511.

register the hobble-*t* writes the *n* through substitution with the flat-*m*, *m* here having the value *n*.²⁵³

^e For the use of the nose in writing *htm*, compare the orthography of *htmy.t*, “place of destruction,” in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 67, l. 1. Were the nose taken a deformation of the pustule, *r wh3.(w)t=sn*, “at their cauldron(s),” would be possible; such a confusion appears otherwise unattested, however. The prepositions *r-hft* (*Wb.* III 274, 20) and *r-hnt* (*Wb.* III 303, 1-7) would also be possible,²⁵⁴ but these are somewhat rare, and do not yield the best possible sense in this passage.

^f The *n* of *ntr.w* in the upper version is written by means of the horned viper.

^g The two mouth-*r*’s write *phr* (*Wb.* I 554);²⁵⁵ for the following preposition, the owl-*m* in the upper register corresponds to the *t* for *m* in the lower register.

The *šw.wt*, “shadows,” which are the objects of the fiery breath of these demons, may be the same as those shades of the malevolent dead whom the guardians of the limbs of Osiris must restrain.²⁵⁶ For deities protecting throats also functioning as

²⁵³For *t* as *m*, cf. Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 121; for *m* as *n*, compare the use of the *s3*-bird for *n*, through substitution for the owl-*m*, in writing the name of the entity *Mhny* in the upper right section of the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

²⁵⁴For the sign of the nose as *hft*, see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 147; and for the nose as *hnt*: cf. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 39.

²⁵⁵See also Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, p. 60 n. 275.

²⁵⁶See the references in Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, pp. 136-7, nn. 75 and 79.

punishing demons, there is the parallel in the second scene in the middle register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat:²⁵⁷

wd.hr srq.t-htt sphw m tp

hry-ds.w=f dī=f nīk.t m rd.wy=f(y)...

Then 'She Who Lets the Throat Breathe' throws the lasso on the head,
while 'He Who is Over His Knives' throws the 'Punished'²⁵⁸ at
his feet...

The concluding portion of the text is damaged, and difficult to read. An examination of the upper version in the tomb in 1989 resulted in the copy of the text on pl. 28:

srq^a ntī

phr=f htp^b

r^hc ntī pn šp^d=f

īr^e prwf n=f r3.w=sn

srq=sn



It is while going about in peace that the deity breathes.

This deity knows that he shines.

If their spells come forth to him,
they will breathe.

²⁵⁷Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 125, ll. 3-4; vol. 2, pp. 132-3. In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, section D, text 19 (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 34, l. 2), two goddesses protect, in this pose, bits of the butchered damned (*s33=sn hbsw*).

²⁵⁸According to Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 133, *nīk.t* appears "als Names des Lassos."

^a The stand here is *g* for *q*, as in the orthographies  and  for *q*, “enter,” in the enigmatic texts on the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 5, fig. C, and pl. 7, fig. B; see chapter 3, pp. 111-113).

^b The two mouth-*r* signs write *phr*, as in l. 9 of the lower version of this text (pl. 28, lower l. 9). The deity goes around while being at peace, *htp*. This is a reference to the movements of the nocturnal sun, already set-*htp*--in the Netherworld. Though the sun is set it is not at rest.

^c The reading *rh* understands the reed leaf as a writing of *h* through substitution with *hʒ*, and subsequent loss of the final *ʒ* through application of the consonantal principle.

^d The lower version (pl. 28 lower l. 14) substitutes the *šsp*-sign for the *š*-sign + mouth-*r* (for *p*) in writing the verb *šp*, “to shine.”²⁵⁹ Both the upper and lower versions employ the mouth-*r* in the value *p*.

^e The conditional-*ir* is preserved only in the upper version (pl. 28 upper l. 12), where the initial *i*- is written with the mouth-*r*, through exploitation of the graphic similarity of the *ir*-eye and the *r*-mouth.

^f The verb *prī* is only partially preserved in the lower text; in the upper l. 12, the ancient cryptographer employed the *pr*-sign and three strokes to write the verb. The plural strokes appear to represent the ending of the *sḏm.w=f* form of *prī* following *ir*.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹For *šp* as *šsp*, compare the cryptic orthography of *šsp* as *šp* on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, pl. 7, fig. B.

²⁶⁰E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme* 12; Geneva: Patrick Cramer Éditeur, 1986) p. 22 n. 79, and p. 23 n. 86. For plural strokes writing the verbal ending of the *sḏm.w=f* form, see W. Westendorf,


If the spoken spells of the netherworld denizens go forth to the assistance of the deity, he will defeat Apep and the forces of chaos, and they in turn will continue to live. The verbal spells here perhaps appear again in the treatise as the *shn.w*-spells in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30 right-hand annotation l. 5), and perhaps in the flaming arrows of the beings on the slaughtering places of sand on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (see chapter 5, pp. 536-541). The association of beneficial pronouncements and the effective manifestation (*hpr*) of a deity appears in the main portion of the Corridor G Ceiling, pl. 21, ll. 42-44:

mdw=sn m htw R^c

h3=sn m hpr.w=f

When they speak in the following of Re,
they descend by means of his manifestation.

The speech of the gods is associated with the manifestation of the solar deity, whose manifestation in turn allows them to descend into the solar bark.

Above the anthropomorphicized prow of the bark in the lower register is the label , possibly referring to the head and arms below, the “figurehead,” holding a disk back towards the goddess who forms part of the standing deity’s rightmost arm. There is, however, another candidate for subject of the label. The rightmost foot of the solar deity rests on the foot of a prone figure, the head of which is partially obscured by the lower hand of the figurehead; behind the goddess-armed deity in the dropped portion is another prone, mummiform deity.²⁶¹ These beings are in the


Grammatik der medizinischen Texten (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter 8; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962) pp. 137-39 (§§193-98).

²⁶¹Compare the drawing in Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 436, fig. 140.

same pose as *Tkmy* in the prow of the solar bark in the middle register of the raised portion of the ceiling. These are both *Tkmy*, one looking back to the west, one ahead to the east--as in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 197c-f (chapter 404):

tkm rn=f iw=f wb3=f 3h.t imnt.t iw=f rh 3h.t i3bt.t tkm rn=f

Tekem is his name; he opens the western horizon and knows the eastern horizon; Tekem is his name

The label  can easily refer to *tkmy*--the *t* for *m* is unproblematic (cf. the orthography of the name *kmn-ir.ty* in the front *nm.t* at the beginning of the upper register of the main portion of the ceiling). The first sign is a representation of the prone entity, but with an alteration sufficient to remove this from the realm of direct representation and give the whole an enigmatic tinge. Though *Tkmy* in all his appearances in this ceiling is human-headed, the *tkmy* who watches at the fifth gate of the underworld in the Book of Gates has a jackal's head,²⁶² and so is he depicted here in the enigmatic writing of his name.

The *Schutzbild* in Corridor G (plates 29-30):

This protective scene with cryptographic annotations, located at the end of Corridor G above the doorway into Room H, was termed a *Schutzbild* by Abitz and Hornung. According to them, it protected the tomb of Ramesses VI from the entry of hostile demons and any miasmic clouds which might waft through the break into the tomb of Ramesses VI and disturb the voyage of the dead king. As such it would be an afterthought to the decoration of the tomb as originally planned, tacked on as a result of the miscalculation which led to the collision with the older tomb. Abitz does not treat the

²⁶²Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 142, vol. 2, p. 121.

annotations, and Hornung (given the condition of the left side of the scene) understandably discusses only the intact, rightmost section of text.²⁶³

The appellation *Schutzbild* is retained here, for the fiery power of the snake-legged Re-Osiris at the birth of the morning sun is directed at the sinners burning in the fiery oven of the eastern horizon. The central scene also shows the bound damned punished by the sun and its serpentine emanations. The rightmost annotation to the scene does, however, refer to the form of the great deity as depicted on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling--namely, with the two sisters as his arms. The fact that a depiction on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling is described in a text of the *Schutzbild* does not prove that the scene was part of the original plan of decoration for Corridor G, but it does show at least an intention that this scene be understood as a part of the whole Corridor G composition.

The right-hand annotation (plate 30):

- 1) $wnn=f^a nti\ pnb\ m\ shr^c\ pn$
 $\zeta.w(t)y=f(y)\ m\ hf(z).wy^d$
 $\zeta.wy=f(y)\ mn^e\ m\ itn^f$


In this fashion does he, namely this god, exist,
 his two (visible) limbs being two snakes,
 his two arms remaining in the solar disk.

Hornung reads $wnn.s\ ntr\ pn\ m\ shr\ (p)n\ \zeta.wj.f\ m\ hf3(w)j\ dd.f\ mn(w)\ m\ jtn$

“So ist er, (nämlich) dieser Gott, beschaffen: seine Arme sind zwei
 Schlangen, die er bleiben lässt in seiner Sonnenscheibe.”




²⁶³According to E. Hornung, “Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses’ VI.,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988) 46, “die fünfzeilige Beischrift im linken Teil ist für eine Bearbeitung zu fragmentarisch”.

^a According to Hornung, the bolt *s* written here after *wnn* stands for *f*: “Das ist mir aus der aenigmatischen Schrift bisher nicht bekannt, läge jedoch durchaus auf der Linie ihrer Möglichkeiten” (p. 49). Though *s* for *f* is indeed peculiar to this inscription in the corpus of early cryptographic texts, this interchange does foreshadow the Ptolemaic use of the horned viper for *s*.²⁶⁴ According to Barta: “während ... *wnn.f/s/sn m shr pn* für Amduat und Pfortenbuch typisch ist, begegnet *wnn NN m shr pn* vor allem im Höhlenbuch und *NN m shr pn* ganz besonders häufig im Erdbuch.”²⁶⁵ The opening to this annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* may be seen as a hybrid of the Amduat/Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns versions of this phrase.²⁶⁶



²⁶⁴H.W. Fairman, “Two Ptolemaic Alphabetic Values of ,” *JEA* 36 (1950) 110-11 (suggesting a derivation from the third person singular masculine dependent pronoun); Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx (Rites Égyptiens* 1; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1962) p. 17 n. 6 (from p. 16); The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu 1 Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, commentary p. 26 n. c [to pl. 51]); see also H.W. Fairman, “Some Unrecorded Ptolemaic Words,” *ZAS* 91 (1964) 8. An *s* and *f* interchange occurs in otherwise identical doorjamb texts in The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2, pl. 193, A l. 3 (*im=f*), and B l. 3 (*im=s*). Borghouts, *The Magical texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 193 n. 1 suggests a derivation of the value *s* for the horned viper from its use as a determinative for a word *s3*. Another possible reading is *wnn=sn nṯ pn m shr pn* (with the *n* as an haplography, *sn* and *nṯ* as coordinate subjects [or bolt *s* alone for the 3rd person pl. suffix pronoun, corresponding to certain Late Egyptian orthographies (Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, §79, p. 36)--compare Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 18, l. 8, with a bolt-*s* for *sn*): “In this fashion do they and this god exist.” Such a reading would require a referrant for the *sn*, which it would not be impossible to find; the text mentions the force of the picture acting against an evil one, and speaks as well of the “forms of the dead,” and describes certain of their behavior.

²⁶⁵Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern*, 96.





²⁶⁶For the suffix pronoun *f* immediately preceding the noun which it anticipates, see The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (OIP 102; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980) p. 49 n. b to pls. 34-40.

^b Confusion between  /  (W11/12) and  (T28) is attested in the cryptic corpus.²⁶⁷



^c Hornung appears to regard the *p* of *pn* as being unwritten. It is, however, equally possible that the jar stand of *shr* is doing double duty. The book roll and plural strokes which normally accompany *shr* in the cryptic orthography of Corridor G are absent here; nothing comes between the jar stand and the *n* of *pn*. A confusion of the *p*-socle and the jar stand is attested;²⁶⁸ one may thus, through haplography, read the stand here as both the *hr/hr* of *shr* and the *p* of *pn*.

^d  for *hf3.wy* is a good, compact enigmatic orthography. The route of the value *h* for  is fairly well attested. Vernus²⁶⁹ gives references for confusions of

²⁶⁷Eg. on the second gold shrine of Tutankhamun (as a convenient reference, see Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 [1983] 34). The jar stand is employed as a determinative and ideogram for *ns.t* "throne," but the value *p* for the jar-stand here probably has nothing to do with an early comparison of *p*, "socle," with *ns.t*, "throne." Note that *p* for "throne" is the origin of the value *b* (through collapse of the bilabials) for the sign of the throne no. 280 at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 170, wrongly derives this value through acrophony from *bhḏw* [*Wb* I 470, 3-4]).

²⁶⁸Compare the orthography of the name of the deity *inpw* in the Osireion version of the scene of the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 195); and the writing of  in the word *šsp* as  in J. Allen, "The Funerary Texts of King Wahkare Akhtoy on a Middle Kingdom Coffin," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (*SAOC* 39; Chicago, 1976) p. 9, l. *63 (and the note on p. 18). A confusion of  Q3 for  W11 is attested in a writing of *sg<nn>y* in P. OIM 9787 (T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* [OIP 82; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960] p. 34), and in *gr(t)* in P. OIM 10486 (*ibid.* p. 56). Such a confusion may also be present on the Tombos Stela of Thutmose I, where *p* appears to be written for *g* in *gnw*, "powerful ones" (l. 5 = *Urk.* IV 83, l. 13--see E. Cruz-Uribe, "Late Egyptian Varia," *ZÄS* 113 [1986] 20).

²⁶⁹*RdE* 25 (1973) 228 n. *ad.*

a number of plant signs: *ndm* for *rd*;²⁷⁰  for *h3*;²⁷¹  for *nm*;²⁷² and *bnr* for *ndm* on a stela dating from a relatively short time after the second shrine of Tutankhamun.²⁷³ An example of a direct confusion between the wick-*h* and the *ndm*-sign roughly contemporary with that exploited for enigmatic ends on the Tutankhamun shrine occurs in the title *bnr mr.wt* of Queen Ankhesenamun on the small golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun.²⁷⁴ The visually understandable confusion of *ndm* and *h* is attested for the New Kingdom, and the confusions discussed by Vernus did survive into the New Kingdom, not only in cryptography.²⁷⁵

The hieroglyph of the snake serves a dual purpose--it may be seen as an ideogram of *h3w*, the *h* being then a phonetic complement. The snake also has the


²⁷⁰Citing H.G. Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millenium B.C.* (Locust Valley: J.J. Augustin, 1968) p. 136.

²⁷¹Citing *ibid*, n. 643.

²⁷²Citing Stockholm MME 29 = B.J. Peterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelan aus dem Mittleren Reich, Neun Denkmäler in schwedischem Besitz," *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968) 16 fig. 3.

²⁷³Citing Cairo 20153 = C. Aldred, "Two Monuments of the Reign of Horemheb," *JEA* 54 (1968) 105 etc. Note also W. Helck, *Das Bier im alten Ägypten* (Berlin: Gesellschaft für die Geschichte und Bibliographie des Brauwesens E.V.; Institut für Gärungsgewerbe und Biotechnologie, 1971) p. 104 n. 3 (the *bnr* and *ndm* signs, though they tend to collapse later, are well differentiated in archaic inscriptions).

²⁷⁴M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985) p. 22, pls. 18, 22A, 28 (= inscription DR1).

²⁷⁵Compare the orthography of "cultivator" at Medinet Habu (ie. The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 8 *The Eastern High Gate* [OIP 94; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970] pl. 594), with  for the *hn*-sign; see also chapter 3, nn. 207-208. Compare also the use of M31-32 (rhizome of lotus) as *h* in *rth* in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 40, ll. 3-4, and n. x (2nd Hour of the Amduat); as *bnr* (M30) in *ibid.* vol. 1, p. 40 n. x.

value *f*, which, along with the *y*, provides the attested orthography *hfy* (simple *hf* is also found, *Wb.* III 72, 14-20).²⁷⁶ The snake is thus both final strong radical and determinative, and the double slanting strokes are final weak radical and dual ending at once.


There are parallels for the feet of a deity being snakes. In the catalogue of the king's members in the Litany of Re, the toes of the king are said to be *ỉ'rw.t*.²⁷⁷ The sphinx Toutou-Tithoes is often shown standing on uraei, which rear up in front of the being's feet; in the depiction of this deity from Karanis, snakes emerge from the lower legs of the sphinx (the head of which has a radiant halo).²⁷⁸ In the Brooklyn magical papyrus, both representations of the fiery *b3w* of the god have snakes at the knees (and for one, the feet are the heads of dogs).²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶The demotic and Coptic descendents of *hfy* likewise show the loss of the final aleph (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 303; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, pp. 740-1; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) p. 306; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 405.



²⁷⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 214; vol. 2, p. 88; on the shroud of Thutmosis III, the parts of the body termed *ssty* (see H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten [Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägyptern]* 7, parts 1-2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961-66] vol. 2, p. 797) are said to be the *3h.ty*, "the two female *3h*-shining ones" (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 214); see also chapter 181 (§dS4) of the Book of the Dead.

²⁷⁸S. Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoës," *JNES* 19 (1960) 269-87.

²⁷⁹*idem*, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]* (Wilbour Monographs 3; New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) p. 15. The image of Isis and Nephthys as cobras is perhaps behind Neith's obscure statement *dī=ỉ sn.ty r tp-ʿ rd.wy=k(y)*, "I set the two sisters to be the top(s) of your two legs" in line 16 on the lid of the outer sarcophagus of Merneptah (see J. Assmann, "Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah," *MDAIK* 28 [1972] 65, text note 42). Compare also the uraei which at times flank the royal sporran, which on certain Ramesside scarabs are shown as quite large and independent of the sporran, paralleling the positions of the king's legs (see A. Wiese, *Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen*

^e Following Hornung, the group  is best understood as *mn*, the *s3*-bird substituting for the owl-*m*, the serpent representing the water-*n*.

^f *‘.wy=f(y) m hfyl ‘.wy=f(y) mn m itn*: Hornung’s rendering of this section is problematic. As Hornung notes, we are probably to understand the text here under discussion as a description of the figure on the right side of the Schutzbild. If this text applied to the central image, a reading “his two arms are two snakes, and his two arms remain in his disk” might be an acceptable description. Even then, however, the lack of an explicit reference to the feet would be disconcerting. To read “seine Arme sind zwei Schlangen, die er bleiben lässt in seiner Sonnenscheibe” is not a good description of the figure which the text might describe. The arms of the being are not visible, whereas the legs terminate in tall, standing uraei. The basic description of the being is contained exactly within the first line of text, and to have no mention of the legs here--far more visible and remarkable than the unseen arms--would be surprising.²⁸⁰

The group  is indeed to be read *‘.wy*, “arms.” They are said to remain within the disk, an explanation for their invisibility.²⁸¹ In lines 3 through 4, the Two Sisters are destined to form the two arms () “in order that the forms of the dead (‘those who are there’) might light up.” These are indeed depicted as the arms of the nocturnal sun in the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling (pl. 27).

Siegelamuletten [OBO 96; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990] pp. 18-9, 23-4).

²⁸⁰ According to Hornung’s reading of the text, the feet are first mentioned only late in the sixth line, at the very end of the text.

²⁸¹ On the arms of the sun, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 303 and nn. 12 (citing P. Boulaq 17, 6/7) and 13.

‘wy, “arms,” in lines 1 and 3 has the orthography ,²⁸² whereas the elements which consist of *hfy* are written . The orthographies are clearly different, and different portions of the body are perhaps described. The feet are the *hf3.wy* according to the accompanying depiction, and could be expected to represent *rd.wy*, “the two feet.”²⁸³ A simple substitution of the arm sign for the *rd*-leg sign is improbable, and otherwise unattested.²⁸⁴ A reading of the first arm as *r* is just

²⁸²This orthography for ‘wy, “arms,” is found elsewhere in this tomb; *ie.* scene 27 in the 5th Hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 167); Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 63, l. 3.


²⁸³Compare P. Brooklyn 47.218.156, document no. 1, page 2, line 3 (Schafer, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, p. 18, pl. 2):






rd.wy=k(y) m ʿr ʿwt ʿwy=k(y) m ʿr.ty
your two feet being uraei, your two arms being two eyes

This parallels the Ramesses VI text: description of the serpent feet followed by a description of the arms. The protective eyes of the Brooklyn papyrus’ description (*ibid.* p. 21 n. n) may have solar imagery, and correspond to the *mn m ʿtn* of the Ramesses VI text.


²⁸⁴T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (OIP 82; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960) p. 54, has a confusion of the walking legs for the arm in *m ʿ=s*. This is perhaps a result of a confusion with the word ʿ, “track” (*Wb.* I 159, 4; S. Schott, *Kanais, der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia* [*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I phil.-hist. Klasse*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961 Nr. 6] p. 141 n. 7). In F. Ll. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh* (London: Trübner and Co., 1889) pl. 5 (= Tomb I, l. 244; see also P. Montet, “Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rîfeh (deuxième article,” *Kêmi* 3 [1930-35] 51), where there is mentioned a cult activity *ʿinn ʿ*, apparently otherwise unattested. The activity is said to occur when the tomb owner “celebrates a festival” (*hʿts=f hʿb m s.t dʿsr.t*). The word ʿ here could be interpreted as a use of ʿ for *rd*, meaning “lower leg,” and “foot” by extension. The term ʿ in the Siut text might be the word ʿ for “track” (*Wb.* I 159, 4; S. Schott, *Kanais, der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia* [*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I phil.-hist. Klasse*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961 Nr. 6] p. 141 n. 7), which would also fit the sense of the activity *ʿn.t rd* (or was ʿ meant for ʿ.t, “limb”). Alternatively signs may have been skipped, from some original such as *ʿinn <rd m š> ʿ* (see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 50 n. 22).

possible, although this value is not common in Egyptian cryptography, and otherwise unattested in the corpus examined here.²⁸⁵

Without resorting to obscure values otherwise unattested in the corridor G ceiling sections, the group  is easily read as something more meaningful and appropriate for the being described than “arms.” ʿwy here most likely represents the dual of the word ʿwt, “limbs,” of which the Coptic plural was HΟΥ. The writing of ʿwy for ʿwt is attested in the Medical Text Berlin 163b, where ʿwy=f nb.t is written instead of ʿt=f nb.t.²⁸⁶ If this were the case in the *Schutzbild*, we would have ʿwy written for ʿwt, with ʿwt, “limbs,” written instead of the expected rd.wy. This is precisely the situation

²⁸⁵Drioton, *ZÄS* 79 (1954) 9 gives a reading *r* for  (according to De Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 77 n. 3,  can have the value *r*); this value is not, however, encountered elsewhere in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, p. 33, has an interchange of the hand for *r* in ʿry(*t*) in P. OIM 9787. This too is otherwise unattested in this cryptic treatise. The origin of this value is to be found in the use of ʿ  for *r* , representing [ḡ], *gh*, on which see J. Baines, “*Bnbn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes,” *Or.* 39 (1970) 401 n. 2; knowledge of such a representational interchange for this phoneme may have allowed a reading of two arms as *rd*. Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 68, l. 3, (the upper register of the 4th Hour); vol. 2, p. 85, notes that  is for *rdj*. This does not suggest a reading *rdj*, but rather indicates that the two arms represent the imperfective active participle *dd* of *rdj*. In orthographies of *tp-rd*, *rd* can be written as *t3* (M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507 (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3*; London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1987); for a hieroglyphic attestation compare *tbt3* in a Ptolemaic hymn to Hathor at Medamud [É. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud 1925, les inscriptions (FIFA O 3/2*; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1926) p. 27 and fig. 8 p. 25]), but it is unlikely that the two arms represent a dual of *d* for *t3* for *rd*.


²⁸⁶Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, p. 116; note also the demotic writings of ʿwy “arms” as ʿwy “limbs” in O. Naville 4 (see M. Smith, “A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 [1977] 129 n. d), and as ʿy.t “limb” in P. Harkness 3/11 (cited by the Chicago Demotic Dictionary, reading by Mark Smith).


found in P. Berlin 3038, 15,²⁸⁷ 8163d, where  is written instead of *rd.wy* in the parallel text from Papyrus Ebers 103, 6,²⁸⁸ apparently as a writing of *‘.wt*, “limbs,” substituting for *rd.wy*, “feet.”²⁸⁹ If *‘.wy* is read for *‘.wt* here, the cryptographer could be seen as making use of an attested variant orthography of *‘.wty*, exploiting the possibility of writing the words *‘.wy*, “two arms,” and *‘.wty*, “two limbs,” with virtually the same orthography in the same line of enigmatic text. Only the variation in the placement of the diacritic strokes indicates visually a difference in meaning for the two words.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷Bln 163d=H. von Deines, H. Grapow, and W. Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägyptern* 4 parts 1-2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958) p. 8; H. Grapow, *Die medizinische Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter* 5; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958) p. 14: *īr mn=f mn.ty=fy ‘.wy=fy bāš*, “if he is ill in his thighs, his two limbs being weak...”

²⁸⁸Ebers 856d=H. von Deines, H. Grapow, and W. Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*, p. 8; H. Grapow, *Die medizinische Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*, p. 14: *īr mn=f mn.t=f d3 rd.wy=fy*, “if he is ill in his thigh(s), his two legs wobbling...”

²⁸⁹von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 116, 119 n. 4. According to von Deines and Westendorf (*ibid.* p. 119 n. 4): “Da es sich um eine Oberschenkel-Erkrankung handelt, wird *‘.wy*...entweder ein Fehler (statt *rd.wj* ?) oder eine Schreibung für *‘.t* sein, wie sie auch in Bln 163b vorliegt...”


²⁹⁰There can be no connection between the  describing the snake legs of the divinity and the term *‘* referring to the lower foreleg of an animal--*Wb.* 156, 1 (human), 4-5 (animal; for a bird, *‘* refers to the wings as the forearms [see also P. Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1970) §33 (p. 16)]); von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, pp. 113-16. In Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 1248, l. 11, *‘* refers to the lower foreleg of the rhinoceros depicted on the pylon of the temple of Armant (L. Störk, *Die Nashörner, Verbreitungs- und Kulturgeschichtliche Materialien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der afrikanischen Arten und des altägyptischen Kulturbereiches* [Hamburg: Verlag Born GmbH, 1977] p. 288, translates “Umfang seiner Hand...;” the word *‘* there is better rendered as “shin”). See also G. Lefebvre, *Tableau des parties du corps humain mentionnées par les Égyptiens* (SASAE 17; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientales, 1952) p. 45; Lacau, *Les Noms des parties du*

 would not be a truly cryptic orthography of ʿ.wty, but an attested “miswriting.” The cryptography of the word lies in its potential confusion with the word ʿ.wy, “arms,” found at the end of the line.²⁹¹ This confusion is all the more meaningful because the arms themselves, hidden as far as the depiction is concerned, can themselves also be seen as uraei (l. 3--the “Two Sisters” are his arms). The ʿ.wy of the god remaining in the disk could also be a pun on the ʿ.wy as the wings of Khepri, for which one may compare the text accompanying part D scene 9 in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, in which one reads:

ʿ.wy=fy hpr mswy.w m (for n) Hpri

hṭp m dm3.ty=fy

his two arms having become two children of Khepri,
with the result that he is satisfied with his two wings.

corps, pp. 13-17 (note that the writing of the dual ʿ.wy is confused in these works). Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 85 (and n. 52), suggest reading the designation  of the demiurge as ʿ or hṭš, but this would be hṭš in its extended use as “strong arm” for a human; they are not proposing ʿ as an equivalent of hṭš in animal anatomy). Were a term from animal anatomy used here, it would have to refer to the snake legs through one of the terms used for the hind legs, not forelegs, of animals.

²⁹¹For a possible significance to a deity walking on his arms, to which the choice of “limbs” written as ʿ.wy “arms” may allude, see text VI in the third scene of the first register in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, l. 1:

nṯr.t tn m šḥr pn ʿpp nṯr pn ḥr ḏr.ty=sy

This goddess is in this fashion: It is upon her two hands that this god passes...

and later in the same scene *ỉ ʕr.ty šsp=sn dm3.ty=fy ʕ.wy T3.wy*, “the two uraei receive his two wings, the arms of T3.wy.” His two arms are the two children, depicted as two uraei.²⁹²

The arms remain in the disk, and are hidden within it. This describes not only the snake-legged deity in the Ramesses VI *Schutzbild*, but could also serve as an annotation to the determinative of *imn.t* in the tomb of Ramesses IX as



--a man with

his arms hidden within a disk.²⁹³ The image depicted on the right side of the *Schutzbild*, and described in the right-hand annotation, suggests that on the mythological papyrus of Amunhotep, where a disk-headed and winged body stands in a bark, as a fire spitting snake stretches over the legs of the being.²⁹⁴ The arms of the deity are uraei which shed light, whereby the forms of the dead light up. The “arms” of the deity which remain in the sun disk are the light.²⁹⁵

²⁹²Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 30, text 13 (pp. 50-1); pl. 30, text 14 (p. 51).

²⁹³See F. Abitz, “Die Veränderung von Schreibformen im Königsgrab Ramses’ IX.,” in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* (Hamburg: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Hamburg, 1989) p. 5.

²⁹⁴A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 3*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1957) pl. 26, pp. 189-91.

²⁹⁵Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 303 and n. 13. For the hand of the sun as light, compare the text in Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900) 21, ll. 2-4:

whm.n=k hprw m itm
dī=k ʕ=k n nb.w-igr.t
sdry.w twt hr dw3 nfr.w=k
hdw.t=k hd.tī m hr=sn

When you have again become Atum,

The right-hand annotation, translation continued (plate 30):

2) *hpr hpr.w 3h.ty m-ht 'q^a m qrr.t tn*

It is after entering into this cavern that the realization of the horizon dweller comes into being.

Hornung reads this section as: "Es verwandeln sich die Gestalten Achtis nach dem Eintritt in diese Gruft."²⁹⁶

a The orthography of 'q, with the aleph-vulture substituting for the 'q-bird, followed by q, allows a reduplication of the same signs in the following m and the first radical of qrr.t, thus heightening the graphic effect of the cryptography with a repeated pair of signs.

In scene 27, in the 5th Hour of the Book of Gates, the sun god addresses the guardians of the snake *nwdy* with:²⁹⁷

tn s33=tn hpr hprw=i

ntt=tn hpr 3hw=i

You guard that my realization might be realized,
you bind that my magical power might be realized²⁹⁸

you give your hand to the lords of Igeret,
the sleepers are assembled praising your beauty,
and your light shines in their faces.

²⁹⁶Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

²⁹⁷Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 167-8

²⁹⁸For the *3hw* associated with victory over enemies, see *idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 154, where the knowledge of the condition (*hr.t*) of the *3h.w* is connected with power over enemies.

According to Hornung, this passage is parallel to Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 117, l. 6, “wonach der Sonnengott für den Kampf mit Apep ‘eine andere Gestalt’ (*kj jr w*) annimmt.”²⁹⁹ The *hprw* is “nicht das wirkliche Aussehen” of an entity;³⁰⁰ *hpr hprw* thus results in the assumption of another physical appearance (*kj ir w*).³⁰¹ Just as he does before encountering Apep, so here *3h.ty* undergoes a “manifestation of manifestation” when he enters into the presence of the protective but potentially dangerous snake-footed deity.³⁰² For the protective measures which provide the sun with a protective aura before his encounter with Apep, one may compare the use of the terms *3hw* (Book of Gates) and *hk3w* (Amduat) in this connection, and the term *shnw* in line 5 (see below, pp. 375-379; see also the discussion of *phr* in line 6). The word here in the *Schutzbild* is the singular *hprw*.³⁰³

²⁹⁹Hornung, *Das Buch von Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 130 n. 4; *idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 117, l. 6: *ir w ntr pn ir=f ky ir w r tph.t tn stm=f w3.t r pp m hk3.w Is.t* ..., “this god makes another visible appearance at this subterranean chamber, he turns aside the way from Apep by means of the magical spells of Isis ...” The deceased king identifies himself as *hpr-hpr.w* in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 255 (= II 94, “der mit wechselnden Erscheinungsformen”).

³⁰⁰Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 132-3

³⁰¹In Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 9; vol. 2, p. 100 n. 24, there is a play on *nty ir w-f hprw=f* and *jrj=f hprw* (see below, in the discussion of line 4). The *ir w* is unchanging and specific, in contrast to the *hprw* of the sun. For *hpr hprw*, see Wentz, in *The Epigraphic Survey, Kheruef*, p. 71, n. d (to pl. 73, l. 1).

³⁰²Abrasax, successor of the snake-legged solar deity in the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (see below) can be dangerous, and have his power turned back against himself--see A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964) p. 36.

³⁰³As in *Amduat* I p. 197--see R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (HÄB 7; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978) pp. 133-65, particularly pp. 161-5 (see also the end of the first line from the left in the left-hand annotation of the *Schutzbild*). For reading *hprw* as “realization,” see W. Barta, “Bemerkungen zur Semantik des Substantivs *hpre*,” ZÄS 109 (1982) 81-6 (*hprw* = “Werdung” and “Verwirklichung;

The reference to entry into the *qrr.t* is appropriate to this rightmost figure in the *Schutzbild*, the rightmost horizon hill in such depictions being the *3h.t i3bt.t*, “the eastern horizon.”³⁰⁴ The west, the left side of the *Schutzbild*, the area of the break, is made the entrance to the Netherworld.

The right-hand annotation, translation continued (plate 30):

2) *ir nti pn* 3) *ma shr^b pn^c*
stt^d=f ir^e nty-dwf
sn.ty wd nti pn r8 ‘.wy= 4)f(y)^h
r hd irw.wi imy.wi

As for this god in this fashion,

it is against one who is evil that he shoots (light/flame).

It is the Two Sisters whom this god determines to be his two arms,

in order that the forms of those who are there (the dead) may
 shine.

Wesen.” J.Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (YES 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) pp. 85-6, n. to l. 1 of text no. 9, distinguishes, following Osing: 1) the infinitive of *hpr* as the “process of development, change;” 2) the verbal noun *hprw*, “development, stage of development.” See also H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, “Textkritische und lexikographische Notizen zu den *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*,” SAK 10 (1983) 144-5; J. Assmann, “Die ‘Häresie’ des Echnaton: Aspekte der Amarna-Religion,” *Saeculum* 23 (1972) 115 and n. 25, 125 n. 63. For *hprw*, see now H. Buchberger, *Transformation und Transformat, Sargtextstudien I* (Äg.Ab. 52; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993) pp. 232-87 (although he unfortunately treats the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom royal tombs sporadically at best).

³⁰⁴H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst; und, Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter und Co., 1928)--*Weltgebäude* fig. 4; E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1983) p. 198

Hornung reads: "Diesen Gott betreffend - um zu verschliessen ist es, das er brennt gegen den, der ein Böser ist, den dieser Gott seinen beiden Armen überwiesen hat".³⁰⁵

^a The mouth-*r* has here the value *m*, a value attested for this sign elsewhere in this treatise: ll. 31 and 47 in the main text to the lower register of the main portion of the ceiling (pl. 25); l. 2 of the lower register of the dropped portion of the main ceiling (pl. 28 B, l. 2); perhaps the end of the right-hand annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30 right, l. 6: in *nwd ntî pn îm*).

^b Hornung rendered this portion of the annotation as: "um zu verschliessen ist es, dass er brennt gegen den, der ein Böser ist, den dieser Gott seinen beiden Armen überwiesen hat." According to him, "das Schlüsselwort *sbh* 'verschliessen' (auch 'umschliessen') weist auf die Funktion der ganzen Szene hin: das Grab an dieser versehentlich nach ausses geöffneten Stelle aufs neue fest und wirksam zu verschliessen. Das Suffix *.s* nach *dwj* steht entweder für *.f* (vgl. zu Zeile 1) oder für den Plural *.sn*."³⁰⁶

Hornung reads



as a writing of the verb *sbh*, and must read *r* +

infinitive + *p(w)*, a construction which is both unattested and grammatically impossible. Furthermore, Hornung's proposed translation of the passage as a cleft sentence would be better rendered in Egyptian by means of a nominal form of the verb *wḏî*, followed by

³⁰⁵Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

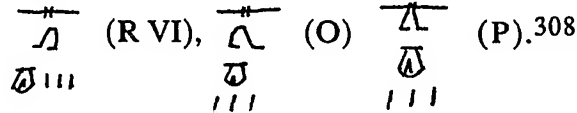
³⁰⁶Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, pp. 48-9.


the emphasized adjunct *r* + infinitive. A more specific and basic objection to Hornung's translation is that it requires taking *wḏ* as a relative; the *nty* would consequently be superfluous.³⁰⁷ The word






is certainly to be read *shr*, and is attested with

this orthography in the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 62 [with the text's non-enigmatic transcriptions]):



^c Alternatively, though less likely, one might divide the text differently. The signs here read as the introductory *ir nṯi pn* might be taken as belonging to the preceding thought, with the group  read as *hr*.³⁰⁹ This would transform the previous line into: *hpr hpr.w 3h.ty m-ht 'q m qrr.t tn hr nṯi pn*, "It is after entering into this cavern, before this god, that the realization of *3h.ty* comes into being. Reading *hr nṯr pn* at the end suggests that the snake-legged image of the sun disk--*nṯr pn*--is somehow divorced from the figure of *3h.ty*; this is, however, unlikely.³¹⁰



³⁰⁷Although, as Prof. Wente has pointed out, one might cite Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, §400.

³⁰⁸See also de Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 52 n. 1; for  as *s* alone, see *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 60, ll. 5-8. Compare also the orthography  for  (A. Gardiner, "Davies's Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription," *JEA* 32 [1946] 51 n. k).

³⁰⁹For the reed leaf for *h3* for *h* see above, chapter 3, n. 144.

³¹⁰For the image of the disk and light of the sun separated from the deity in the Netherworld, however, one may compare a portion of the opening text of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 82, ll. 5-6); the god addresses the cavern dwellers, informing them that:

šsp itn=i št3yt hdy=i 'p=f htw=i
my disk illumines Shetayet; my light enters after me.

If *hr nṯi pn* be read instead of *ir nṯi pn*, a reading of the following signs as *m shr* *pn* becomes somewhat strained. One might then read the mouth-*r* as *ir*.  *r* is attested alone as *ir*, and in  for *irjt*.³¹¹ Reading *ir shr pn*, one might take *shr* here in the sense of the *shr* of *Wb* IV 259, 5 “von den Gestalten der Götter (auf den Wänden u.ä.),” attested thus far only for the Late Period.³¹² The good sense and more

In spell 15 B 3 variant of the Book of the Dead (E. Naville, *Papyrus funéraires de la XXI^e dynastie II Le papyrus hiératique de Katseshni au Musée de Caire* [Paris: Ernst Leroux, Éditeur, 1914] pl. 13, l. 4), Re is lead in the Netherworld by the light of his disk:

‘q=k R ‘m t3 dsr
 hdd.wt itn=k sšm=sn tw
 May you enter, oh Re, into the sanctified land,
 the light of your disk leading you.


The two eyes of the solar deity, in the guise of two feathers, two eyes, two Maats, or the sisters Isis and Nephthys, can be said to guide the sun on his nightly journey; it is this separation of the deity from his light/perception which may be expressed in the *Schutzbild* (See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 97-8 A. 11; pp. 193-4 A. 6).

³¹¹Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 25 and 27; one may note also the interchangeability of the values *ir* and *r* (ie. the pupil as *r* [in this treatise: pl. 21, l. 47; pl. 24, l. 10] and *ir* [de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 4, p. 338a]). Compare also the reverse, the use of *ir* for *r*--see G. Fecht, “*cruces interpretum* in der Lehre der Ptahhotep (Maximen 7, 9, 13, 14) und das Alter der Lehre,” in *Hommages a François Daumas* vol. 1 (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1986) p. 247; on the phonetic change behind this, see also G. Roquet, “Chronologie relative des changements phonétiques affectant [z] et [r] et dialectalismes provinciaux à l’ancien empire,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron: 1927-1976 1 Égypte pharaonique* (BdÉ 81/1; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979) pp. 459-60.

³¹²See also Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, no. 77.3822, citing C. Husson, *L’offrande du miroir dans les temples égyptiens de l’époque greco-romaine* (Lyon: Université de Lyon, 1977) p. 105 n. 5. The meaning “depiction” is probably derived from the use of the word *shr* in descriptions accompanying scenes, and referring to a deity as being “in this condition (*shr*)” (*Wb* II 259, 16-17). In these introductory descriptions (*nn n ntr.w* ...), the term *ntr* may also mean image (see W. Spiegelberg, “*ntrw* “Götter” = “Bilder,” *ZÄS* 65 [1930] 119-21). See also below, the discussion of the dropped portion of the ceiling, for *r shr pn*, “according to this depiction,” parallel to *m shr pn*, “in this fashion.” But in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 98, l. 5, it is *irw* which is so used (Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 126-8).


expected formulation of a reading *îr nî pn m shr pn* speak in favour of this reading preferred here, and against the alternative detailed in this note.³¹³

^d Unexpectedly, *stt* has the book roll as a determinative here. This orthography of *stt* also appears at the end of l. 4 in the lefthand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30, left text, l. 4).

^e Following Hornung, the group  is read as an orthography of the construct form of the preposition *r*, attested in Old Egyptian, showing that the construct *r* had already undergone the shift *r* > *i*.³¹⁴

^f The *h3s.t* -sign is here written for the *dw* -mountain;³¹⁵ this represents two *dw*-mountains as a writing of *dwy*.³¹⁶ This group may also be found in the third line from

³¹³ An even less likely alternative than the rejected one detailed above would be to read *îr nî pn* at the end of line 2, giving two apparently coordinate *îr* clauses; this portion of the *Schutzbild* would then be rendered: "As for this god, (namely) this depiction..." This reading would correspond to S.I. Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967) example #67 (P. Mayer A 9, 6-7): *îr p3-A Ø îr p3 ptr=i îmî îry=fs 'h' =i*. Also possible would be a reading *îr ntr pn m shr pn*, with the mouth-*r* as *m*; the mouth sign is attested with this value in Corridor G.

³¹⁴ E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 2 (*Analecta Orientalia* 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964) §760; H.G. Fischer, "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' *Deir el Gabrâwi*," *JARCE* 13 (1976) 16 and 19; *idem*, review of M. Saleh, *Three Old-Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, in *BiOr* 36 [1979] col. 31 and n. 18); Fecht, in *Hommages à François Daumas*, p. 235. If  alone were read as the preposition *r*, the mouth sign could be read as *p* for *p3*. The absence of the article elsewhere in this text, and in the enigmatic treatises of Corridor G as a whole, suggest that this is unlikely.

³¹⁵ Cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 63 (*BIFAO* 42)--the Ramesses IV version has the *h3s.t* sign for *dw(y)-îr.t*, whereas the Osireion version has the *dw*-mountain.

³¹⁶ For this see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 62, the term *dwy-îr.t*; this is a "phonetic 'false dual'" (W.R. Faulkner, *Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* [Brussels: Éditions de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1929] §37, pp. 42-3).

the left in the left-hand annotation. For *nty-dwy* referring to Apep, compare P. Bremner Rhind 32, 15, wherein Apep is called:

ʿpp hr dwy
Apep, the fallen, the wicked³¹⁷

This “shooting” against the evil one, *stt* as casting light and flame,³¹⁸ is an expression of the sun god dispelling noxious influences in the Netherworld, and could refer to a judgment made amongst the Datians.³¹⁹ A cyclical judgment takes place at the eastern horizon at the time of sunrise, and the sun dispels the sins of the Netherworld dwellers (*hsf dw.w=sn*) in chapter 15B of the Book of the Dead.³²⁰

³¹⁷W.R. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (British Museum No. 10188) (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. 3; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933) p. 89, l. 3; *idem*, “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus IV,” *JEA* 24 (1938) 52, reads “The Most Evil (?)”

³¹⁸For *stt* as the casting of light and flame, see E. Brunner-Traut, “Atum als Bogenschütze,” *MDAIK* 14 (1956) 20-8.

³¹⁹Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 133-42; and E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen* (*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse* Bd. 59, Hft. 3; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968) pp. 21-9; for burning of criminals in this world in ancient Egypt, see A. Leahy, “Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt,” *JESHO* 27 (1984) 199-206.

³²⁰Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 19, ll. 22-3; *dw* as “sin” = Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 293. For the punishing power of Netherworldly beings as an arrow, compare the a portion of the *Pistis Sophia* (C. Schmidt and V. Macdermot, eds., *Pistis Sophia* [*Nag Hammadi Studies* 9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978] p. 140 [ch. 66])--a light-power descends into chaos $\overline{\text{N}}\Theta\text{E } \overline{\text{N}}\text{OYCO}\overline{\text{T}}\text{E } \text{E}\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{Z}}\text{H}\overline{\text{X}}$ --“like a flying arrow.”



8 With *Sn.ty* begins a label to the scene, composed of Noun + participle.³²¹ *Sn.ty*, the “Two Sisters,” who may appear as uraei,³²² and are also referred to as the *rh.ty*,³²³ are clearly Isis and Nephthys as the Eyes of the Sun.³²⁴ Isis and Nephthys are frequently associated with the legs in lists of mythic equations of the parts of the body with various divinities,³²⁵ and they are even associated with the soles of the feet on the

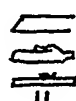
³²¹Compare pl. 12 (Tutankhamun shrine); pl. 30, l. 5 (Ramesses VI *Schutzbild*); pl. 22, figure A (Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling); pl. 35, figure A, ll. 8-11 (Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX).


³²²*Wb* IV 151, 17; see also Hornung, *Das Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 153 (vol. 2, p. 80, and n. 359 [p. 134]) and vol. 1, p. 209 (vol. 2, p. 87 and n. 471 [p. 143]); Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, p. 34, n. 116.

³²³As in Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 50 (ch. 37, 2); and pl. 193 (ch. 172, 13).

³²⁴On the Two Sisters see also J. Quaegebeur, “Le nom propre Tsonesontis,” *CdE* 46 (1971) 168-9; *idem*, “Les noms de trois temples funéraires thébaines en écriture démotique,” in S.F. Bondi, *et al.*, eds., *Studi in Onore di Edda Bresciani* (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1985) pp. 465 and 471 n. 34. There is also the unlikely possibility of reading the word *snty*, “two sisters,” as the word of *Wb* III 462, 3-6, *snt.w* (Gr. *snti*), “Rebellen,” if *w3d/wd* were read as *wdj* (on *wdi r* in this context, see Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 41, 243-4, 285). The resulting translation *“It is the rebel whom this god hands over to his two arms” could fit the following *r + sdm=f* purpose clause, if “the rebel” is understood to be Apep, and that by his destruction the continued journey of the suns makes certain the illumination of the Datians. The presence of the Two Sisters as the arms of the solar deity on the dropped portion of the ceiling speaks against this interpretation. This argument also opposes a reading of *snty* as the word for corpse (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 19 [14th Address], vol. 2, pp. 104 [n. 47] and 112 [n. 118]). Even more unlikely is a reading of as *sndw*,

“Fürchterlicher” (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 259 [Hour 7, middle register, scene 45], where the word is written  [SIs],  [O],



[RIII],  [RVI]; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 182), in apposition to *ntr pn*.

³²⁵A. Massart, “A propos des <<listes>> dans les textes égyptiens funéraires et magiques,” *Analecta Biblica* 12 (*Studia Biblica et Orientalia* 3 *Oriens Antiquus*; Rome,

statue of Djedhor.³²⁶ In the Litany of Re³²⁷ we read:

sn.ty hnm=sn sw

sn r=sn h' =sn tp.w=fm irw=f n b3 h'y

The Two Sisters unite with him;

they appear in glory above him in his form of glorious appearing *ba*.

The text IX of the second scene in the second register of the left wall of the treatise on the Creation of the Solar Disk further describes the union of the two sisters with the solar deity:³²⁸

Hr pr=fm h3.t it=f

hkn=f n pn wtt sw

sn.ty=fy hnm=sn h3.t=f

Horus emerges from the body of his father,

he adoring this one who engendered him.


His Two Sisters unite with his body.

1959) p. 230 (no. 9) *insty* are Isis and Nephthys (A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, in A. Erman, *Akademischeschriften* (1880-1928) [*Opuscula* 2; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der deutschen demokratischen Republik, 1986 (reprint of 1901)] vs. 4, 8-5, 6); p. 233 (no. 30) the *mnty*, "upper thighs" (von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 2, pp. 470-471), are Isis (*mnt wnm*) and Nephthys (*mnt smnt*). On these lists see also Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pp. 105-8, and the literature cited there.

³²⁶Massart, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959) p. 238 (no. 81), the *tbty* are Isis and Nephthys (in E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur* [*BdE* 23; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1956] pp. 77-80).

³²⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 153.

³²⁸Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 48 (pls. D[scene] and 26 [text]).

In text XIV of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the two *ỉ ʕr.ty* receive the two arms/wings of *T3y*.³²⁹ Although the majority of the versions of the Litany of Re write *b3 ʕy* with the *b3*-bird,³³⁰ the text in the tomb of Ramesses IV writes  for *b3*, suggesting the ram-headed form of the sun travelling through the Netherworld. The passages quoted here from the Litany of Re and the Creation of the solar disk describe how Isis and Nephtys join with the body of the reborn *b3*-form of the sun, and this is precisely what is depicted on the dropped portion of the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI--the Two Sisters are shown as the two arms emerging from the anthropomorphic body of the ram-headed sun god (pl. 27, lower register).³³¹ In the tomb of Anhurmosé at El-Mashayekh, the sun disk has two uraei, one hanging down to

³²⁹*ibid.*, p. 51, pl. 30, l. 7 (part D, scene 9); compare also the scene in which a uraeus stands with arms in adoration on either side of the disk of the sun, from which emerges a winged scarab.

³³⁰Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 153.

³³¹The description in pl. 30, right-hand annotation ll. 3-4 of the being in the lower register of pl. 27, along with the parallel scenes at the end of the middle register of the upper portion of the ceiling and on the dropped ceiling, demonstrates the unity of the decoration on the various portions of the ceiling in Corridor G. A three-dimensional rendering of this concept, and a close parallel to the image of the snake-legged solar manifestation in the Ramesses VI *Schutzbild* is found in H. Messiha and M.A. Elhitta, *Mallawi Antiquities Museum, a brief description* (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1979) pl. 14 no. 196. This piece depicts the herm-like bust of a ram-headed deity, with a disk and plumes on his head, disked uraei pendant from his horns, with two rearing uraei slithering ahead of him to each side (on two uraei preceding a deity, and Egyptian renderings of this, see J. Quaegebeur, "Textes bibliques et iconographie égyptienne," *OLP* 20 [1989] 70-2). The two sisters as uraei may be the image behind a scarab decoration showing the arm of the king merging with a uraeus (Wiese, *Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen Siegelamuletten*, pp. 165-6 [no. 5675]). One may also compare the "snake-charmer" scarabs, showing an often hieracocephalic deity holding a rearing uraeus in each hand (B. Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperré* [*OBO series archaeologica* 2; Freiburg:Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982]; L. Keimer, *Histoires de serpents dans l'Égypte ancienne et moderne* [Cairo, 1947] pp. 18-20).

either side; the one to the left has the name of Isis on its head, that to the right the name of Nephthys.³³² For the goddesses as the arms of the deity, one may compare the association of the goddess *R'et* with the arms of Re.³³³ The text from the Creation of the Solar Disk suggests that the union of the Two Sisters with the sun occurs at the time of the emergence of Horus from the body of his father, that is at the time of the rejuvenation of the sun. This association of solar rejuvenation with appearance of Horus explains the meaning of *b3 h'y* in the text from the Litany of Re; the *b3 h'y* is the Netherworld sun--the ram-headed god--at the moment of his rejuvenation--his appearance in glory, *h'et*.³³⁴


^h Here *r* has the meaning "destined to be."³³⁵

³³²B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh 2 The Tomb of Anhermose--the Inner Room, and the tomb of Imiseba* (Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, MacQuarie University, 1990) pl. 21.

³³³A. Gutbub, "Un Emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l'hymne a Hathor, dame de l'ivresse," in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien*, 4th fascicle (*MIFAO* 66; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961) p. 37.

³³⁴This association of rejuvenation and glorious solar appearance supports Hornung's rendering of *b3 h'y* (*Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 81) as "Aufgehenden *Ba*." According to Hornung (*ibid.* p. 134 n. 360), *b3 h'y* is a "sonst nicht belegtes Epitheton, vgl. aber zu *Ba*-Bezeichnungen für Gestirne *Wb* I 414, 3ff." Also related is the use of *h'et b3* (two Old Perfectives) describing the newly invigorated king in the next world at the opening of the "Cannibal Hymn" (PT §394a; see the references to *Wb* III 240, 17). The newly and awesomely rising king is *b3* and *h'y*, and the rejuvenated sun is *b3 h'y*. Compare also the epithet *h'y* of *Wb*. III 242, 3 and Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 212, no. 79.2161).

³³⁵Cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 1 *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* pl. 20, l. 14; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 2 *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* (*OIP* 103; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981) pl. 115A, l. 5; pl. 115B, l. 8; pl. 140, l. 2; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd., 1979) p. 631, l. 9.

ⁱ The word  is the plural of *îrw* (Wb. I 113, 13ff.), a reference to the visible forms of the dead.³³⁶ The plural strokes serve both as final radical *w*, and as indicators of plurality. For the *îrw* of the dead in association with the light shedding power of Re see the 50th address of the great Litany of Re:³³⁷

wḏw sb3.w=f šḥd=fkkw m qr(r).wt št3.wt îrw.w

Who commands his stars, when he illumines the darkness in the caverns,
mysterious of visible forms

As Hornung indicates, the *îrw št3.w* here are the “Gestalten der Jenseits-Bewohnern, die ja im Text S. 85 und sonst allgemein als *qrtjw* ‘Zu den Grüften Gehörige’ bezeichnet werden”.³³⁸ As *îrw* refers to a visible form, it often refers to the brilliance of Re.³³⁹ In the context of the *Schutzbild*, the dead have *îrw* only when they light up, reflecting the light of the sun.³⁴⁰ As the *îrw* form is both unchanging and specific, these dead are the

³³⁶See the references to *îrw* in Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 390 (on p. 321 Assmann renders *îrw* as “sichtbare Erscheinungsform”); Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 126-8; B. Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im Alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament* (ÄAT 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984) pp. 103-6.

³³⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 57.

³³⁸*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 113 n. 134.

³³⁹Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 66-7, 321.

³⁴⁰The dead do not shine, *ḥd*, from an internal light source, but reflect the light of the sun, as does the earth (*ḥd t3*). Compare line 5 of the hymn to the setting sun on the north side of the vestibule in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192; The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* [OIP 102; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980] pl. 7, ll. 5-6):

st3 tw b3.w îmn.tyw r w3.t îmy.t t3-dsr(.t)
šḥd=k ḥr n îry.w d3.t
sḏm=k nîs n nty-m-dḅ(.t)

blessed dead, for only they, who are the *3ḥw*, possess a “bleibende Gestalt.”³⁴¹

The *īrw* may be the visible Netherworld form, the essential and unchanging form, as opposed to the *ḥprw*, the form of manifestation in the terrestrial world.³⁴² According to Hornung, “im Gegensatz zu *jr*w bezeichnet *ḥprw* nicht die von der Schöpfung her geprägte spezifische Gestalt der Wesen und Dinge, nicht das *wirkliche* Aussehen, also, sondern eine wandelbare Erscheinungsform unter vielen, die Gott und Mensch annehmen und wieder abstreifen können.”³⁴³ The reference here to the *īrw.w*-forms foreshadows the immediately following reference to the rising of the dead. On the obelisk of Hadrian in Rome, Antinoös’ heart “rejoices greatly, for he knows his own *īrw*” after resurrection.”³⁴⁴

sts=k nty.w-m-dy-ḥr-gs=sn

May the western souls haul you towards the way which is in the holy
land,
that you might illumine the face(s) of the denizens of the
Netherworld,
that you might hear the call of the one in the sarcophagus,
and that you might raise up those placed upon their side(s).

This has the order of events (illumination, call, and raising up) of the fourth line of the *Schutzbild*, although there the sun god calls, whereas the call in Kheruef is that of the dead.

³⁴¹Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, p. 127; *īrw* as indicating an unchanging physical appearance can refer to entities as a term for their depictions in an Underworld Book (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 98, l. 5).

³⁴²On *ḥpr* as a “transition from latent to manifested being,” see R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* (*Studies in Oriental Religions* 10; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985) pp. 90-2, 144-5.

³⁴³Hornung, in Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, pp. 132-3.

³⁴⁴Derchain, in Mendel and Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, p. 117 n. 4; Erman, “Römische Obeliskten,” p. 211 (§1a). The *īrw* of the dead should perhaps also be compared to the use of *ḥpr.w* to describe the constituent parts of a person, as discussed briefly by Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, p. 146; thus *īrw* here

The plurality of *irw* may extend beyond the plurality of the dead--one *irw* for each of the dead--to indicate a plurality of *irw.w* for each one of the dead. If this is the case, the *irw.w* of the dead are perhaps the visible forms of the *hpr.w* of the dead, the various elements of the individual (the *ba*, *ka*, shade, *etc.*).³⁴⁵ This would further describe the parallelism between *hprw* and *irw* discussed above for line 2, and the wordplay on *irw* and *hprw* in the 4th Address of the Litany of Re:³⁴⁶

hkn n=k R' q3 shm
sm33 t3 shd imn.tyw
pn nty ir.w=f hpr.w=f
ir=f hpr.w=f m itn=f 3

Homage to you, oh Re; exalted of power,
 who causes the earth to see, who illumines the Westerners;
 this one whose visible forms (of the Netherworld) are his manifestations
 (in our world),
 when he manifests himself as his great solar disk.

The *irw* of the solar deity here is the *itn 3*, the “great solar disk,” illumining the dead, whose *irw.w*, parallel to the visible form of Re, light up. On the parallel benefits of light

would parallel *hpr.w*, just as *irw* in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 117, l. 6 parallels *hprw* in *idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 167-8, and in line 2 of this text.

³⁴⁵Clearly defined in Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 1061, ll. 4-6 (=Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (No. 82), pls. 22-3); see Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, p. 146; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 42ff; Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 29. For the *hpr.w*, compare the *hpr.w* of the eastern spirits of heaven: Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 29 and n. 1; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, pl. 21 ll. 12-3; see further my forthcoming examination of the Cosmographic treatises.

³⁴⁶Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9; vol. 2 p. 100, nn. 23-4.

and breath which result from the call of the great god, see the discussion of the annotation to the lower left scene (pl. 8) on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (chapter 3, pp. 145-146).

^j Reading the two *m*'s as a false dual orthography representing *my*,³⁴⁷ one may read the word *imy.w*, "those who are there," referring back to *qrr.t tn* of line 2, is a pun on the designation of the dead as *nty.w im*, "those who are there"³⁴⁸--those who are there, in this cavern, are the dead.

Hornung saw this section as proving the correctness of Abitz' identification of this portion of the Corridor G ceiling decoration as a *Schutzbild*; while his reading of a verb *sbh*, "to close," must be rejected (the word in question is to be read *shr*), the rendering offered here yet provides an even more precise description of the treatise's function. The description of the deity shooting flame, and the two sisters, flaming uraei, as his arms, explains the statement in the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns:³⁴⁹

wd=f ' =fr hfty.w=f
he sending his arm against his enemies

³⁴⁷Compare the use of two aleph-vultures to write *3y* in the orthography of the divine name *h3y* in in the middle register of the main portion of the Corridor G ceiling treatise (pl. 22, fig. B, final name).

³⁴⁸See A. Moret, "La légende d'Osiris à l'époque thébaine d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre," *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 736 n. (28).

³⁴⁹Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 48, l. 5. Compare also the reference to the *s3.ty* breaking (*sd*) the *nk3w*-enemies of the sun, in A. Erman, "Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern," *ZÄS* 38 (1900) 20, ll. 6-7 of the ostrakon.

That this deity is made up of various other deities, who become his constituent limbs, shows that this god in the bark is the creator god,³⁵⁰ Re as the recreator of the world, again the giant deity of the eastern horizon at the time of the mystic union of Re and Osiris. The arms of the solar deity, as depicted in the armed disk of the Atonists, may well refer to the arms of the creator deity and the multiplicity of his creative acts.³⁵¹

Grammatically the pattern Noun + relative form (*wḏ*) which occurs in this section is an example of an attested extension of the cleft sentence. Middle Egyptian employs this form (N + rel. form) in addition to the usual cleft sentence pattern of *in* + Noun (or Independent Pronoun) + participle/*sqmw=f*.³⁵² This “relative” or “apparent” cleft sentence appears usually in the form Noun + *pw* + attributive form,³⁵³ but can occur

³⁵⁰See E. Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1984) p. 15.

³⁵¹Assmann, *Saeculum* 23 (1972) 115 and n. 23.

³⁵²B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924) pp. 45-65; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* 3rd rev. ed. (London: The Griffith Institute, 1957) pp. 175-76 (§227.2-3), and pp. 288-89 (§373); Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, pp. 423-24 (§§845-46).

³⁵³cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 312 (§391); Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, p. 60 (type 10, quotation from the Eloquent Peasant); M. Gilula, “An Unusual Nominal Pattern in Middle Egyptian,” *JEA* 62 (1976) 162 and n. 13; W. Barta, “Das Demonstrativpronomen *nw* als kongruierendes Subjekt im *pw*-Satz nach Beispielen der Pyramidentexten,” *GM* 114 (1990) 33-34 (final two references courtesy A.J. Baumann).

without *pw*.³⁵⁴ The extended form emphasizes the one acted upon, rather than the actor (emphasized by the usual cleft sentence).³⁵⁵

The right-hand annotation, translation continued (plate 30):

4) *in^a ntr dwi^b=f*

r^c pr=sn^d m-hnty qrr.t=sn

5) *r ir.t^e shn.wf*

It is the deity who will call,

in order that they might come forth from their cavern,

in order to perform *shnw*-protection.

Hornung reads: “um denen Schaden zuzufügen, die in der Wüste sind, indem er fernhält für ihren Wandel in ihrer Gruft, gegen den, der den Ansturm dieses Gottes nicht kennt”.³⁵⁶

^a Hornung’s reading of the Red Crown as the word for desert (*dšr.t*) does not account for or explain the following seated, bearded figure. The crown could stand for the dative, allowing a reading *n nti*, “for the deity.”³⁵⁷ Unlikely is a reading of the crown

³⁵⁴Cf. an occurrence of Noun + relative form, without intervening *pw*, in the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 133, ll. 2-3):

hrw ntr pn 3 sdm=sn iwti m33 hdw.t

It is the voice of this great god which they hear, without the light being seen.

³⁵⁵A.J. Baumann is studying this form, which he terms the “apparent cleft sentence,” in his work on the grammar of the royal Netherworld Books.

³⁵⁶Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

³⁵⁷The seated god could also conceivably represent the 3rd masc. suffix pronoun *f* (compare the use of the seated man for *f* in Northampton 8), but there is no

as a phonetic complement *n* for *nti*. More likely the Red Crown is to be read as *n* for *in*,³⁵⁸ introducing the subject *nti* of the following *dwī=f--in nti dwī=f n(=w) pr=sn m-hnty qrr.t=sn...*, "It is the deity who will call to them, in order that they might come forth from their cavern"³⁵⁹

^b *Dwī* here has the mouth-*r* for *w*, as earlier in l. 38 in the second section of the lower register in the left portion of the ceiling.

^c This statement appears to be grammatically parallel to the preceding statement, and consists of a cleft sentence, followed by *r + sdm=f*. The water-*n* here represents *r*, exploiting the not uncommon hieratic confusion of these signs.³⁶⁰

reason to expect the uncommon positioning of the dative + suffix pronoun after a noun object.

³⁵⁸For *n* as *in*, see W. Barta, "Jn als Pleneschreibung der Präposition *n*," *GM* 103 (1988) 7-11; *idem*, "Beispiele der Sargtexte für *jn* als Pleneschreibung der Präposition *n*," *GM* 107 (1989) 55-8; and particularly the orthography of agential *in* as *n* (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, §746); M. Gilula, "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184-85," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39; Chicago, 1976) p. 76 n. 12; but see also H.G. Fischer, "Occurrence of *ḥm*, Agential and Dative," *GM* 107 (1989) 69-75.

³⁵⁹On *in* + noun + *sdmw=f* form, see now P. Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* (YES 4; New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1990) pp. 55-60

³⁶⁰See above, chapter 1, n. 39. Just possible is a reading of the signs following *dwī=f* as the verb *nḥp*, with the *hr*-sign representing the first *h*--for the possible Late Period confusion of *hbi* and *hbi*, see M. Derchain-Urtel, "Thot a Akhmim," in *Hommages a François Daumas* vol. 1 (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1986) p. 175. Although this interchange is otherwise unattested in pre-Late Period Egyptian cryptography, one may note that Coptic *Ⲙ* serves to write all four of the earlier aspirants in Sahidic

^d Hornung reads the group $\overline{\text{W}}$ $\overline{\text{A}}$ as the word *hp(j)*, “Wandel.” A reading of this group as the verb *hp* of *Wb.* III 258, 3-16 is possible,³⁶¹ but the resulting meaning of the passage is somewhat unexpected. The action occurs “within” the cavern.³⁶² If the text is read to say “they move about (*hpj*) within their cavern,”³⁶³ or “they fly about within their cavern,”³⁶⁴ the text simply refers to the reanimation of the cavern denizens by the light

³⁶¹The *h* and *h̄* can interchange on a phonetic basis (ie. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*), and this is common in the writing of *shr* in the cryptography of the Netherworld Books.

³⁶²For *m-hnty* meaning “within,” synonymous with *m-hnw*, see G. Posener, “Le chapitre IV d’Aménémopé,” *ZÄS* 99 (1972) 130-3. Note the example in S. Schott, *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts 1 Bücher und Sprüche gegen den Gott Seth (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums vol. 6 part 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1929)* p. 65, ll. 3-4, in which *m-hnty* is rendered as *m-hnw*. Compare the text accompanying the lower register of scene 1 of part B of the Book of the Earth: *nn n ntr.w m shr pn m i3.t=sn h̄ y m-hnty db̄ t=sn*, “these gods are in this fashion, standing within their sarcophagi,” where *m-hnty* must be synonymous with *m-hnw*. For *pr m-hnw* parallel to simple *pr m*, see Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 11, l. 4 (*m-hnw*), and *ibid.*, pl. 12, l. 1 (*m*).

³⁶³The verb *hpi* could be read as implying a divinely granted prerogative to move about in certain special areas; compare lines 5a ff. of the stela in J.-P. Corteggiani, “Une stèle héliopolitaine d’époque saïte,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927-1976 vol. I Égypte pharaonique (BdE 81 part 1; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979)* p. 119:

hp=f hr w3.wt nfr.t nt imnt.t
hpp im3hw hr=s n-hr ntr 3 nb p.t ...

that he travel the good (passable--*ibid.* p. 122 n. f) roads of the West,
 on which the blessed ones travel by grant of the great god, lord of
 heaven ...

³⁶⁴For *hpi* meaning “to fly,” see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 82 n. 6, citing the tenth scene, upper register, of the Third Hour of the Book of Gates, wherein birds fly away from the stench of a lake (*hpp 3pd.w m33=sn mw=f sn=sn st ntt im=f*, “when they see its water and smell the stench which is in it, the birds fly up”). Compare also the designation of the sungod as *hpi* (*Wb.* III 259 and 366), the *b3 hpy p nmt.wt*, “flitting *ba*, travelling of strides” (49th Address to Re in the great litany--see Hornung, *Das Buch des Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 56; vol. 2, p. 113 n. 132). The tenth scene: *hpp 3pd.w m33=sn mw=f sn=sn st ntt im=f*, “When

of the sun. If the dead were envisaged as *ba*-birds by the composer of the cryptic text accompanying the *Schutzbild*, they could be described here as “flying about within their cavern.”³⁶⁵

It is doubtful if such renditions of the Egyptian are acceptable. *Hpj* followed by the preposition *m* implies a going into something (*Wb.* III 258, 6-8), and *hp=sn m-hnty qrr.t=sn* should then be rendered as “they return into their cavern.” This action would occur when the sun leaves the cavern, a thought that is not expressed until line 6, wherein the cavern dwellers “go (back) to rest.”³⁶⁶ *Hpi* is a euphemism for “to die,” meaning “to pass away” (*Wb.* III 258, 17-259, 3),³⁶⁷ can refer to the transformations of the solar cycle,³⁶⁸ and appears also to be used “als Bezeichnung des spukenden Toten” (*Wb.* III 259, 5).


they see its water and smell the odor which is in it, the birds fly (away)” (see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 82 n. b).


³⁶⁵Compare *Wb.* II 259, 8: *hpyw*, “Art Götter im Gefolge des Osiris;” perhaps gods flying in the retinue of Osiris. For this concept one may compare M. Smith, “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 1 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 1),” *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 75-6 n. b to col. I, l. 10: *py=i m t3y=i dw3.t hr ršy*, “I fly from my underworld (tomb) in joy.”



³⁶⁶That a use of *hpj m-hnty qrr.t* would refer to a return to inertness within the dark cavern is suggested by the use of *hpj* as a term for death--“passing on” (Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 54). The passage would suggest a return to the state of death after the passing of the sun.


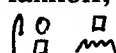
³⁶⁷See also P. Kaplony, “Leben <<sub specie aeternitatis>> als *hrj-k3*,” in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1984) pp. 119-20 and n. 21 (p. 121); Kurth, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.)* (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* 9; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1980) p. 40 n. 113; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*.


³⁶⁸E. Graefe, “*Hpj* <<Wegehen, zur Ruhe Gehen, Sterben>>,” *RdE* 22 (1970) 203-204.

If the *irw* here do indeed refer to the *ba*'s of the dead, then another reading of the group  is possible. The *hr*-stand as *p* is encountered earlier, in line 1 of this text. The "mat" *p* can in this tomb have the value *r*.³⁶⁹ These cryptic values make a reading *pr*, "to come forth," possible.³⁷⁰ While the corpses should remain in darkness, the *ba*'s of the blessed should join the entourage of Re (for an example from the New Kingdom cryptic corpus, see conveniently the lower right text on pl. IV of the second shrine of Tutankhamun). The compound *m hnty* can correspond to *m hnw* in the Netherworld Books.

Much less likely, though preserving the idea of movement up towards the god, is a reading of  as *h3p*, attested in P. Chester Beatty I vs. 62, 1, with reference to the movement of a gazelle in the desert. This verb *h3p*³⁷¹ should mean "to spring, to bound."³⁷²

e Hm is a conceivable reading for . As line 4 is now read, however, Hornung's "when he calls to them, they move about in their cavern against the one who does not know the punishing grip of this god" does not make good sense. The orthography 

³⁶⁹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 72 (*hpr* written ); p. 73 (*shr* written ).

³⁷⁰Compare the orthography of *pr* as  in P. Vienna 3865, 1 (F.-R. Herbin, "Une liturgie des rites décadaïres de Djemê, Papyrus Vienne 3865," *RdE* 35 [1984] pl. 9).

³⁷¹Camino's, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 187; A.M.. Blackman, review of A. Gardiner, *Papyrus Chester Beatty* vol. 1, in *JEA* 19 (1933) 202; I.E.S. Edwards, "Lord Dufferin's Excavations at Deir El-Bahri and the Claudebeye Collection," *JEA* 51 (1965) 25 (i).

³⁷²Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs.*, citing Camino's and Blackman, translates "bounding" for *h3p* in P. Chester Beatty I vs. 62, 1.

of *ir.t* is attested in the Book of Caverns;³⁷³ seen here, this orthography allows a reading *r ir.t shnw*, “they move about in order to perform *shnw*.” In the catalogue of the mythic equations of the king’s body parts in the Litany of Re, the arms of the king are referred to as *shny*.³⁷⁴

^f According to Hornung,³⁷⁵ the arm motif of line 1 is resumed in line 5. Here we read of the *shnw nṯ pn*, the “Ansturm dieses Gottes,” as Hornung read, related to *shn* meaning “to embrace” (*Wb.* III 468-9). According to Hornung’s interpretation, the arms of the sun reveal their power for destruction, and in the cruel pun on embracing, the sun god’s beneficent hold becomes a fiery, crushing vice. Contrary to Hornung’s understanding, the word *shn.w* (*Wb.* III 470, 8-13) appears always to mean a protective embrace--so the sun god in his cabin is in the *zhnw* of the *Mhn*-snake.³⁷⁶ The notion of embracing in connection with light is, moreover, in general a positive one.³⁷⁷ The

³⁷³plate 62, in *r ir.t shr.w*.

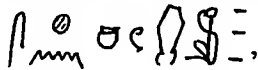
³⁷⁴Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, pl.1, l. 169 (shroud of Thutmosis III); pl. 17; Piankoff reads “the Embracer;” Massart, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959) 231 (#13) does not translate.

³⁷⁵Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 49 terms this “das strafende Zupacken des Gottes.”

³⁷⁶E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 3 *Die Kurzfassung, Nachtrag* (Äg.Ab. 13; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967) p. 18, l. 2; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, p. 142 states that the abbreviated version of Amduat has *m shnw dsr n mhn*, although it is correctly given in III p. 18 as *m shnw dr n Mhn*. Hornung, *Die Kurzfassung*, p. 32 reads “in der unnahbaren Umarmung der Ringelschlange.” The long version of the 8th Hour (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 134) gives *m twt (?) dsr n Mhn*.

³⁷⁷Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder* references given under “Umarmung” on p. 388 (i.e. the embracing of the setting sun by the arms of the *M3nw* -mountains; see also the section on the Osiris figure in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX).

flames which the sun sends against his enemies may indeed be seen as uraei, the angry eye of the sun, and this is the concept behind the central depiction in the Schutzbild. But there the fiery arms of the sun are not manifested as “two snakes,” *ḥf3.wy*; specifically two snakes are encountered here only in the feet of the entity to the right. Again, it is this being which the first line of text to the right describes.³⁷⁸

The *shnw*, contrary to Hornung’s reading, is not performed by the snake-footed deity, but is said to be performed by those who “leap up within their cavern” when “this god calls” (l. 4). Two deities named *shn* are found in Amduat. The first, number 795 in the 11th Hour of the Amduat, is indeed one of several entities carrying a large snake, and his name describes him well. The other is number 901 in Hour 12, one of a number of deities adoring Osiris at the end of the Dat. Hornung questioningly renders his name as “Umfangender (?)”,³⁷⁹ and his pose indeed does not appear to show him clearly engaged in *shn*. There is, however, a use of *shn* which might be appropriate to a depiction of adoration and blessing. Faulkner³⁸⁰ gives an occurrence of a word *shn.w*, written , which seems to describe a type of *ḥk3*, “magical spell”

³⁷⁸In order to read a negative connotation into *zḥn.w*, one could compare the *shny.w* of demotic astrological texts, “the chances, the fortunes,” the equivalent of Greek τα αποτελεσματα (see G. Hughes, “An Astrologer’s Handbook in Demotic Egyptian,” in L. Lesko, ed., *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* [Hanover and London: Brown University Press, 1986] p. 58, and the references cited there). One would then have to understand “in order to make (malignant) influences;” this does not give a clear sense to the passage, and does not specify the object of the bad humours, which one would not expect to find described as sent abroad indiscriminately throughout the Netherworld. Such malignancy would be a peculiar result of the summons of the sun.

³⁷⁹Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 193.

³⁸⁰Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 242, citing A. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1909) 6, 6

(the *hk3.w* of the passage appear to be specified as *šm.w* and *shn.w*).³⁸¹ Entity number 901 in the lower register of the 12th Hour of the Book of Amduat may then be thought of as casting a magical spell of protection about the slanting body of Osiris. This saying of protective *shn.w* by the Netherworld inhabitants parallels the reciting of *s3h.w* and *3h.w* *tp r3* for the safe passage of the sungod over the back/sand bank of Apep at the time of the narrowly averted cosmic cataclysm.³⁸²

Apep is attacked both physically and magically, as in a portion of the text in scene 13 in the lower register of the 3rd Division of the Book of Gates:³⁸³

*ir.t.n itm n R*ˆ

s3h.t ntr

shr.t sbi

shd=k

iwt h=k

hk3=k

iwt gm=k tw

That which Atum has done for Re:

Making the deity *Akh*-powerful;
overthrowing the rebel.

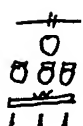
‘You have been overthrown,
such that you cannot stand;

³⁸¹Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 48; *shn* would be a word for encircling and encompassing used in magical terminology, like *phr* (see below, the discussion of line 6).

³⁸²see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 210 A. 35. Unlikely is an interpretation of *ir.t shn.w* as “to come to rest” (see Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 [1972] 63, text note 29), referring to the *bas* of the dead coming forth and then alighting at some unspecified location.




³⁸³Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 74-75.

you have been bewitched,
such that you cannot find yourself.'


The group  could conceivably be read as *shr.w*, with the three *nw*-pots

representing *r* and the plural ending. Three *nw*-pots over a horizontal line are attested with the value *r* in the Roman period texts in Esna Temple,³⁸⁴ and the *nw*-pot is otherwise attested substituting for a liquid.³⁸⁵ This reading *r ir.t shr.w* would have the action performed by the *irw* of the dead when they come forth from their cavern. For *ir.t shr.w* performed by Netherworld beings, and the deceased, note that *ir shy*, "authority," is granted to the blessed dead, and there were entities called *nty ir shr*.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 186 (#376)

³⁸⁵The *nw*-pot can appear as a writing for *r* (H.W. Fairman, "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values," *BIFAO* 43 [1945] 74 [and n. 3]; in a Ptolemaic writing of *shr.w* [*Wb.* IV 258] the *nw*-pot accompanies the *r*, and appears to act as a biliteral, binding together the *r* and the plural *.w* ending [*rw* instead of *nw*]). This may be a continuation of the  and  interchange, the *nw*-pot being a not uncommon Ptolemaic writing for simple  *n*. During the Ptolemaic period, the *nw*-pot appears also to have acquired a use as a writing of *l*: (see J.C. Darnell, "A Ptolemaic Hieroglyphic Writing of $\mathcal{Z}\square\lambda\mathcal{Z}\lambda$, 'to Slay,'" forthcoming).

³⁸⁶Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pp. 115-6. note to col. X, line 4; *idem*, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, the University of Chicago, 1979) p. 141 (and n. 1). The solar deity might be the performer of *ir.t shr.w* (as in the 4th Division of the Book of Caverns: *R' sn=f kkw r ir.t shr.w d3.t*, "Re traverses the darkness in order to take care of the Netherworld" [Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 40, l. 7]; in the 5th Division of the same work, *htp R' m 3h.t imnt.t r ir.t shr.w imy.w-t3*, "Re rests in the western horizon in order to take care of those who are in the earth" [*ibid.* pl. 62]), but the length of what would then be an intervening parenthetical statement makes this unlikely.

The orthography  of *shr.w* in a portion of the First Hour of the Amduat could support the reading *shr.w* here.³⁸⁷

The right-hand annotation, translation continued (plate 30):

5) *nṯ pn ṯr b3y.w(t)^a*

dwṯ=f^b

hpp^c sṯ3ṯ-t3^d

pr=sn^e

It is this god who has made the burial pits.


When he calls, the damager of the earth is held back,
they coming forth.

Hornung reads the group *nṯ pn*, with which this passage begins, as a portion of the preceding section (“...gegen den, der den Ansturm dieses Gottes nicht kennt”). He reads the following signs as: “so das er zu einem Gefallenen gemacht ist, und indem er den Unhold fernhält, der die Geheimnisse verletzt und schädigt”.³⁸⁸

^a In this section, the god is the one who has done (*ṯr*) something; this is followed by a description of the power of the sun’s call. A parallel from the Litany of Re provides the


³⁸⁷Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 9, l. 7. The function *ṯr.t shr.w*, performed by the solar deity, would signify the control over the destiny of the Netherworld inhabitants (see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 37 n. 14 [Hathor as *ṯrṯ shr.w*]; G. Posener, “Philologie et archéologie égyptiennes,” *Annuaire du Collège de France* 68 [1968-69] pp. 401-2 [discussing Khonsu as *p3 ṯr shr.w*]). Alternatively, though less likely, *shn* here could be that *shnṯ* of Wb. IV 253, 6-254, 6, a reference to the *ba*-spirits of the dead landing like birds (see Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 [1972] 63 text n. 29; on the Merneptah sarcophagus, Re *ṯr=f shnw*, “alights”).

³⁸⁸Hornung, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, p. 48.

key for the reading of the troublesome group . In the 51st Address to Re, the sun god is said to be:³⁸⁹

îr qrr.wt shpr h3.wt m wd.t.n=f r=f ds=f
 the one who has made the caverns, who has caused the corpses to exist
 through what he himself has commanded.

According to Hornung,³⁹⁰ this is “Anspielung auf die Schöpfung durch das Wort, die sich bei der Unterweltsfahrt des Schöpfers ständig wiederholt.” So in the *Schutzbild*, the solar deity is said to *îr* something, in a section followed by the description of the effects of the call of the god.

The word  should describe the pits or caverns, the burial places, of

the dead in the Netherworld, parallel to the *qrr.wt* in the parallel section of the 51st Address in the Litany of Re.³⁹¹ The use of the round pit determinative suits this reading (compare orthographies of *nm.t* on the raised portion of the Corridor G ceiling [pl. 19, B; pl. 20, B], and the orthography of the same word in the enigmatic text in the tomb of Ramesses IX [pl. 33]). Based on cryptic values attested in the tomb of Ramesses VI, this word is to be read as *b3y.w(t)*, “burial pits.”³⁹²

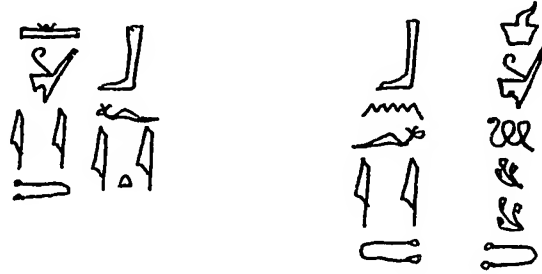
³⁸⁹Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 58.

³⁹⁰*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 114 n. 137.

³⁹¹For further examples of *îrî* referring to the action of the sun in creating/regenerating the Netherworld, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 86.

³⁹²W. Ward, “Lexicographical Miscellanies,” *SAK* 5 (1977) 271-4; *idem*, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* (*Studia Pohl: Series Maior, Dissertationes scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* 6; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978) pp. 49-50; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 110 n. 1 (and the references cited there); Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, vol. 2, p. 819 n. 1081; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (*Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Mémoires, Collection in-8^o*,

The value *b* for the book-roll occurs in the enigmatic writing of the name of a deity *bnfy*t in the second scene of the third register of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns:³⁹³

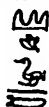
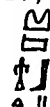




One may also compare the possible use of the book-roll for *b* in the 2nd Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁹⁴ This is in turn related to the use of a horizontal line, apparently the land sign N17, for *b* in a cryptic text in the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns.³⁹⁵ The origin of the book-roll for *b* is to be sought in the use of the horizontal line/land-sign for *b*. Along with the use of the probable N17 for *b* in the 5th Division, the sign N23 has the value *p* in the same division of the Book of Caverns.³⁹⁶ This is unlikely to be a





Deuxième série; Brussels: Palais des académies, 1965) p. 140; H.-J. Thissen, "Bemerkungen zum demotischen Harfner-Gedicht," in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 *Religion* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990) p. 986; M. Smith, review of F. de Cenival, *Le mythe de l'oeil du soleil*, *BiOr* 49 (1992) 87. The word is written, as here, *b3y* in P. BM 10081, where it refers to the entrance into the Netherworld (see S. Schott, "Drei Sprüche gegen Feinde," *ZÄS* 65 [1930] 37).



³⁹³Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 151, no. 40.

³⁹⁴Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 17, l. 3, in a writing of *hry.w i3kbw*.




³⁹⁵*ibid.* pl. 62, in  for , *dw i3b.ty*, "eastern mountain."

³⁹⁶*ibid.* pl. 62, l. 4 (the Osireion version has  for  in the tomb of Ramesses VI).

value derived from an hieratic confusion of the signs  and ;³⁹⁷ rather the two bilabial values *b* and *p* for the land-signs N23 and N17, and ultimately for the bookroll, appear to be derived from a use of the land sign  N21. That sign is used in orthographies of the word *bi3.t*, etc., already in the Coffin Texts, and there are orthographies in which the sign  alone appears to have the value *bi3*.³⁹⁸ The use of N 21 to write *bi3* is the most likely origin of the bilabial values *b* and *p* for the land signs N 17 and N 21, and the bookroll. The word *b3y*, “burial pit,” appears to be written in the abbreviated form of bookroll for *b* and circular determinative in pl. 23, l. 74.

The mouth-*r* for aleph is attested on the raised portion of the Corridor G ceiling, in the words  *h3p*, “to hide,” and  ‘3, “great.”³⁹⁹ *B3y.wt* is an

excellent candidate as a parallel for *qrr.wt*, and is so attested elsewhere: in the version of chapter 149 of the Book of the Dead in the papyrus of Djedkhonsesankh, P. Louvre 3276,⁴⁰⁰ *b3b3w* is written for the “canonical” *qrr.t*.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷Although hieratic similarity is barely possible (compare the form of the sign Q 3 as  in P. Louvre 3226: 6, 1 in Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. 2, p. 34 no. 388), in most cases the hieratic forms of the signs are significantly different; the signs  and  are more similar in their hieroglyphic forms.

³⁹⁸E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bi3-* (Cologne: Walter Kleikamp, 1971) p. 85; H.J. Polotsky, review of Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut*, in *OLZ* 42 (1939) 158 n. 2.

³⁹⁹*h3p*: in the lower register, l. 39 (pl. 25; Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 180); ‘3: in line 37 of the second section of the upper register (pl. 21, line just behind the sixth disk-headed entity from the right).

⁴⁰⁰This text is at the beginning of the papyrus--Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, no. 29.

⁴⁰¹Cited by Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3*, p. 47.

Reading *b3y.w(t)* shows this section of the *Schutzbild* to be a parallel to the 51st Address in the Great Litany of Re. The sun god readies the resting places of the dead, and both protects and enlivens them through the power of his voice.⁴⁰² The reference in the Corridor G treatise to inhabitants of *b3y.w* rising and moving at the approach of the sun finds a parallel in the second section of the middle register of the 4th Division of the Book of Gates (scene 19), where the *ntr.w hty.w Wsir imy.w b3.wt=sn*, “the gods who are after Osiris, those who are in their burial pits,” are depicted and described:⁴⁰³

in n=sn R^c

m33 n=i ntr.w

idy n=i nty.w m b3.wt=sn

ts tn ir=tn ntr.w

⁴⁰²The verb *ir* in the 51st Address of the Litany and in the *Schutzbild* is read as “to make, create,” following Hornung. It is also possible that in both passages *ir* is used in the sense “to travel,” or “to visit,” followed by the direct object describing the area traversed or visited (*Wb* I 111, 12; A. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* [Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1916] p. 97, who cites J.H. Breasted, “Varia,” *PSBA* 23 [1901] 237-8 [note that the *ir* in Sinuhe B 257 is not, as Gardiner took it, an example of *ir* “to travel,” but is an element of the sentence *ir.n w r.t hd im=k*, “Flight has taken its toll of you”--so M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, a Book of Readings* vol. 1 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1973) p. 231]; another example is found in an inscription in the tomb of the horologist Amenemhat, wherein it is said of Mitanni that Thutmosis I “did” the country “in recompense for crimes” [W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (KÄT 5, 2nd ed.2; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983) 110, l. 13: *ir.n=f s(y) m db3 tmsw(=s?)*, “as recompense for (its ?) evil did he do it ...”]; H. Brunner, “Mitanni in einem ägyptischen Text vor oder um 1500,” *MIO* 4 [1956] 324 translates literally “er machte sie als Vergeltung für das Böse,” without comment on the use of *ir* there; see also J. Assmann, “Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor,” *RdE* 30 (1978) 26 cols. 7-8 for *iri mtn*). The *Schutzbild* passage would then read “it is this god who traverses/visits the burial pits.” This would parallel *st.wt=f hr tks qrr.wt*, “his rays reaching the caverns,” in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 19 l. 15 (text 17 = TT 23), as an expression of the omnipresence of the sun (parallel there to *t3.wy dbn.w hr itn=f*, “the two lands encircled beneath his solar disk”).

⁴⁰³Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 112-3.

iw=i wd=i n=tn shr.w=tn
wnn=tn m-hnt b3.wt=tn
ntn s33 b3.w
nh=tn m hw3.wt=sn
srq=tn m iw3.w=sn

ts tn n itn=i
m3 'tn n 'ndw=i
hr.wt=tn n=tn m d3.t m nw n wd=i n=tn
3w.t=sn m iw3.hnq.t=sn m dsr.t qb3=sn m mw

hwt.hr=sn m-ht sdm=sn h33 '3.w=sn hr=sn

Re speaks to them:

'Look at me, oh gods;⁴⁰⁴
 move violently for me, oh ones who are in your burial pits;
 raise yourselves, oh gods.

I decree for you your situation,
 that you should be within your burial pits.
 It is you who protect the *ba*'s,
 living on their putrefaction,
 breathing on their stench.

Raise yourselves to my disk,
 travel rightly to my glow.

⁴⁰⁴As opposed to Hornung's "Ich habe die Götter erblickt..." The same plural imperative is found in scene 18 of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 110), but with the plural strokes written after the preposition *n* (see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 108 n. 3, with another explanation of the plural strokes there). That these are actions of the *imy.w b3.wt=sn* is shown by the commands *ts tn n=i*, "raise yourselves to me," and *m3 'tn n 'ndw=i*, "direct yourselves rightly to my glow," of the section summarizing and concluding Re's address.

May your needs belong to you in the Netherworld from these which I
have decreed for you.'

(their *3wt*-meals consist of meat, their beer of *dsr.t*, their libations
of water)

Then they cry out when they hear their doors slam shut over them.

The reference to the sun as creating the burial places in the Netherworld follows immediately upon a reference to the denizens of the Netherworld rising up and performing magical protection for the sun. For this sequence of events one may compare a passage in chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead:⁴⁰⁵

‘*q=k m t3 qm3=k*


‘*q=k m t3 qm3w tw*



















As you enter into the land which you create,
so you enter into the land which creates you.

This *Kehrspruch* refers to the nightly regeneration of the Netherworld by the sun, during which time, in the newly regenerated Underworld, the sun is itself reborn. The *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI expresses this concept of the creator as a created one as a form of *do ut des* between the sun and the inhabitants of the Netherworld. The creator fashions the Netherworld by means of his light power, the power to which the *Schutzbild* refers.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 98 A. 12; Assmann reads *qm3(.n.)k* in the first line of the “Kehrspruch,” yet *qm3=k* better suits the cyclical nature of the action expressed. Assmann’s translation (*ibid.* p. 92) suggests that he took this as an example of Gunn’s “synchronous present.”

⁴⁰⁶The creator is the one “der die Unterwelt erschafft mit seinem Lichtglanz”--see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 86-7 A. 10 (note that in the example from the Book of Gates [Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 108], the creation of the Netherworld is mentioned in conjunction with the destruction of the enemies of the sun, as in the *Schutzbild*).

^b With the exception of the first sign, the word  has the same orthography

as , *dwī* in line 4. The words are, in fact, the same--*dwī*, "to call." The orthography of the garment *sdw* / *dy* shows a number of variants, among which are forms    and              

inappropriate to “Kriegsfurie.” The walking legs suggest a verb, and there is no suitable *hrr* attested.⁴¹⁰ One of the possible values for the *r* sign on this ceiling is *p*, and this value read here allows the word



to be read *hpp*, a verb which is attested

within the context of the Netherworld books. *Hpp*, “to be held back,”⁴¹¹ is used in describing the snake *nwdj* in scene 27 in the 5th Hour of the Book of Gates:⁴¹²

hpp hf3w pn r=s iwtj snn=f sy

the snake is held back from it, without being able to pass it (the gate)

Those holding this snake in the scene from the Book of Gates are said to “hold back” (*ndr*) the snake when Re comes. In line 4 of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*, the god calls (*dwi=f*) to the dead (the *imy.w* mentioned earlier in line 4); in line 5 the god calls again, and the resulting *hpp* would indicate that this second address is directed at the enemy of the dead.⁴¹³

^dThis word, which Hornung read as *s3t*, should supply the subject of *hpp*, the evil being which the call of the snake-legged, disk-headed deity expels. Hornung understands this

⁴¹⁰*Wb.* III 150, 6 does cite a word *hrr* from the Graeco-Roman period, which it relates to the preceding word *Wb.* III 150, 5, “vom Brüllen des Löwen” (see also Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 2, p. 135). This word does not seem to fit the context of the *Schutzbild*.

⁴¹¹*Wb.* III 70, 12.

⁴¹²Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 166.

⁴¹³If one were to insist here on a reference to the cataclysmic events accompanying a theophany (the call of the god), other readings would be possible--perhaps the *hrr* as a “roaring” (*Wb.* III 150, 5-6) of the *s3tw* “ground.” For *htp* of a god accompanying an earthquake, see the middle register of the 3rd Division of the Book of Gates (scene 11; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 67; vol. 2, pp. 85 and 86-7 n. 7).

as a participle from *si3t*, “verletzen.” A reading *si3t* is a possible interpretation of the signs, and the word can be related to the *si3ty* of *Wb.* IV 32, 6, “der Verstümmelter (von Wesen im Jenseits).” The orthography of this word in E. Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 102, l. 6 (chapter 90):




also suggests the reading of the word in question in the *Schutzbild*: the *t* written above the back of the aleph, by becoming the hobble-*t* in the cryptic orthography would, retaining this position, be written over the aleph entirely. In *Urk.* VI 123, 2 and 139, 19, the verb *si3t* is used to describe certain actions of Apep.⁴¹⁴

P. Bremner Rhind 32, 23, refers to Apep as:

pp hr si3d=t3

Apep, the fallen, damager of the earth⁴¹⁵

Were one to read the sign  in line 5 of the text under discussion as an element in *si3t-t3*, then the following word is *pr*, and the dead are said to come forth at the call of the solar deity. There is no problem in seeing the verb *pr* broken across two lines of the text, and one may compare the suffix pronoun *sn* broken between lines 4-5.

⁴¹⁴*Si3t* mutilation may also be visited upon Apep by the victorious Re--cf. P. Berlin 3050, col. 3, l. 7=Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 85, l. 11.

⁴¹⁵Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 89, l. 11; *idem*, *JEA* 24 (1938) 52, translated “The Despoiler of the Land.” For the orthography of *si3t* in P. Bremner-Rhind 89, 11, compare the writing in *Urk.* IV 139, 19.

^e The courtyard-*h* here stands for *p*, through substitution with the *pr*-sign for *p* (cf. the orthography of *pn*, “this,” in pl. 23, l. 74). The *p*-socle has the value *r*, the reverse of the more common use of the mouth-*r* for *p* in the enigmatic texts on the Corridor G ceiling.⁴¹⁶ The *n* of the suffix pronoun *sn* appears as the *t3*-land sign.⁴¹⁷

The suffix pronoun *sn* in this line refers back to the *irw.w imy.w*, “forms of those who are there (the dead),” mentioned in l. 3 of this annotation. In l. 4 they are already said to come forth: *pr=sn m-hnty qrr.t=sn*. The mention of the coming forth of the forms of the dead (ll. 4 and 6), in conjunction with the destruction of evil (l. 5), finds a parallel in the 40th Address in the Litany of Re:⁴¹⁸

hkn n=k R' q3 shm
shm-ib r imy.w-ht=f wd rkhw m htmy.t
twt is h3.t rkhy

Praise be to you, oh Re, high of might,
 mightier of heart than those who are in his following, who ordains heat in
 the place of destruction;
 you are the corpse of the one of heat.

The accompanying figure shows a mummiform figure with a burning taper on his head, shedding light.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁶This enigmatic value is attested elsewhere in the tomb of Ramesses VI--see Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pp. 72 and 73.

⁴¹⁷A frequent cryptographic value of the *t3*-sign is *n*--cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 77, l. 6.

⁴¹⁸Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 46-47.

⁴¹⁹*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 56, 59, and p. 111, n. 110.

The right-hand annotation, translation continued (plate 30):

6) $h\bar{t}p^a \bar{i}m\bar{y}.w-t3^b$




$p\bar{h}r^c \bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{i} \bar{p}n$




$m3 \Leftarrow f^d \bar{h}t \bar{s}t3yt$

$nwd^e \bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{i} \bar{p}n \bar{i}m^f$

Those who are in the earth rest (again),
as this god travels about (further),
he travelling rightly through Shetayet,
this god slithering about therein.”




At the end of line 4 Hornung read a participle of $th\bar{i}$, “to trespass;” at the beginning of line 5 he read $\bar{s}t3y.t$. For the interchange of p and \bar{s} , in his reading of $\bar{s}t3y.t$, Hornung cites Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 146.⁴²⁰







^a For the orthography   of $h\bar{t}p$,  as \bar{h} is attested in the first scene of the third register in the fifth division of the Book of Caverns.⁴²¹ The mouth r as t presents no


⁴²⁰Such a substitution could be based on the similarity in appearance between \bar{s} and the stone determinative of the word p , “socle” (W. Czermak, *Die Laute der ägyptischen Sprache, eine phonetische Untersuchung* vol. 1 *Die Laute des Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* [Schriften der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ägyptologen und Afrikanisten in Wien 2; Vienna: Verlag der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ägyptologen und Afrikanisten in Wien, 1931] p. 6 [§4]; P. Gaboda, “A P-Prefix in Egyptian,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989) 97-98. Alternatively, the \bar{s} -sign may have been viewed simply as an elongated p -sign; for elongation, compare the elongated $n\bar{i}w.t$ -sign determinative of $\bar{i}p.t-S.wt$ in the cryptic titulary of Ramesses II on the architraves on the east side of his court at Luxor Temple (Drioton, *ASAE* 40 [1940] 319-328; see above, the discussion in the Introduction); note also the use of the sign  for \bar{h} at Esna (Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 167 [no. 268]  for , with \bar{s} for \bar{h}).

⁴²¹Cited already by P. le Page Renouf, “The Royal Tombs at Biban-el-Moluk and ‘Enigmatical’ Writing,” *ZÄS* 12 (1874) 102-5.

difficulties.⁴²² The *h*-sign represents *p* through substitution with the *pr* sign.⁴²³ For the association of movement (l. 5) and a return to a state of rest (l. 6) for the netherworld denizens under the influence of the solar deity, one may compare a portion of the morning hymn to Amun in the Taharqa structure by the sacred lake at Karnak, in which it is wished that the dead should awaken, yet remain in a state of *h**tp*-rest:⁴²⁴

⁴²²According to É. Drioton, "Plaques bilingues de Ptolémée IV," in A. Rowe, *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria* (SASAE 2; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1946) 101, the sign  acquires the rather uncommon value *t* through acrophony from   (Demotic *tp*, Coptic

ΤΩΠΕ), assuming that the mouth would be called "that which tastes." Such an origin of the value *t* for  is unlikely and unnecessary. A certain amount of confusion was possible in Late Egyptian Hieratic between the signs , , , and  (see Gardiner, *JEA* 15 [1929] 54). For example, the word *d3i**w* is not infrequently written as though it were to be read *rw*, beginning with  (Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, pp. 265 [and n. 61] and 267 [n. 76]). Perhaps this is in fact the origin of the value *t* for the mouth *r*, or at least a contributing factor.

⁴²³See Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 119; Hornung, *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34; and A. Roccati, "Remarques sur le graphème  au Moyen Empire," *RdE* 21 (1969) 151-3 on the *pr* sign with the value *p* (and note the derived use of the courtyard *h* for *p* in E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* [Äg.Ab. 37; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981] p. 88). On the *wsh* sign substituting for the *pr* sign, see Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 425, and *idem*, "Amon, refuge du coeur," *ZÄS* 79 (1954) 4. Note also the use of the *pr*-sign for the courtyard *h* in the upper register of the 12th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 195). For the courtyard *h* for the *pr* courtyard, see P. Vernus, "Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI," *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 108; W.F. Petrie, *et al.*, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (BSAE 24; London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, and Bernard Quaritch, 1915) pl. 44 l. 121 (in a writing of *pr*); and substituting for the *pr*-sign as a determinative (*i.e.* in *k3r* in K. Myśliwiec, "La renaissance solaire du mort," *Bulletin du Centenaire* [BIFAO 81, Supplement, 1981] 100 fig. 6, l. 1).

⁴²⁴Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, pl. 27, and the comments by M. Smith, review of R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, in *JEA* 74 (1988) 285; compare also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 174 n. 23.

[*rs.ti ḥtp.ti rs=k m*] *ḥtp rs imn m ḥn rs N m ḥtp rs=k <m> ḥtp*

[May you awaken! May you be at rest! You should awaken in] resting!

As Amun awakes in life, so N awakes in resting. May you awaken <in> resting.

This combination of awaking and being at rest, both as a result of the rising of the sun, corresponds to *pr ... ḥtp ...* in lines 5-6 of the *Schutzbild* in corridor G. The denizens of the Netherworld are at rest when the sun is near; it follows the restoration of order and the reassurance of the deity's continued presence after the happy outcome of the cosmic catastrophe, when the solar bark runs aground on the back of Apep.⁴²⁵ The combination of resting and being awake links the states of life (wakefulness) and death (resting), as the sun sets (*ḥtp*) in order to rise, so the dead sleeps in order to live again.

^b The plural nisbe *imy.w* appears as the hobble-*t* for *m* over a bookroll, with the plural strokes below.



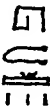
^c The deity's peregrinations about the Netherworld are described in general as *pḥr*, which in the context of this *Schutzbild* means more than simple motion around. The word *pḥr* is important in the magical vocabulary of ancient Egypt,⁴²⁶ where encirclement and protection are closely associated. By travelling about, the sun god encompasses, rules, and protects the cosmos.⁴²⁷ The words *pḥr* and *ḥk3*, *ḥtḥt*, *shn*,

⁴²⁵*ibid.*, pp. 367-8

⁴²⁶See J. Johnson, and R. Ritner, "Multiple Meaning and Ambiguity in the 'Demotic Chronicle,'" in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990) pp. 498-505; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 57-67. Note the use of the cryptographic concept of perturbation in the enigmatic texts on the 2nd Shrine of Tutankhamun to show protection as a circle (pl. 4, B).

⁴²⁷Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 302-6; even at the specific time of rising, the sun may be said to *pḥr* (the beginning to chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead in the

etc.,⁴²⁸ can express this enchanting solar perambulation. Here the word *phr* relates all of these concepts.⁴²⁹ Line 5 of this annotation alludes to the enchantment of encircling when the denizens of the Netherworld perform *shnw*-protection for the sun. The fiery, disk-headed, snake-footed deity travels around (*phr*) the Dat, shedding his aura of protection.⁴³⁰

^d Hornung (p. 49) read the signs  as *m3r=s* (the suffix pronoun  referring back to , read as *pr.t* by Hornung), translating “es wirkt verdrängend”. Hornung is referring to the verb *m3r* given in *Wb.* II 30, 5 and Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 103. Both dictionaries give the same, single attestation of the verb in a legal context.⁴³¹ The determinative of the verb is the striking

papyrus of *Nwnw* [P. BM 10477, sheet 16]; see E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Dead* [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd, 1898] p. 288, l. 13), a reference to the *perpetuum mobile* of the sun, and to the god's continuing protective activities. For *phr* and the concept of *perpetuum mobile*, compare the late hymn with a demotic parallel on O. Hess, ll. 11-2, wherein the sun is said to *phr D3.t / m hr.t-hrw*, “perambulate the Dat / daily” (M. Smith, “A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 [1977] p. 124.

⁴²⁸Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 302, and n. 8; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, p. 62 and n. 285

⁴²⁹As Ritner, *ibid.*, p. 63, indicates, Setne's use of the term *phr* when enchanting the Netherworld is “not simply figurative,” but “represents a fusion of the magician with the god Re in his circuit.” Note that Setne will see Pre and the moon, the stars and fish. The reference to the fish is probably an allusion to the fish-forms in which the stars begin life when rising from the waters separating the upper and lower worlds (as in the Nut Book, and P. Carlsberg).

⁴³⁰*Cf.* the passage in Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt* 825, pp. 16*, 143, pls. 14-15 (col. 14/11-15/1), in which a flame travels around (*phr*) a man as his protection (*s3*).

⁴³¹R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub* (UGAÄ 9; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928) pl. 22, l. 8.

man, not the walking legs. The Berlin dictionary suggests relating the verb *mšr* to *šr* (*Wb.* I 11, 9-16), which verb also appears never to have the walking legs as a determinative. There is no reason to expect the rare verb *mšr* here, and the group



is rather to be read as *m3* ʿ, “richtig sein, richtig machen”, “mit Bezug auf gehen, leiten, u.ä” (*Wb.* II 22, 13-23, 6). Such a reading accounts for the presence of the walking legs as the word’s determinative, and the word *m3* ʿ fits the context of the Netherworld Books, referring to the guiding of the solar bark. The mouth-*r* is attested with a number of values in this treatise, and here it has the value ʿ, a value derived through the reversal of the cryptic use of the ʿ-*arm* to write *r*.⁴³²

The verbs *phr* and *m3* ʿ occur together referring to the travel of the sun through the Netherworld.⁴³³

phr *itn=f* *m3* ʿ *b3=f*

his (Re’s) solar disk travelling around, his *ba* travelling rightly.⁴³⁴

The bolt-*s* here writes the suffix pronoun *f*, as in *wnn=f* at the beginning of the first column of the right-hand annotation (pl. 30, right-hand text, l. 1; see above).




^e The group is to be read *nwd*, the mouth-*r* having the value *w*, attested for it in the treatise on the ceiling of corridor G (in *itn.w* *iry.w=sn*, pl. 24, ll. 18 and 32; in *sn*

⁴³²Two arms have the value *r* in De Buck, in Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 77 n. 3; the arm holding a conical loaf has the value *r* in Drioton, *ZAS* 79 (1954) 9. For the probable phonetic origin of these enigmatic interchanges of the ʿ-*arm* and the mouth-*r*, compare the observations of Baines, *Or.* 39 (1970) 401, n. 2.

⁴³³Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 152.

⁴³⁴*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 80 (see also n. 355 on *phr*).

*dw*l=sn, pl. 26, l. 37; and in *dw*l in the *Schutzbild*, pl. 30, rightmost text, ll. 4 and 5). The sign  which Hornung read as the verb *pr* is certainly the determinative of *št3yt*. The verb *nwd*⁴³⁵ is found in the name of the great snake in scene 27 of the 5th Hour of the Book of Gates, *nwdy*, with the determinative of the back-turned walking legs (in 6 out of 7 examples in I 165 and 167 [forward in M]). Hornung⁴³⁶ suggests rendering the name as “Zurückweichenden,” or “‘Schwankenden,’ ein passender Name für den beweglichen Schlangenleib”.⁴³⁷ The entity which is said here to move in the manner

⁴³⁵*Wb.* II 225, 2-6; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 255; W. Westendorf, “Eilen und Warten,” *GM* 46 (1981) 28-32; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 130 n. 2; H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975) p. 178; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, a Book of Readings* vol. 3 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1980) p. 86 n. 8 (citing H.S.K. Bakry, “Psammētichus II and his Newly-Found Stela at Shellâl,” *Oriens Antiquus* 6 [1967] 240); E. Edel, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des alten Reiches (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 67; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981) pp. 68-9*


⁴³⁶*Das Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 130 n. 2

⁴³⁷For *nwd* meaning “to slither,” compare the use of the verb to mean “‘lie crookedly’ or ‘slackly’,” describing a rope (see Gardiner, *JEA* 32 [1946] 51 n. k, and the references given there). For another verb of entwining applied both to a snake and a rope in a Netherworld book, compare the use of *mʿnn* for snakes supporting the left eye of the sun in the 10th hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 164), and *mʿnn* for a rope in the upper register of the 6th hour of the Book of Gates (scene 36; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 215-8; vol. 2, pp. 158-60; see also *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 192-4). *Nwd* describing the motion of a snake is more descriptive than *pnʿnʿ* (S. Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d’ophiologie (Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum N° 47.218.45 et 85) [Bibliothèque Générale 11; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale de Caire, 1989] p. 24 n. 3*). The use of the back-turned walking legs in the writing of the name of *nwdy* in scene 27, 5th Hour of the Book of Gates may indeed suggest “twisting/slithering back,” as Hornung suggested. This would then refer to the lateral slithering motion of a viper (*ibid.* p. 30 n. 4 and p. 143). Note the description of the motion of a viper given by Tregenza (cited by Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d’ophiologie*, p. 143), who noted that the two end curves of the moving body point back, and only the center curve points forward. Compare the verb *bn* (*bne*), “twist, turn around, turn back,” used of a snake in the demotic P. Louvre E 3452 (M. Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452* [Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, the University of Chicago, 1979] pp. 131-

nwd indeed has snakes for feet; as it is these which convey him, *nwd*, “to slither,” would be a suitable description of the being’s movement. This explains the use of the turned-back walking legs as determinative.⁴³⁸

^fThe mouth *r* here can be read as *m*, giving the possible reading *im*, “there.”⁴³⁹ This is in fact the spelling of *im* in line 40 of the second section of the bottom register of the main portion of this composition (pl. 24). *Nwd* can also mean “to avoid,” with the object introduced by *r* (*Wb.* II 225, 4). *Nwd*, “avoid,” would be a possible reading here, suggesting that the entity cannot enter Shetayet proper,⁴⁴⁰ were it not that *nwd nṯi pn im* follows the statement that the deity is “travelling rightly through (*m3* ‘=*f ht*’) Shetayet.” Were this concluding section read as an incomplete sentence, ending with the preposition *r* but missing the object, then one could read “this god receding from...,” with

3 n.b to col. VIII line 4, citing H. Kees, “Ein alter Götterhymnus als Begleittext zur Opfertafel,” *ZÄS* 57 [1922] 115-6; and W. Ward, “Notes on Some Egypto-Semitic Roots,” *ZÄS* 95 [1968] 66-7).

⁴³⁸Ignoring the problem of the *n* following the determinative of *št3yt*, Hornung’s reading of  as *rd.wy* would be possible, with the walking legs substituting for

the two legs, reversed to face left with the figure being described. The body parts when mentioned in lines 1 and 3 do not, however, show reversals. The *nwd*, “slithering,” going to and fro, may relate to the word *phr* as a magical “twining”—see Keimer, *Histoire de serpents*, pp. 30-1, n. 5 (p. 30), on “serpents enlacés” on the magical “knives.”

⁴³⁹Compare the old writing for *imy* (*Wb.* I 72). The mouth *r* has the value *m* in lines 31, 40, and 47 of the second part of the lower register of the main part of the ceiling (the text accompanying the goddesses), and in the lower register of the dropped portion of the ceiling.

⁴⁴⁰Compare scene 31 in the 5th Hour of the Book of Gates, in which those in *htmyt* cannot see those who are in Shetayet (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 184-5); the place of destruction is lower and deeper than Shetayet, the area of the sun god’s travels (see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 139 n. 7; Hornung, *Altägyptischen Höllenvorstellungen* [ASAW 59, 3; 1968] pp. 32f).

perhaps a missing reference to some portion of the Netherworld which this protective but potentially dangerous emanation of the sun should not disturb, such as an area in which reside the damned, who cannot see the light of the sun.⁴⁴¹ Lines 5-6 of the *Schutzbild* express the same concepts found in the epithets of Ptah in P. Harris I 44, 5.⁴⁴²

ir d3.t sh̄tp h̄3.w(t) dī n ʿy R ʿ r swd3=sn

Who made the Netherworld, who puts the corpses to rest, who lets Re
travel in order to heal them

The text of the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* reads:

- 1) *wnn=f ntī pn m sh̄r pn*
 ʿ.wy=f(y) m h̄fy
 $\text{ʿ.wy=f(y) mn m itn}$
- 2) *hpr h̄pr.w 3h̄.ty m-h̄t ʿq m qrr.t tn*
ir ntī pn 3) m sh̄r pn / ir ntī pn ir sh̄r pn
 stt=f ir nty-dwy
 $\text{sn.ty wd ntī pn r ʿ.wy=f(y)}$
- 4) *r h̄d irw.w imy.w (n ntr ?)*
in ntr dwī=f
 $\text{r pr=sn m-h̄nty qrr.t=sn}$
- 5) *r ir.t sh̄n.w*
ntī pn ir b3y.w(t)
 dwī=f
 h̄pp sī3t-t3

⁴⁴¹Alternatively the *r* could be a substitution for a horizontal ʿ3 sign, giving the reading *nwd ntī pn ʿ3*; such a reading seems, however, incomplete. *Ntī pn ʿ3* does occur, however, in line 3 of the lefthand annotation to the *Schutzbild* (pl. 30, left l. 3).

⁴⁴²W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I, hieroglyphische Transkription* (Bib. aeg. 5; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933) p. 49, ll. 12-13 (this text cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 86).

6) *pr=sn*
h̄p̄ imy.w-t3
ph̄r n̄t̄ pn
m3 ʿ=f h̄t št3yt
nwd n̄t̄ pn ʿ3 im

1) In this fashion does he, namely this god, exist,
 his two (visible) limbs being two snakes,
 his two arms remaining in the solar disk.

2) It is after entering into this cavern that the realization of the horizon dweller
 comes into being.

As for this god 3) in this fashion,

it is against one who is evil that he shoots (light/flame).

It is the Two Sisters whom this god determines to be his two arms,

4) in order that the forms of those who are there (the dead) may
 shine.

It is the deity who will call,

in order that they might come forth from their cavern,

5) in order to perform *shnw*-protection.

It is this god who has made the burial pits.

When he calls, the damager of the earth is held back,

6) they coming forth.

Those who are in the earth rest (again),

as this god travels about (further),

he travelling rightly through Shetayet,

this god slithering about therein.

The text of the righthand annotation to the *Schutzbild* is patterned after the three divisions of solar hymns which Assmann has described:⁴⁴³



⁴⁴³Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 12 n. 61.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| I Epiphanie | Geburt, Werden, Auszug |
| II Ausübung der Königsherrschaft | Gericht + Fest |
| III Ankunft | Heimkehr, Einzug, Tod, Ruhen, Verwandlung |

Rather than referring to the entry of the deity into the upper or lower world, section I (lines 1-2 of the *Schutzbild*) refers to the god's entry into a specific portion of the Netherworld, a localized epiphany within the Netherworld (the verbs describing the deity's epiphany are *hpr* and *ʿq*). Section II (lines 3-6 [beginning]) refers to the punishment of evil (*stt=f ʿr nty dw; hpp sʿ3t-t3*), and the festive atmosphere which the solar deity brings into the Dat (*pr=sn*); there is also a reference to the greeting of the sun by the Netherworld inhabitants (*pr=sn ... r ʿr.t shn.w*).⁴⁴⁴ In part III of the text (line 6), there is reference to the Datians returning to rest (*hṭp imy.w-t3*), and the continued journey of the solar deity (*phr, m3 ʿ, nwd*).

The themes of snakes and encircling, bound together perhaps by the word *nwd*, run through the text and the entire treatise. Snakes often live in the walls of houses, slithering in and out of cracks and holes,⁴⁴⁵ and the composer of the *Schutzbild* may

⁴⁴⁴“Epiphanie und Empfang bilden ein konstantes Paar in der Thematik ägyptischer Hymnen” (*ibid.* p. 5).

⁴⁴⁵See Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie*, p. 137 and n. 4, who cites the Arabic  referring to snakes, meaning “celui des fondations de murs.” Note also PT Utterance 241, §246, which refers to the potentially malevolent serpent as *ʿšw-ʿnb*, “saliva of the wall” (on *ʿšw* see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.0502; compare also the orthography of *whn* in the B4La and BIL versions of A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 2 [OIP 49; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938] p. 379a [spell 160], where a determinative whm-flame [for *whn/whm*--see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.1051] and the tumbling wall of *whn*, determines *whn* in “that snake atop his mountain, who is in his *whn*”). For the concept of snakes as saliva, compare the spitting of the snake catcher onto the ground, followed by a conjuration that the snake should emerge (see E.W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* [The Hague and London: East-West Publications, Cairo: Livres de France, 1989 (reprint of London, 1895)] p. 379). Note also the snake and spitting pun on *tp*, “spucken; ausfliessen, vergehen,” in J.

have envisioned the blasting and vengeful heat of the sun entering as a snake through the hole in Corridor G.⁴⁴⁶ The hole was perhaps an inspiration for the composition of this portion of the treatise, transforming the accidental break into an older tomb from a way of ingress for noxious influences into a special entrance for the protective rays of the sun. The potentially dangerous accident becomes a second “way of Shu.” The *Schutzbild* is not a protective covering of the hole as much as a reaffirmation of the power of the sun, and an attempt to turn the accidental break into another passage for the power of the sun into the recesses of the tomb. The hole through which evil snake-like beings might slither⁴⁴⁷ becomes a hole through which the snake-legged

Osing, “Zu einigen magischen Texten,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (*Stud. Aeg.* 14; Budapest: La Chair d’Égyptologie de l’Université Eötvöl Loránd de Budapest, 1992) p. 475 (citing A. Roccati, *Papiro Ieratico n. 54003, Estratti magici e rituali del Primo Medio Regno* [Turin: Edizioni d’Arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1970] p. 25). For snake Agathodaimons, see K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (*Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*; Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929 Nr. 4) p. 27 (§§ 39-40). Keimer, *Histoire de serpents dans l’Égypte ancienne et moderne*, p. 90 and n. 1, discusses snakes living in modern Egyptian houses as objects of veneration, protectors of the house; they can both kill and help.

⁴⁴⁶Note that the snake heads of the legs of the leftmost being (pl. 29) face towards the right, away from the hole, whereas the snake heads of the rightmost protective figure face to either side, away from the figure. This suggests that the leftmost being is indeed depicted as coming through the hole.

⁴⁴⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 42 #64, the text to the figure:

intt=k hf.tyw Wsr-m3 ‘t-R ‘ n pr=sn m t3

May you bind the enemies of Usermaatse, so that they will not emerge from the earth.

The enemies, emerging from the earth, are apparently snakes.

manifestation of the power of the sun will slither, for the protection of Ramesses VI and his tomb.⁴⁴⁸

In the 5th Litany of the Litany of Re,⁴⁴⁹ the verbs *phr* and *m3* ʿ, referring to the journeying of the sun, occur together; shortly thereafter, in the same litany,⁴⁵⁰ the Two Sisters join with the solar deity in his form of a *ba* appearing in glory. The *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G ceiling makes allusion to this passage, both textually and pictorially. The verbs *phr* and *m3* ʿ occur together in l. 6 of the right-hand annotation; the Two Sisters are described as the arms of the serpent-legged sun in l. 3, and are depicted as the arms of the nocturnal sun god in the scene on the dropped portion of the ceiling.

Other potentially dangerous and violent disk-headed beings occur in a netherworldly context, such as the four arrow-wielding, disk-headed beings in the middle register of the 10th Hour of the Amduat.⁴⁵¹ In the papyrus version of this hour on P. Cairo 122,⁴⁵² two disk-headed beings also occupy the upper left portion of the

⁴⁴⁸The passage describing the sun as *ir b3y.t* could also be a pun on the hole and the anguipede. *B3b3* can designate the hole of a snake (*Wb.* I 419, 3), as well as a hole or crack in a home, through which malignant influences might enter (Ward, *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* §80 p. 47 = P. Beatty VIII vs. 1, 4). *ir b3y.t* could then refer to the break in the tomb of Ramesses VI--“It is this god who makes the chinks.”

⁴⁴⁹See above, p. 392.

⁴⁵⁰See above, p. 360.

⁴⁵¹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 175 (nos. 733-36).

⁴⁵²A.-A.F. Sadek, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdouat* (OBO 65; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1985) pp. 114-9 (specifically p. 116 for the disk-headed deities).

hour. Only one three-dimensional Egyptian representation of a disk-headed being has thus far appeared, but the notion of the being there represented remains obscure.⁴⁵³

The disk-headed being is the giant Re-Osiris, his form here emphasizing the unified deity as the source of the punishing flames and brilliant light at the eastern horizon (see chapter 6).

The left-hand annotation (plate 30):

The text here is badly damaged, but, as Hornung indicates, the photograph given by Piankoff allows a certain amount of the inscription to be seen. Little of a connected text can be established, however, and repeated examination through binoculars from the floor of the corridor have helped only little; any attempt at a full treatment must await collation of the text with the aid of a ladder. The signs which appear certain are given on plate 30. A running translation is not at present possible, and there follow suggestions on what might be read from the traces.

l. 1) The line concludes with *Hpry hpr hpr(.w ?)*, “Khepri is one whose realization are come into being,” a statement similar to *hpr hprw 3h.ty*, “the realization of *3h.ty* comes into being,” at the top of the second column in the right-hand annotation. The plural

⁴⁵³R. Bianchi, “New Light on the Aton,” *GM* 114 (1990) 35-40; E. Cruz-Uribe, “Another Look at an Aton Statue,” *GM* 126 (1992) 29-32 (but note that an Amenhotep III or early Amarna date for the object remains uncertain). This figure is perhaps one of the few representations in the round of the denizens of the Egyptian Netherworld (compare certain of the ritual figures from the tomb of Tutankhamun (N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* [Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1990] pp. 130-135), the Ramesside tomb figurines now exhibited in the British Museum, and the pairs of prisoners apparently bound to a *wsr*-stake, recalling a scene in the Amduat [A. Scharff, “Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927) 123-5, pl. 2]).

strokes expected following the final beetle are perhaps postponed until the top of the second column.⁴⁵⁴

1. 2) The signs below the remnants of a yellow bird(?) hieroglyph may read *nty dwy*, “the one who is evil (Apep),” corresponding to the same words in the third line of the right-hand annotation. The bird could then stand for *r*, giving *r nty dwy*, “against the one who is evil,” corresponding to the *ir nty dwy* opposite. This group is followed by a kneeling man with his arms raised before him, *dw3*⁴⁵⁵ or *imn*;⁴⁵⁶ the snake following is perhaps a variant for the horned viper, as is usual in the right-hand annotation. One could then read *imn=f* or *dw3=f*.

The final word in the second column might be read *šr.w*, “the little ones(?),” *šr* written in *Normalschrift*, the “evil bird” being a determinative. Who these “little ones” might be would remain a mystery. Reading “he hiding the little ones,” one is tempted to see a reference to the hidden arms of the entity, assuming he is like the right-hand entity, with *š.wy=f(y) mn m itn* (right-hand annotation l. 1). The arms would then be referred to as “the little ones,” a parallel to the right-hand annotation’s (l. 3) reference to the arms as the two sisters, *sn.ty*.⁴⁵⁷ This interpretation has as possible support the fact that, in the right-hand annotation, the goddesses as arms are mentioned immediately

⁴⁵⁴Examination of the text in the tomb reveals no trace of signs below the final *hpr* beetle. For a similar separation of the plural strikes of a word onto the top of the following column of text, in this cryptic treatise, compare the division of *nn n ntr/.w* in middle register text no. 1, ll. 2-3 (pl. 22).

⁴⁵⁵Cf. Drioton, *JEA* 35 (1949) 118.

⁴⁵⁶Cf. Sethe, *Northampton*, p. 8*.

⁴⁵⁷For *šr.t* as a reference to a goddess as the daughter of a deity, see *Wb.* IV 527, 7; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.4174.

after the god shoots at the evil *nty* *dwy*; on the left side, the *šr.wt* goddesses, perhaps the hidden arms, would be mentioned immediately after what may be *r nty* *dwy*.⁴⁵⁸

Also possible would be a reading *imn=f št3w*, reading the mouth-*r* as a *t*, a value derived through an hieratic confusion, and the evil bird substituting for the vulture-*3* (on *imn št3w* see chapter 5, pp. 428-435).

1. 3) The end of the line is *dwī n ntr pn* '3; the final word may be *mtn*, "to endow," perhaps referring to the forms with which the deity is endowed.⁴⁵⁹


1. 4) At the top of the line there is what may be the word *imnt.t*, "the West." This is followed by what may be a water sign (not drawn), then the cloth-*s*, a grasshopper, a bird, and the group mouth-*r* and *n*, probably for *pn*; the reed leaf and bird after this may be *im*. The signs suggest a reading *nsr.t tn im*, "this flame therein," with the grasshopper in its standard enigmatic value *r*, the following bird *t* (from *tyw*), and the mouth-*r* as *t* (through exploitation of hieratic similarity between the mouth-*r* and the loaf-*t*). The group *im* probably represents the end of a statement.

⁴⁵⁸Also possible, although the parallelism with line 3 of the right-hand annotation would be lost, would be to read *imn šrw.t* here as the opposite of the *wn šrw.t* of *Wb.* IV 528, 1. This would refer to the deity as the one who "hides the blocked-up area," a protector of the tomb in general (for *šrw.t* as tomb, see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.4175), and of this blocked up hole in particular (this would then be the reference to the scene as a *Schutzbild*, which Hornung sought at the top of line 3 in the right-hand annotation).

⁴⁵⁹See the discussion of *mtn*, "to endow," in the bottom register of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 35, fig. A, l. 10; chapter 5, pp. 459-460). Alternatively one might read *mn ntr*..., the bird and *n* for *mn* (compare the bird and snake for *mn* in line 1 of the right-hand annotation).

Following a small gap after the possible *nsr.t tn im*, there are two *r*-mouths and seven red crowns. Each crown could represent *nt* for *ntr*,⁴⁶⁰ the whole referring to some group of seven deities. The number 7 would suggest seven deities who might attack Apep, one for each of the the fiend's neck vertebrae.⁴⁶¹ The two *r*-mouths could be interpreted as a writing of *ir*,⁴⁶² allowing a reading "As for the seven deities..."

The sign to the left of the seventh Red Crown is uncertain, although it may be yet another Red Crown; this is followed by the animal skin, two reed leaves, a bird, and plural strokes, suggesting a word descriptive of the seven deities. The most common cryptic value of the skin is *k*, as in *kkw*, which would give a word ending in *-kyw*. Appropriate to seven deities battling Apep would be the term *nīk*, *Wb.* II 205, 9 and 14, also written as *nk* or *nki*; if there are indeed eight Red Crowns together in this column, one might read *ntr.w 7 n(i)ky.w*, "the seven (Apep) punishing deities." This is followed

⁴⁶⁰On the Red Crown for *nt*, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 47; for the Red Crown writing *ntr*, see the writing of *hw.t-ntr* as , cited above, p. 241, text n. a.

⁴⁶¹For the seven deities attacking Apep, see chapter 5, pp. 421, 434-435, and 451-453. Alternatively, four Red Crowns might form a group for *dšr.wt*, "deserts, foreign lands," one for each point of the compass, as they are attested from the Graeco-Roman period (see A. Gutbub, "La tortue animal cosmique bénéfique à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron: 1927-1976* vol. 1 *Égypte pharaonique* [BdÉ 81 part 1; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979] p. 433); one might then read the first three crowns as the plural of *nt* for *ntr.w*, reading *ntr.w dšr.tyw*, "necropolitan deities" (although one might expect deities *dšr.tyw* to be inimical [cf. *Wb.* V 494, 14; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 435, no. 78.4837], the sun is called *dšr.ty* [see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 129 n. 300; for *dšr.t* as necropolis, see *Wb.* V 494, 7]).

⁴⁶²The first mouth-*r* could substitute for the reed leaf, based on phonetic substitution. For three mouth-*rs* writing the word *īry.w*, "guardians," see Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 24. The two *r*'s could also write *phr*, referring to a circular, enchanting motion by the entities.

by signs which may, in keeping with the idea of punishing evil, be read as *stt n*, or perhaps better as *stt=s[n]*.⁴⁶³

The legible portion of line 4 may thus read:

...nsr pn im

ir ntr.w 7 in l(i)ky.w stt=s[n...]



..this flame therein.

As for the seven (Apep) punishing deities, th[ey] shoot [...]

Seven deities standing atop sandy slaughtering places help the bark of the sun deal with the *Nh3-hr*-serpents and Apep in the enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 31).

1. 5) This line appears to begin with *srq*, “breathe,” written in *Normalschrift*. This word is followed by what may be *phr h3(.wt)=sn im-m*, “their corpses travelling around therein.” The writing of *phr* with two mouth-*r*’s presents no difficulty (*Wb.* I 554), but the absence of the walking legs is disturbing, as this determinative appears to accompany the verbs of motion in the right-hand annotation. *H3.t*, “corpse,” written as only the *h3*-fish is also possible (*Wb.* III 359), although such a truncated orthography does not appear to occur elsewhere in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Alternatively, the two *r*-mouths here could represent *ir* or *iry*.

⁴⁶³For the writing of *stt* here, with two mouth-*rs* as the two *ts*, followed unexpectedly by the book roll determinative, compare the similar orthography of *stt* in line 3 of the right-hand annotation (pl. 30, right text, l. 3).

At the end of this line, there is a group , which may be read as the word *smy.t*, “desert, necropolis.” For the orthography, compare the demotic writing  in line 8 of stela Hamburg C 4059, with *s* written over the foreign land sign.⁴⁶⁴

The central image

In the central portion of the *Schutzbild*, four snakes emerge from the sun. In the scene to the right of the central disk in the *Schutzbild*, the legs of the snake-legged Re-Osiris, and the arms which are the sisters Isis and Nephthys, all appear as serpents emerging from the sun.⁴⁶⁵ The serpents emerging from the disk of the sun in the center of the *Schutzbild* suggest the snakes depicted as if issuing forth from the disk of the sun in the introductory scene to the Great Litany of Re.

The introductory scene to the Litany of Re has been interpreted as an emblem of the sun scattering its enemies before it in the Netherworld.⁴⁶⁶ However, if that interpretation of the scene were correct, then the sun would scatter some of the

⁴⁶⁴W. Spiegelberg, “Demotische Miscellen,” *RdT* 26 (1894) (1894) 160-1; cited and discussed by H.-J. Thissen, “Die Kunst der Kritik,” *GM* 106 (1988) 93-4. On the orthography of this word see also G. Roquet, in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron: 1927-1976 1: Égypte pharaonique*, p. 459 n. 1.

⁴⁶⁵B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 3 (*MVEOL* 18: Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1975) pp. 238-9, with fig. 31, interpreted the four snakes as “de vier cosmische rivieren.” See also *idem*, “The Enemies of Re I: the doctrine of asceticism,” *DE* 23 (1992) 71 and n. 264: “from the zenith stream four rivers which determine the four cardinal points.” For this depiction, compare the scarab in fig. no. 236 in Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperre*, and §1226, pp. 172-3.



⁴⁶⁶So Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, pp. 29-30. J. Janssen, in B. van de Walle and J. Vergote, “Traduction des *Hieroglyphica* d’Horapollon,” *CdE* 35 (1943) 89, relates the crocodile in the scene to Horapollon I §69, where Horapollon states that for the west the Egyptians “peignent le crocodile se baissant en avant.”

undesirable elements deeper still into the Netherworld which the deceased ruler must travel, for the snake and crocodile are depicted as though rushing into the depths of the tomb. The place of the final fiery consumption of the damned is in the glowing red bowels of the east, at the root of the Osirian corpse-horizon from which the newborn sun must rise (see below, chapters 5 and 6). It is difficult to imagine that an Egyptian theologian or artist would have thought of allowing noxious beasts to be shown rushing unpunished toward the royal burial chamber, through which the Osirian king would complete his journey into the Netherworld.

The snake and crocodile in the introductory scene to the Litany of Re are not fleeing the sun, but are sent out by it to root out and punish evil in the Netherworld/tomb.⁴⁶⁷ The interpretation of the snake and crocodile as evil-punishing emissaries of the sun is supported by the images in the central portion of the *Schutzbild*. From a small disk above the large, central disk, the head of a crocodile emerges; a snake thrusts its head from the top of another small disk below the large sun. Here, in the Corridor G treatise, where fire-breathing serpents spew flames onto bound enemies, the crocodile and the snake represent the solar deity's aggressive hatred of evil. The final and most persuasive evidence for the meaning of the opening scene of the Litany of Re comes from an apparently thus far ignored scene on the exterior foot end of a Late

⁴⁶⁷For the crocodile punishing wrong-doers and protecting the royal tomb, compare the small seal type N from the tomb of Tutankhamun, showing an enemy pressed down by a rearing and roaring lion, with a crocodile standing on its tail before him (see C.N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* [London: Kegan Paul International, 1990] p. 66, fig. 21). Two crocodiles standing on their tails protect a royal figure on British Museum EA 10270 (S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* [London: British Museum Press, 1992] p. 74 fig. 41). Although there is a certain ambivalence, "so gehören die Masse der Texte, die das Krokodil als Sonnenfeind behandeln, der späteren Zeit ägyptischer Geschichte an" (E. Brunner-Traut, "Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus [zu Kapitel 26, 25 und 11]," in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968] p. 36).

Period sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum. The scene in question, on the foot of the sarcophagus of the lady Tadikem, CCG 29307,⁴⁶⁸ shows a variant of the opening scene in the Litany of Re: from a solar disk containing a scarab and a ram-headed human figure there proceeds a crocodile to the right, and a serpent to the left. Below the crocodile a text specifies the being as *ḥnty s3wty sb3 imnty m d3.t*, “the *ḥnty*-crocodile (*Wb.* III 308, 4) who protects the western portal in the Netherworld.” The serpent is described as *w3mmw s3wty sb3 ḥḥ m d3.t*, “the serpent of roasting flame (< *w3m* “dörren, rösten,” *Wb.* I 251, 10)⁴⁶⁹ who protects the portal of the West in the Netherworld.” In this late version of the opening scene of the Litany of Re, the crocodile and the serpent are labelled, and they are each termed a guardian of the portal of the West.

As on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, the cryptography of this treatise primarily consists of common signs with generally uniliteral enigmatic values, derived for the most part through substitution. The *ṣpr*-sign  appears, with the value *ṣp* through application of the consonantal principle; this sign does not appear elsewhere in the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, and is otherwise scarce in New Kingdom cryptography. The use of the sign  for *shy*, through exploitation of a hieratic confusion, and the phonetic similarity of *shy*, “to be deaf,” and *shr*, “plan,” is

⁴⁶⁸G. Maspero and H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* vol. 2 (CGC; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939) pp. 108-109, pl. 32; the texts as given on pp. 108-109 are somewhat faulty, and were collated in the Cairo Museum in September, 1994.

⁴⁶⁹A serpent *w3mm.ty* is attested, *Wb.* I 251, 15, as an evil associate of Apep. Here, the entity, although his name is similar, is nevertheless specified as a guardian of the western door into the Netherworld.

another peculiarity of the Corridor G cryptography. For no enigmatic sign value in this treatise does acrophony enter into the explanation.

The texts and iconography of the various elements of the Corridor G treatise emphasize the sun at the eastern horizon, the giant, snake-legged entity on the right side of the *Schutzbild*, his arms composed of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys on the dropped portion of the ceiling. The headless beings, with disks where their heads should be, also suggest the eastern horizon, the cavern where the heads of the blessed dead are returned to their headless corpses after they complete their nocturnal journey with the sun. The treatise also emphasizes the importance of turning over the blessed dead as they enter the Netherworld, reorienting them to their new surroundings (end of the middle register, main portion of the ceiling [pl. 16 middle right), and the need to keep the damned down in the bowels of the flaming east (dropped portion of the ceiling [pl. 27 right).

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE ENIGMATIC NETHERWORLD BOOKS OF THE SOLAR-OSIRIAN
UNITY: CRYPTOGRAPHIC COMPOSITIONS IN THE TOMBS OF
TUTANKHAMUN, RAMESSES VI, AND RAMESSES IX

VOLUME THREE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
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Chapter 5

The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX

The final extant enigmatic Netherworld book of the New Kingdom, and the last of the surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, is the treatise on the right wall--looking into the tomb--of the third corridor in the tomb of Ramesses IX (plate 31).¹ Alexandre Piankoff and Étienne Drioton dealt with the annotation accompanying the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene of this treatise (pl. 36),² and Erik Hornung has offered a brief discussion of the whole composition.³ Portions of the treatise are in full cryptography, others in partial cryptography.⁴ Neither Piankoff nor Hornung delved deeply into the iconography of the accompanying scenes, and neither appears to have

¹F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (MIFAO 15; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907) pls. 63, 76-81. E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische königsgräber Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Theben 11; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990) p. 8, commenting on the Netherworld Books of ancient Egypt, notes that this enigmatic wall, together with portions of the inscriptions and scenes in the sarcophagus chamber of the same tomb, represent the end of the "schöpferische Zeit dieser Literaturgattung."

²A. Piankoff, "Les deux papyrus 'mythologiques' de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire," *ASAE* 49/2 (1949) 129-67.

³E. Hornung, "Eine ägyptische Wand im Ramses' IX.," in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass* (ÄAT 12; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987) pp. 226-37.

⁴The cryptography in the tomb of Ramesses IX is not limited to this version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity; for an overview of heraldic cryptography in the tomb of Ramesses IX, see F. Abitz, "Die Veränderung von Schreibformen im Königsgrab Ramses' IX.," in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptiologica* (Hamburg: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Hamburg, 1989) 1-5.

seen the texts and scenes of the enigmatic treatise as forming a connected and interrelated whole.

Left Section, Upper Register (plate 32):

In the upper left horizontal division of the enigmatic wall there are eight circles, four red to the right and four yellow to the left.⁵ These spheres are filled with concentric circles of black dots, and each is occupied by a black figure, its head to the bottom of the circle, facing left, feet and arms spread wide. Each of the eight larger circles rests on a smaller, red disk. For Stricker, each figure is “de cosmische mens, rad der wereld,” and shows that “God is anderzijds immanent.”⁶ According to Hornung: “Die kreisenden Figuren in den gelben und roten Scheiben deuten wohl auf die wirbelnde Bewegung des Lichtes.”⁷ Elsewhere Hornung refers to these figures as “Rhönrädern.”⁸ The dots could only represent sand⁹ or flame and light.¹⁰ The lack of white dots accompanying the black dots on the red and yellow backgrounds speaks somewhat against interpreting these dots as indications of sand. On the basis of the use of the colors red and yellow for the backgrounds of the encircled areas, we are probably dealing with sources of

⁵Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231 states that the circles are “abwechselnd rot und gelb ausgemahlt,” which would suggest that the circles alternate red and yellow.

⁶B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 4 (*MVEOL* 22: Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1982) pp. 349, 352 fig. 41.

⁷Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zurich, 1983) p. 148 (pl. 126).

⁸*Idem*, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231.

⁹The hill behind Osiris has a red background in the Amduat in the tomb of Thutmosis III; the graves in the 6th Hour of the Amduat are one yellow and two red.

¹⁰*Cf.* Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, fig. 106 (p. 133) and fig. 139 (p. 163).

light.¹¹ The concentric circles of dots which surround the figures within the disks suggest that while the disks are made of light, they are not to be understood as emitting light; though filled with light they do not shed light. The dots circle back on themselves, so that when connected, they form a circle, enveloping the figures. This echoes the clothing effects of light discussed in chapter 3 (see above, chapter 3, pp. 161-167). Light travels around and hides these figures, as in the fiery pits in the 11th Hour of the Amduat (the third shows the dots of fire forming hemispheres). The figures in the circles of light in the Ramesses IX treatise are, perhaps, not really seen, as suggested by the black figures residing within them.

Although he recognized that there are no obvious iconographic parallels to these figures, Hornung suggests that “eine ähnliche Darstellung begegnet als aenigmatisches Zeichen für *nb* und meint eigentlich einen Schwimmenden im Wasser, das hier durch den Sand der Unterwelt ersetzt ist”.¹² After describing in detail the pose of the figures, Hornung notes: “dazu kommt eine Gedankenverbindung mit der Hieroglyph für *Dat* ‘Unterwelt’ (Stern im Kreis).” Hornung does not, however, explain the upside-down pose of the figures, beyond comparing them to the *pg3.w* of the Book of Gates¹³ and the

¹¹In this context, according to Myśliwiec, “A propos des signes hiéroglyphiques ‘*hr*’ et ‘*tp*’,” *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 94.

¹²Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231. For this sign use cf. A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 70, ll. 1-3. For the swimming figure as *nb*, “lord,” from *nbī*, “to swim,” see also the second shrine of Tutankhamun, É. Drioton, “La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamoun,” *JEA* 35 (1949) 118; *idem*, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie,” *RdE* 1 (1933) 37; *idem*, “La cryptographie égyptienne” *CdE* 18 (1934) 194.

¹³Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 215.

igy.w of the Amduat.¹⁴ He also does not read the figures; as an interpretation of them, Hornung suggests:

Die gemeinsame Idee ist offenbar, dass die Verstorbenen durch die Unterwelt (dort als Urgewässer Nun, hier als Wüstenregion) dahintreiben, aber durch den Sonnengott vor Vernichtung bewahrt und mit neuem Leben beschenkt werden; die Darstellung des Gottes im Amduat und im Pfortenbuch ist hier durch die Sonnenscheibe ersetzt.

Although Hornung concludes: “Da erläuternde Beischriften fehlen, muss sich unsere Deutung allerdings nur auf die Bildinformation stützen;” apparently he does not assume a close connection between the top registers and those below.¹⁵ The cartwheeling figures do lack an overt annotation, yet one may derive sufficient information from their appearance and context to identify these plummeting beings as falling stars. They are the *nb.w-d3.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld,” stellar Blessed Dead, in peril at the moment of supreme cosmic danger, when the bark of the sun nearly runs aground on the back of Apep.


Although there is no immediately evident annotation accompanying this portion of the treatise, each of the eight figures within a disk may be read as *nb-d3.t*, “lord of the Netherworld.” As discussed in chapter 7, they are the falling *nb.w-d3.t*, the lords of the Netherworld, the Blessed Dead in danger of plummeting into the place of destruction at the time of the cosmic peril when the bark of the sun is delayed on the spiny sandbank of Apep. Hornung correctly read each individual element of the figures as enigmatic groups--*nb* and *d3.t*--although he did not put these elements meaningfully together.

¹⁴*idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 171.

¹⁵F. Abitz, “Der Bauablauf und die Dekoration des Grabes Ramses’ IX.,” *SAK* 17 (1990) 26 and n. 69, follows Hornung.

Each figure may in fact be read as an enigmatic group representing *nb-d3.t*, “lord of the Netherworld,” reading each figure and the surrounding dots as a variant of *nb*, the swimming man, and reading the star-like pose of the figure within the circle as *D3.t*.¹⁶ Cryptographically, the upside-down figures in the circles are to be read as *nb.w-d3.t*, “lords of the Netherworld.”

Iconographic details support this reading, and clarify the presence of the figures in the context of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall. Hornung’s observation of the star-like appearance of the figures is important. They are the inverted stars, the *shd.w* stars of chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead.¹⁷ The resemblance of the figures to writings of

¹⁶In the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 70, ll. 1-3), the use of  in writing *nb-îmn.t* may allude to the beings as stars. For the circle of watery dots of *nbî* used alone to write *nb*, “lord,” see the writing of *nb-t3.wy* cited in the Montpellier list (*Valeurs des signes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 3 [1990] p. 448 no. 263; for examples in New Kingdom cryptography, see Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 37; *idem*, *CdE* 18 (1934) 194; *idem*, *JEA* 35 (1949) 118; E. Hornung, “Ein aenigmatisches Unterweltsbuch,” *JSSEA* 13 (1983) 34. The swimming pose of the figures alludes to the stars setting in the waters of Nun. In P. Carlsberg I E III 3, there may be a reference to stars called “praised ones,” *hs.w*, as though “drowned ones” (see O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* [Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960-69] vol. 1, p. 57 n. to E III 3). In scene 58 of the Book of Gates, in the middle register of the 9th Hour, drowned dead are presided over by Horus, and Re has to call out to them and set them upright (on this passage, E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 [*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 7 and 8; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1980] pp. 217-9). This scene parallels the drowning, inverted stars on the Ramesses IX treatise. In the Amduat, the dead are once called the *îmy(w)-nww*, “those in the flood,” a designation which already the Pyramid Texts employ (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 95 n. 1). This would be immersion and even drowning as the path to a blessed state, not a reference to punishment (on drowning as a punishment, see A. Grimm, “Der Tod im Wasser, rituelle Feindvernichtung und Hinrichtung durch Ertränken,” *SAK* 16 [1989] 111-9); see also G. Meyer, “Das Hirtenlied in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches,” *SAK* 17 (1990) 265-6, §6.5.1 (on drowning), 266-7, §6.5.2 (on reaching the Netherworld by swimming), and 267-9, §6.5.3 (on souls in water).

¹⁷E. Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben* [Berlin: A.A. Asher and Co., 1886] vol. 2, p. 219. A text in the doorway to the shrine of Isis in the temple of Sety I at Abydos (K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical*

nb̄i, “to swim,” provides not only the first element of the enigmatic reading of the register, but also provides an important iconographic detail. Swimming is appropriate behavior for stars.¹⁸ As swimmers the lords of the Netherworld are similar to the dead in the bottom register of the 10th Hour of the Amduat, figures floating in water, some of whom are upside down.¹⁹

That the upside-down star-like beings are indeed stars is a surmise supported by the standing figure to the left, who parallels the figure of the enthroned, falcon-headed Horus-Upon-his-Throne (*Hr--hr-hndw=f*) as the “Orderer of the Hours,” to the left of a row of figures with stars atop their heads, in the lowest register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat.²⁰ The duties of *Hr--hr-hnd=f* are:

irr.t=fpw m d3.t snhp.t sb3.w
ir.t ḥꜥ.w wn.wt m d3.t

What he performs in the Netherworld: sending upwards the stars,

[Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd, 1975] p. 168, l. 9) hints at the stellar nature of the *nb.w-d3.t*: the temple is said to be “an eternal undersky for the lords of the Netherworld (*nb.w-d3.t*), and a portal for the cavern dwellers (*qr.tyw*).” The temple is a place giving freedom of movement for various manifestations of the Blessed Dead--a nethersky in which the lords of the Netherworld may orbit, and a door (as of a tomb) through which the cavern dwellers may proceed.

¹⁸According to P. Carlsberg I VI, 14-15, “Stars begin in the lake” (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 75).

¹⁹The *igy.w*--see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 169-71, 172-3

²⁰E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* (Äg.Ab. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) vol. 1, p. 128, ll. 4-8; vol. 2, p. 135. A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 1*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954) pls. 90-1.

setting the positions²¹ of the hours in the
Netherworld.

In terms of an entity's comportment in the Netherworld, *ḥꜥ*, "to stand," can correspond to *ḥr rd.wy*, "upon the two feet," and is found in contrast to *shd*, "to go upside-down," and *qs*, "to go bent over."²² Horus-Upon-his-Throne probably does more than simply place the stars and hours in the correct places, and should also be seen as ensuring their upright positions in the Underworld.²³ The mummiform appearance of the standing figure in the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is perhaps an allusion to the *ba* of Osiris as Orion, the ruler of the stars.²⁴ The stars on pl. 32 appear as swimmers; in the 32nd section of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, the sun is one:

*psd m itn=f wbn m 3ḥ.t=f nb ḥr bi3=f*²⁵

who shines in his disk, who rises from his horizon, who swims
upon his firmament

²¹See J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960) pp. 76-7. For a further mention of the "stations" of the stars, see P. Carlsberg I, F III, 36-8.

²²Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 76-7.

²³For Isis in aretologies of the Graeco-Roman period as the one setting the stars in their correct positions, see D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien (Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse Band 53 Heft 1; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961) pp. 39-40 (M 13).*

²⁴See the references in F.-R. Herbin, "Une liturgie des rites décadaires de Djemê, Papyrus Vienne 3865," *RdE* 35 (1984) 122 n. 65.

²⁵H. Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden, ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuches (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 5; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1915-17) p. 55, ll. 4-5; p. 56, ll. 3-4; p. 57, ll. 16-7.*

The Imperishable Stars do not enter the Dat at all, but leave Re's bark as it plunges into the Underworld.²⁶ The Unwearying Stars accompany the bark in the Underworld but, like the souls of the dead entering the Dat, must be set upright, relative to the Dat, upon their entry into the Netherworld.²⁷

The circles of light beneath the heads of the dark and inverted beings might be taken as representing the fiery pits into which the stars are plummeting.²⁸ More likely, the disks atop the inverted heads of the beings are the stellar attributes of the falling Lords of the Netherworld (see chapter 4, n. 26; chapter 7, pp. 634-638).

This division of the falling lords of the Netherworld on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall into two quartets may have been suggested by the group of stellar entities in scene 87 in the 12th Hour of the Book of Gates. There, eight female entities

²⁶W. Barta, "Funktion und Lokalisierung der Zirkumpolarsterne in den Pyramidentexten," *ZÄS* 107 (1980) 1-4; N. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankhi) au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086-47089, Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne* 1 (*MIFAO* 105; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1981) p. 79 n. 230. According to the study of N. Beaux, "Étoile et étoile de mer: une tentative d'identification du signe ⬠," *RdE* 39 (1988) 197-204, the star hieroglyph derives from the starfish, these creatures likened to the lower stars of the waters below, in contrast to the celestial stars of the upper firmament; if this identification is so, then there is an added level of meaning in allusions to swimming stars.






²⁷For the star bodies of the figures, one may compare the sign for *dw3yt* in the cryptographic orthography of the name of Darius I in the temple of Hibis in the oasis of Khargeh--see É. Drioton, "Receuil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 (1940) 343 (sign no. 18). There may also be a reference here, appropriate to the *nb.w-d3.t* being born into the Netherworld, to the foetus-like appearance of the solar child in the disk-womb (see É. Drioton, "Un Oudja à représentation hermopolitaine," *RdE* 1 [1933] 81-5).

²⁸Compare the red color of the circle determining the word *hfty.w*, "enemies," in the Merneptah version of E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches (Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 2; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1975) vol. 1, pp. 131 and 195.

sit on coiled uraei, and hold each a star in the hand; they are each called *dw3y.t ndl(y).t*, “the dawning one who protects.”²⁹ The description of these deities begins:

wnn=sn m šhr pn
mhn=sn hr=sn
‘=sn hr sb3.w
pr=sn m ĩtr.ty n ntr pn 3
4 n ĩ3bty 4 n mħty

In this fashion are they,
 their protective uraei beneath them,
 their arm bearing stars,
 they coming forth on either side of this great god,
 four to the east, four to the west.

²⁹E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 7; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1979) p. 384; *ibid.* vol. 2, pp. 271-2. The name “the dawning one who protects” recalls the determinative of *šhd.w*, “the upside-down stars,” found in a number of the versions of chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead:  instead of  (Navelle, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 219). This is in origin a phonetic play on the pronunciation of *sb3* (note the spellings found in *Wb* IV 57 and 82; compare also the Coptic *sb3* as $\text{C}\text{I}\text{O}\text{Y}$ [J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) p. 167; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965-77) pp. 203 and 491, W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1984) p. 200] and *s3* as CO [Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 174; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, pp. 182-3]). According to G. Jéquier, “Le monde à l’envers et le monde souterrain,” *RdT* 39 (1920) 97-8, *s3* is “un phonétique remplaçant l’idéogramme . Dans des textes plus récents, les étoiles, et particulièrement celles des décans, sont désignées parfois sous le nom de  ,  , ‘étoiles protectrices,’” citing H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, Altägyptische Inschriften, gesammelt, verglichen, übertragen, erklärt und autographiert* 6 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1883-91) vol. 1, p. 133. The playful orthographies of a number of the examples of chapter 99 may allude to specific stars, perhaps the equivalents of the *nd.wt* from hour 12 of the Book of Gates (for a further pun on *sb3*, as *sĭw/srĭw*, see J.-C. Goyon, “Le feu nouveau du jour de l’an à Dendara et Karnak,” in *Hommages à François Daumas* vol. 2 [Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1986] p. 338 and p. 343 n. 63).

Hornung³⁰ questions whether this description of the deities being “to the east” and “to the west” is to be interpreted literally, or as meaning “to the left” and “to the right” of the god.³¹ If east and west are intended as the actual compass directions here, the *itr.ty* would correspond to the *gs.wy* of the sky mentioned in the text accompanying the bottom register of the Ramesses IX treatise (pl. 34 A, ll. 38-39), in general the eastern and western halves of the sky.³² The eight deities in the final hour of the Book of Gates assist the sunrise, and are appropriate to the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the imagery of which shows the struggle and ultimate triumph of the sun at the time of commencing the sunrise. These deities, four to the east and four to the west, are perhaps related to the souls of the east and the souls of the west in the cosmographic texts, the four baboons and the four jackals, which adore and tow respectively the bark of the sun.³³ Two groups of four may thus represent the eastern and western cusps of heaven, the total extent of the upper and lower skies.

³⁰*Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 272 n. 2.

³¹On *itr.ty* see *ibid.* p. 272, n. 2, p. 235 n. 3; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 149 n. 3; there is probably no reference here to the above ground world (on *itr.ty* with this meaning, see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (MÄS 19; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969) p. 53 n. 70, pp. 105 and 110).

³²Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 232 n. 13, pp. 233-4; as opposed to the “two heavens,” the halves of heaven corresponding to the south and the north (*ibid.* p. 235 n. 45 and p. 128 n. 7). On *gs.wy* as “two halves, both sides,” see W. Westendorf, “Die Insel des Schiffbruchigen--keine Halbinsel!,” S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990) pp. 1060-1062.

³³The total of eight lords of the Netherworld depicted in the tomb of Ramesses IX may also allude to the Ogdoad which should adore the rising sun (see M. Smith, “A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 [1977] 123, l. 7, 131-2-- [quoting the demotic text]: *N3y.w-Hmniw n=fm iw hft h* ‘=f, “The Ogdoad be for him, in jubilation when he rises”).

P. Carlsberg states that at a given time eight stars are in the east at night (E III 18-23), while seven are in the Dat preparing to rise in the east (E III 16-7).³⁴ The eight falling Lords of the Dat who appear in the tomb of Ramesses IX may be the eight stars which should be “working” in the eastern sky, falling down because of the cosmic danger. The stars are not, however, a single group of eight, but are divided by their differing red and yellow backgrounds into two groups of four.³⁵ The undesirable and ultimately destructive state of the entities is emphasized by division into two groups of four, most likely a purposeful allusion to the frequent groups of four in scenes of the damned in the Netherworld Books.³⁶

The colors of the stars may also be significant. Although the star of the eighth decan, named *tms n hntt*, “the red one of *hntt*,”³⁷ is red, it is probably unrelated to the red background of the rightmost quartet of stars in the treatise under discussion. The sun is always red within the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and yellow only at the

³⁴O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* (Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960-69) vol. 1, pp. 58-9.

³⁵That there is a total of eight stars may, however, allude to the four pairs of *hhw*-entities, “two at each limb of the sky goddess” (J.Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* [YES 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988] pp. 18-21). The *hh.w*-deities ensure the stability of the sky, and the inverted stars in the tomb of Ramesses IX show its instability at the time of the narrowly averted cosmic disaster. See also Faulkner, “Some Notes on the God Shu,” *JEOL* 18 (1964) 268-9.

³⁶See R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993) pp. 168-9, comparing the four limestone execration figurines of the Mirgissa execration deposit. On enemies coming in fours, see also R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Brown Egyptological Studies 8; Providence: Brown University Press; London: Lund Humphries, 1979) p. 62 n. 9.

³⁷Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 24, suggest that this “might refer to a specific star of reddish color”.

outside of a tomb.³⁸ The sun bark on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall is travelling towards the right, and thus out of the tomb. If one reads the wall as containing a reference to the midday standstill of the sun (see below, pp. 426-427, the discussion of *ir=f ḥw* in pl. 33), the bark correctly travels toward the west, but also out of the tomb, the entrance into the Netherworld. After midnight and the sun's nocturnal halt at the sandbank of Apep, the solar bark correctly travels out of the tomb (ie. Netherworld), but also into the west--the *perpetuum mobile* of the solar journey. The four stars with red backgrounds are to the right, the four with yellow backgrounds to the left. The red ones are those near the "dawn" of the scene, the "east" of the composition, and represent Re rising in his redness.³⁹ Echoing the use of yellow for the solar disk in representations outside of the tomb, and red for the disk of the sun in depictions inside the tomb, one might also suggest that the red and yellow backgrounds of the upside-down figures indicate that these stars are located on the cusps of the horizon, part inside, part outside

³⁸Cf. Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, p. 114, caption to fig. 86. As Prof. Dorman has suggested, this is perhaps the result of observation of the visual aspect of the sun, red at the times of sunrise and sunset, yellow at midday.

³⁹Although possible, it is less likely that the color differences are intended to represent stars of different brightnesses. L. Borchardt, *Altägyptische Zeitmessung* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1920) p. 18, "suggested that the appearance and disappearance of stars of different brightnesses may have been the actual way of defining the beginning and end of 'night'" (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 119 n. 2). As Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 105 describe, "civil twilight is the period between sunset and the moment of visibility of very bright stars, whereas astronomical twilight marks the appearance of all stars" (underlining of Neugebauer and Parker). If red and yellow stars represent stars of different brightnesses, and all are shown to collapse and turn over (*pn ḥ*) here, then the complete night of the Netherworld is shown.

the Dat. Placing the red towards the entrance to the tomb also reverses the expected color scheme and again suggests the eternal round of celestial bodies.⁴⁰

The scene of the falling lords of the Netherworld in the tomb of Ramesses IX, in proximity to seven slaughtering places where evil serpents are destroyed, parallels the bottom register of the 6th Hour of the Amduat. There, four seated male entities, and their four female counterparts, represent the weariness of death; the sun bids them stand and awaken: *ḥꜥ ḥr=tn m ḥm dwn ḥr=tn m wrd*, “get up and do not turn back; stretch and be not tired.”⁴¹ At the right end of the register in the Amduat the nine snake-like staves of the gods (*mdw.w-ntr.w*) burn up (*3m*) the enemies of Khepri, and are watched over by the figure of Nun.⁴² The scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX of upside-down figures over others who leap up (*nhp*) near the sandy slaughtering place of the foes of Re is closely paralleled by the third scene in the third register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁴³ The inverted heads which descend from the top of that scene all have *šw.t*-symbols atop their heads, and appear collectively to be labelled *šw.ty*--they are dark and in shadow.

⁴⁰The disks of red and yellow in which the falling figures are situated have parallels on a papyrus in Richmond, Virginia (J.M. Brown, *et al.*, *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* [Richmond: Virginia Museum, 1973] pp. 42-43, no. 42; see pl. 42). On this papyrus, which also preserves the image of a figure parallel to that of the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall, each of four uraei sits atop a circle. Within each of the four circles, alternating red and yellow in color, is a scarab; above the tail of each uraeus is a star.

⁴¹Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, p. 114, l. 9.

⁴²*ibid.* pp. 115-16.

⁴³A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (*BdE* 19; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953) pp. 22-3, pls. 10-12.

The upside-down figures of the lords of the Netherworld also foreshadow what would happen to the solar bark were Re not to be victorious over Apep and his gang--the solar bark itself might suffer shipwreck and *pn*ꜥ, "overturn."⁴⁴ For the stellar manifestations of the blessed dead as the followers of Re, one may compare the statement *sb3=k m p.t*, "your star in heaven," which is parallel to *wn=tw m šmsw mskt.t* and *m šmsw Rꜥ m m ꜥnd.t*, "you being in the following of the Mesektet bark," and "in the following of Re in the Mandjet bark," in the tomb of Basa.⁴⁵

The blackness of the figures on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall is not in rough imitation of the stick-figures of the tomb of Thutmosis III, but shows rather the lack of light at the time of the cosmic disaster.⁴⁶ The drowned dead who should swim through Nun in the bottom register of the 10th Hour of the Amduat are "dark in Nun" (*snk m Nnw*).⁴⁷ The prominence given to the stellar "lords of the Netherworld" in this enigmatic underworld treatise is an early example of the mixture of astronomical and

⁴⁴See G. Posener, "Sue l'emploi euphémique de *hftj(w)* <<ennemi(s)>>," ZÄS 96 (1969) 33 (§7).

⁴⁵J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif* vol. 2 *Das Grab des Basa* (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole (AV 6; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1973) p. 63 = T 20, and p. 63 n. b to T 20 (pl. 7).

⁴⁶H. Kees *Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten* (*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse*; Göttingen, 1943) pp. 416-7; compare the black figures in the shrines in the 4th hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, p. 132 fig. 101).

⁴⁷Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 176, l. 7. Normally these *nb.w-D3.t* should be righted and shining, like the angels called "church of saints, lights without shadow" (D.M. Parrott, *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 3-4 and V, 1* [*Nag Hammadi Studies* 26; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991] pp. 106 and 108, codex III 81, 1-6).

Netherworld imagery such as is common on the ceilings of Graeco-Roman temples, and represents a relative early example of the transfer of the Dat to the “cosmic zone.”⁴⁸

A section of P. Cologne 3547, discussed above in chapter 4 (pp. 639-646 *et passim*), supports the iconographic identification of the falling figures within disks as representations of the *nb.w-d3.t* as falling star. According to col. ii, l. 3 of the papyrus:⁴⁹

nn pn ꜥ=sn n3 nb.w D3.t nty m hr.t-ntr

they will not turn over the lords of the Netherworld who are in the
necropolis.

There, when the sun has run up on the back of Apep, the stars tumble out of the sky, and those newly entering the Netherworld cannot be set aright. So in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the cartwheeling stars, in their circles of light, with their disk attributes atop their heads, fall above a scene of the solar bark delayed on the spine of Apep. As in the text in P. Cologne 3547, the tumbling stars in the tomb of Ramesses IX, read as an enigmatic group, are also termed the *nb.w-d3.t*. The passage P. Cologne 3547 col. ii, l. 3, shows the iconographic identification of the cartwheeling figures as stars and the enigmatic reading of the group as *nb.w-d3.t*, “lords of the Netherworld,” to be connected and mutually supporting conclusions.

The upper register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall depicts a group of upside-down stellar beings. The splayed figures within the dot-filled circles are an enigmatic orthography of *nb.w-d3.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld.” By virtue of their

⁴⁸See the remarks of L. Kákosy, “Decans in Late-Egyptian Religion,” *Oikumene* 3 (1982) 182-4.

⁴⁹D. Kurth, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.) (Papyrologica Coloniensia 9; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1980).*

position, above the bark of the sun stopped upon the back of Apep, they illustrate the feared cosmic disaster--the catastrophic inversion of the blessed dead--that might occur if the bark of the sun cannot sail clear of the spiney sandbank of Apep.

Middle register, upper band of enigmatic text (plate 33):

wnn=sn^a m shr pn
nh3-hr.w^b sm3w.n R^c
ir=f hr^c w^c hr nm.t^d=sn nt š^c
imn št3w dw3y hr^c.w im=f^e

In this fashion do they exist:

the Nehaher snakes which Re slaughtered,
 he making a pause at their slaughtering pit of sand;
 'he who hides the mystery, who praises the members
 which are in it (the št3w).

sqdd ntī pn m shr pn m dpy=f^f
n^cw8 hr bqs.w^h nw i^c3ppi
pp=f
dd=<sn> šsr.w=sn^k
nhp n=f imy.w-i3 wt=sn^l
dī=sn sd.t tw^m
hryw šsr.w=snⁿ s3m=sn hfty.w R^co
m-ht is p=f hr=sn^p



In this manner does this god travel in his boat,
 navigating upon the back of Apep.


As soon as he passes by,
 they loose their arrows.

While casting this fire,
 those on their mounds leap up to (or 'for') him.

Those armed with their arrows burn up the enemies of Re,
 even when he passes by them.

^a The plural pellets of the suffix pronoun *sn* appear twice, once after *s*, and again in the more expected position after *n*. The initial plural pellets following *s* suggest the influence of Late Egyptian orthographies, in which *s* + plural strokes is an attested writing of the third person plural suffix pronoun *sn*.⁵⁰

^b Hornung read “So sind sie beschaffen / als oberste Wächter (?) des Re,” suggesting “Lies *m hrjw z3w* ?”⁵¹ Hornung does not explain any derivation of the value *m* for the sign  (presumably he was thinking of *mdt/mdwt*, with an acrophonically derived value *m*), and no value *m* for  is otherwise attested.

For the pustule standing for the *dm*^c-sign in hieratic, from which this cryptic value is derived, see: P. Brussels E 6857 (Leopold 4,3; Ramesses IX);⁵² P. Turin 2083/178 Ro. 1 (Ramesses IX);⁵³ P. Turin 2021, 4, 3 (Ramesses XI).⁵⁴ The snake to the far left in the middle register, Apep, is also called  , *nh3-hr* .




⁵⁰On *s* for *sn*, see A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1933) §79, p. 36. Writings of *sn* as *s* + plural strokes occur already during the XVIIIth dynasty--cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1* (OIP; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994) pl. XX.

⁵¹Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 231 and n. 19.

⁵²J. Capart, A. Gardiner, and B. van de Walle, “New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies,” *JEA* 22 (1936) 182-3.


⁵³G. Botti and T.E. Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1928) pl. 15, 2-3.

⁵⁴S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* 2 vols (*Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten* 1; Tübingen: Im Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1973) pl. 119.

^c Hornung read “wenn seine Scheibe angehalten hat;” for  he suggested another possibility: “oder: sein Auge.”⁵⁵ Hornung’s first reading is to be preferred, taking the pupil to be a *pars pro toto* substitution for the *iri*-eye. The description of Re “making a pause” refers to the entire bark standing still.⁵⁶ This passage in the tomb of Ramesses IX parallels text 13 in the fourth scene in the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁵⁷

iw ntr pn 3 ir.n=f ḥꜥ=f m qrr.t imn.t wn.wt=f

This great god has paused in the the cavern ‘Who Hides His Hours.’


The determinative of  in the tomb of Ramesses IX is that of ḥꜥ(y), “noontime,” (Wb. I 223, 8-9) the time of the standstill of the bark, the time of the cosmic danger.⁵⁸ The parallel from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk supports the

⁵⁵Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 232.

⁵⁶For ḥꜥ, “standstill,” of a vessel not moving, see Wb. I 218, 9, citing examples of the solar bark not sailing. D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1988), omits this term, although on p. 211 he lists the equally netherworldly verb *ḥꜥ*, “to pass.” On ḥꜥ as “to remain,” see R.A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe from a Hieratic Papyrus in the A.S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1977) p. 58, commentary to col. 4, l. 12.

⁵⁷A. Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire*, pls. 7-8, p. 17.

⁵⁸In Ancient Egyptian, “noontime” and “standstill” are the same word: J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1976) vol. 2, p. 72; *idem*, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (Äg.Ab. 33; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976) p. 212 n. 606; J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (OBO 51; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983) p. 78. For ḥꜥ as a term for stars “standing,” see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970) p. 32 n. 2; *idem*, *Das Grab des Basa*, p. 61 n. a to T 14. In the tomb of Anhuriose at El-Mashayikh, a text suggests that the solar bark pauses (*ir ḥꜥ*) at the moment of the weighing of the deceased’s heart, treated as a critical moment for the cosmos (B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh 2 The Tomb of Anhermose--the Inner Room, and the tomb of Imiseba* [Sydney:

reading of  as *ir=f*.⁵⁹ Rather than simply pausing, the solar bark in the Ramesses IX treatise has almost run aground on the back of Apep. The pause is the time of Re's acceptance of Apep's challenge, and the time of the defeat of Apep.⁶⁰

One could also read "he spends time at their slaughtering pit of sand." Such a translation would also refer to the midday pause.

The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, MacQuarie University, 1990] text 118, pp. 17-8, pls. 4-5). In the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* [Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 3; New York: Bollingen Press, 1957] pl. 22) there is a prayer that no evil deed will be reported against the deceased in the Netherworld, and that he be recognized as blameless. Immediately following this text is a representation of the solar bark, hovering over the prow of which is an ankh holding a large *ḥ*ˁ-sign, another reference to the cosmic standstill in connection with the moment of justification of the deceased in the Netherworld. In connection with the scales on which the heart is being weighed, there may be a pun on *ḥ*ˁ, "state of equilibrium (of scale)," and the bark as *ḥ*ˁ, "standing," even "balanced," teetering in the sky at a moment of peril (for *ḥ*ˁ, "balance" [Wb. I 220, 9], see K.A. Kitchen, "Papyrus Northumberland III Verso, a Weighty Bagatelle," in *Hommages à François Daumas* vol. 2 (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1986) pp. 436-37. See also Kurth, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri* (P. Köln ägypt.) (*Papyrologica Coloniensis* 9; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1980) pp. 32-33 (text note 44); P. W. Van der Horst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987) p. 54 n. 5 to fragment 4. For the standstill of sun, moon, and stars in Coptic magical texts, see V. Stegemann, "Über Astronomisches in den koptischen Zaubertexten," *Or.* 4 (1935) 396-405.

⁵⁹For the sun performing *iri ḥ*ˁw, "taking up a position," see Assmann, "Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah," *MDAIK* 28 (1972) 59 text note 11.

⁶⁰In the 5th hour of Amduat, the gate is called *ḥ*ˁw-ntr.w, "pause of the gods" (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, 75, 8), in the 5th Hour of the Book of Gates, the gate is named *nb.t-ḥ*ˁw, "lady of pausing" (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, 190). On *ḥ*ˁ as "standhalten" (Wb. I 218, 5), "standing fast" confronting an opposition, see J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso* 3 vols. (Louvain: Orientaliste, 1992) pp. 241-2; the passage discussed by Zandee can also mean that although Re stops in his journey, a bad thing, he yet suffers no ill effect. Compare also *iri ḥ*ˁw, describing the sun pausing in a Cavern (see the references given in W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltsbüchern* [MÄU 1; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990] p. 94).

^d For this orthography of *nm.t*, and a discussion of the term, see the discussion of the two identical occurrences of this cryptic group in the main, left-hand portion of the enigmatic composition on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 18 fig. A= pl. 19 fig. B, and pl. 18 fig. B = pl. 20 fig. B; and chapter 4, pp. 245-246).

Hornung reads *nw.t*, “Hügel,” relating the word to the “Bezeichnung für ovale Gebilde oder für die ganze Unterwelt”.⁶¹ The *nw.t*, however, is not a suitable description of the element depicted here, or of the *nm.t*-structures in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The *nm.wt n.yt šꜥ*, “slaughtering pits of sand,” in the context of the defeat of *Nḥ3-ḥr*-snakes, are allusions to the sandbank of Nehaher in the 7th Hour of the Amduat.⁶²

^e This portion of the annotation, which appears out of place and the exact reading of which remains somewhat obscure, finds a parallel in a portion of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, specifically text six of the “paroi du fond”⁶³ There, within an oval stand two figures facing each other, on a ground line below which are two groups of three flesh signs. A vertical line over the standing figures within the oval is:

imn ḥꜥ.wt
hidden of members

A horizontal annotation placed between the two standing is a variant of this:

imn ḥr ḥꜥ.wt

⁶¹Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, *Form und Mass*, p. 232 n. 21.

⁶²On *nḥ3-ḥr* see R. El-Sayed, “Nehaher,” *Bulletin du centenaire (BIFAO 81 Supplement, 1981)* 119-40, specifically 122-23 for the sandbank.

⁶³Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 31, pl. 15, and plan B.

hidden with respect to members

To the right and left of the oval, the praising female figures are labelled:

dw3y imy-t3

the giver of praise who is in the earth

If these annotations from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk do parallel the portion of the Ramesses IX treatise under discussion, then in the tomb of Ramesses IX, and the portion of the enigmatic text reading *mn št3w dw3y h'w im=f* would describe the figures atop the mounds. In this case, the term *št3w* in the Ramesses IX text corresponds to *h'wt* as employed in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. *Št3w* can refer to the corpse of the sun.⁶⁴ In the third scene of the first register in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, there is *imn [št3w] ntr [3] hnty D3.t.*, “hidden of [mysteries], [great] god, foremost of the Netherworld.”⁶⁵ Similarly named netherworldly beings are the *imn h3.wt*, “hidden of corpse,” of the 2nd Division of the Book of Caverns,⁶⁶ and P. Salt 825 IX, 5: *imn py m h'w=f*, “that one hidden of his

⁶⁴See the discussion of the name of the entity *št3* in the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI (chapter 4, p. 285), and chapter 3, p. 86.

⁶⁵A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, sixième division,” *BIFAO* 43 (1945), pl. 124, l. 5; for a discussion of the term *imn št3.w*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 84-6. The use of the terms *h'w* and *št3* to refer to the *iwf*-corpse of the solar deity explains the reference to a *wi3 n h'w* in the tomb of Antefoker at Thebes. In the song of a harper on the south wall of the shrine in that tomb--N. de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60) (Theban Tomb Series 2; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1920) pl. 29B, l. 5*--the goddess Hathor is referred to as *shn.t s.t m wi3 n h'w*, “advanced of position in the Bark of the Members.” Rather than requiring some emendation (such as *h'w* for *hhw*--tentatively suggested in *ibid.* p. 24 n. 3), this is a reference to the bark of the sun in the Netherworld, the “bark of the corpse (of the solar deity).”

⁶⁶Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 32, ll. 4-5.

member.”⁶⁷ The name of the entities on the enigmatic wall--“he who hides the mystery, who praises the members which are therein”--is similar to the annotation to the first oval in the fifth scene in the first register of the 3rd Division of the Book of Caverns: “the one who hides the hidden one.”⁶⁸

The concluding portion of this section, *ḥꜥ.w im=f*, suggests the designation of the deepest chamber of the Netherworld in the Litany of Re:

imn.t št3w wnn.t Wsir im=s

She who hides the mystery, (she) in whom Osiris is⁶⁹

This same place may appear as *imn.t ḥꜥ.wt=f*, “she who hides his members,” in text 14 on the “Paroi du fond” in the Book of the Creation of the solar disk; in the Book of Aker, the *<ḥ>3.t (?) ḥ3.t ntr*, “<m>ound of the corpse of the god,” is described as having *št3(.t) imn.t mn.ti m ꜥ=s*, “the hidden mystery remaining in its region.”⁷⁰ In the cryptic annotation in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the *imn št3w dw3y ḥꜥ.w im=f*, ‘he who hides the mystery, who praises the members which are therein,’ does not refer to a cavern or *nm.t*-slaughtering place, due to the masculine gender of the being described. The

⁶⁷Drion, *ASAE* 41 (1942) 124; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Mémoires, Collection in-8°, Deuxième série; Brussels: Palais des académies, 1965) pl. 9.*

⁶⁸Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 21, and compare the description in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 1 (text 1, end): *ḥ3.wt=sn ḥnty i3.wt=sn*, “their corpses before/within their mounds.”

⁶⁹References and discussion in Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 85; also in text 5 of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk--Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 43, pl. 24 l. 5.

⁷⁰*ibid.*, pp. 35 and 73, pl. 19.

standing figures are shown as adoring the approaching solar bark; each is an excellent candidate for the title *dw3y*. If taken to refer to a representative of these figures, the term *imn št3w dw3y ḥꜥ.w im=f*, “who hides the secret members, who praises the members which are in him,” would parallel the designations of the *hry.w št3w* of the 6th Hour of the Book of Gates.⁷¹ The three deities, each termed *nḥp imy i3.t=f*, “leaping one on his mound,” in the third register of section A of the Creation of the Solar Disk are described in text 24 as:⁷²

nn n ntr.w m šḥr pn m i3.t=sn

sn rn(sic)=sn dī=sn tp=sn m ḥnty št3.t=sn

These gods are in this fashion on⁷³ their mounds,

they stick their heads out from within their ‘mystery.’

The *i3.t*-mound is a *št3.t*, “mysterious place,” suggesting a burial place,⁷⁴ similar to the *i3.t št3.t ntt št3 3 m-ḥn.t=s*, “the mysterious mound in which is the great mystery,” in the conclusion to the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns.⁷⁵ This scene from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk closely parallels the Ramesses IX treatise, the inverted *šw.ty* heads of the Book of Caverns corresponding to the upside-down lords of the Netherworld in the Ramesses IX treatise. The figures on the ground in the Book of the

⁷¹See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 85-6.

⁷²Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pls. 11-2, pp. 22-3.

⁷³For *m* as “on,” see below, the discussion of the *imy.w-i3.wt=sn*, and the references cited there (p. 439).

⁷⁴On *i3.t* as a place of burial, see Assmann, “Harfnerlied und Horussöhne,” *JEA* 65 (1979) 62 n. 75. In Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 53, l. 1, *i3.t*, “mound,” and *ḡb3*, “sarcophagus,” are linked.

⁷⁵Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 144 ll. 3-4.

Creation of the Solar Disk are ten female heads emerging from the ground, and three from hills. Those emerging from the hills emerge from their *št3.t*, the others are referred to as *ntry.t imn-h3.wt*, “goddesses hidden of corpses.” This latter annotation from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk suggests that the *imn št3w* portion of the text refers to the entities atop the mounds.

The final scene in the middle register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat provides a parallel to the slaughtering places of sand and their figures on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall. In the Amduat scene, four chests are shown; each chest has a pile of sand inside, a head on each upper corner, looking in towards a knife rising from the middle top of the chest. The text states:⁷⁶

irw.w pw št3(.w) n d3.t hn.w t3 tp.w št3.w
wnn=sn m ph ts pn
pr tp.w sf.w imy.w=sn
sdm=sn hk3 Nh3-hr
‘m.hr=sn sšm.w=sn m-ht ‘pp ntr pn ‘3 nıw.t tn
wnn Nb-w3s Hımt-ıb m ıry.w sšmw pn št3
n sbı.n b3 n rh s.t n qn.t nyt sf.w=sn

The mysterious forms of the Netherworld, the chests of the earth,
the mysterious heads;

They are at the end of this sandbank,
the heads and knives which are in them coming forth,
when they hear the enchanting of Nehaher.

They swallow their images when this great god passes by this town.
Nb-w3s and *Hımt-ıb* are the guardians of this mysterious image;
the *ba*-soul of one who knows it cannot pass away through the power of
their knives.

⁷⁶Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 126, l. 11-p. 127, l. 5.

The four chests⁷⁷ are called: *hry-sšmw-ỉtm*, “the one containing the image of Atum,” *hry-sšmw-Ỉpri*, “the one containing the image of Khepri,” *hry-sšmw-R*⸎, “the one containing the image of Re,” and *hry-sšmw-Wsỉr*, “the one containing the image of Osiris.” They are “Göttergräber,” containing the images of deities. In the Ramesses IX treatise, each figure atop its mound is described by the label: *ỉmn šỉ3w dw3y h*⸎*w ỉm=f*, “he who hides the mystery, who praises the members which are in it (the *šỉ3w*).”

The designation *ỉmn šỉ3w*, “he who hides the mystery,” referring to the figures, is paralleled by the name of a group of netherworldly beings appearing in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:⁷⁸

pr=sn m h3.wt ỉmn.t šỉ3.w
when they come forth from the corpses ‘which hide the of mysteries’

In text 11 in the third tableau of the second register in section D of the same composition, there are:⁷⁹

ỉ3.ty nty h3.wt ht(w) R⸎*ỉm=s*
the two mounds in which are the corpses in the following of Re

A passage from the funerary papyri of Nesmin supports both the equation of *šỉ3w* with the members of the body of the deity, and the pronoun in *ỉm=f* back to *šỉ3w*. According to P. Louvre I 3079, 110, 38, and P. BM 10208 II, 2-3, referring to the deceased:⁸⁰

⁷⁷*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 127, ll. 7-10 (nos. 522-25).

⁷⁸Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 43, pl. 23 l. 9 (text IV).

⁷⁹*ibid.* p. 49 and pl. 27, l. 3 (text 11).

⁸⁰F.M.H. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin* (*Bib.Aeg.* 14; Brussels, 1970) vol. 1, p. 58, ll. 7-8; vol. 2, p. 52 and p. 60, text note 24.

twt ḥ.t=k št3w.t=k ḥ3pw=s imy=s

whole is your body, your mystery, it hiding what is in it

The term “mystery,” in the feminine form *št3w.t*, is equated with *ḥ.t*, “body.” This body/mystery hides what is in it, the body/mystery. So on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, the text refers to one who praises the members (*ḥ.ʿ.w*) in the *št3w*, the mysterious body.

The *imn št3w* label further suggests the entities at the beginning of section B of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. There, mummiform entities shown within ovals are each labelled to the right *dw3 ḥ.ʿy*, “who praises standing;” and to the left *nṯr pn m šḥr pn m i3.t=f m ḥ.ʿy*, “this deity is in this fashion on his mound as one standing.” The accompanying text further specifies:⁸¹

sn r=sn dī=sn tp.w=sn m-ḥnty št3w=sn

they stick their heads out from within their mystery.

In the concluding portion of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, one of the seven entities in the top register adoring the disk of the sun is called *sšt3w-ḥpr.w*, “one who hides the manifestations.”⁸² The seven slaughtering places appearing on the enigmatic wall, associated with beings who hide the mystery of a deity, suggest the description of the nine snake-like staves at the end of the bottom register of the 6th Hour of the Amduat. Those staves destroy the enemies of Khepri and are the *mdw.w pd.t psd.t ʿ3.t*

⁸¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 28 and pl. 14 (text no. 1); compare also *ibid.* p. 11 and text IX, pl. V.

⁸²Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) 45.

sšm.w n ĩrw.w ntr.w=f, “staves of the great ennead, images of the visible forms of his deities.”⁸³


The form of the reed leaf in *ĩm=f* may have its origin in the use of three reed leaf-signs to write *ĩ/y*, Semitic initial *ĩ*⁸⁴ This appearance of the reed leaf is a manifestation of the general substitution of plant signs in cryptography; a sign of similar shape writes *w3d*, derived from the hieratic, in *w3d.ty* on the Middle Kingdom stele BM 147 [839].⁸⁵

fDpy- is most likely an orthography of *dpw*.

⁸ Although *n ĩw* appears to be an Old Perfective, such a reading, describing the bark as “having sailed upon the back of Apep,” would not be expected. This enigmatic annotation should describe the accompanying scene, and that scene shows the bark temporarily aground on the coils of Apep. An alternative reading, adopted here, is to understand (*m*) *n ĩw*, “sailing,” perhaps an early example of Coptic ΝΔ.⁸⁶ Although it

⁸³Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 115, l. 8. The designation of each of the beings atop the mounds on the enigmatic wall as “he who hides the mysteries” is similar to the designation of a mound itself as the *ĩ3.t ntr ĩmn.t šhr.w*, “Gotteshügel, dessen Wesen verborgen ist” (Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königgräber*, p. 122); the same grave is later termed *ĩ3.t št3.t*, “secret mound,” in the same text.

⁸⁴G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache* (*Ägyptologischen Forschungen* 21; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1960) p. xiv; on substitutions of plant signs, see also nn. 67-68 in chapter 3, and chapter 4, p. 272.

⁸⁵E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum* vol. 2 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1912) pl. 7 (ll. 6-5 from the left at the top of the stele). Compare also the similarly derived form  for *w3d* in L. Limme, “Deux steles inédites du Sérapeum de Memphis,” *CdE* 47 (1972) 93, example 5.

⁸⁶On NHY deriving from Late Egyptian *m + ĩwt*, and on ΝΔ from Late Egyptian *m + n ĩy*, see E.F. Wente, *The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian* (unpublished Ph.D.

requires one to interpret the *m* as unwritten, this is no great obstacle. The resulting description of the sailing as in progress is sufficient to recommend the reading (*m*) *n* 'w.

^h In *bqs.w*, the plant sign substitutes for the *sw*-plant--cf. the three-pronged plant M 2 for *s* in Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 44; the reed leaf substitutes for *sw* in the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G enigmatic treatise (see pl. 21, l. 50, and the discussion in chapter 4, p. 272). *Bqs.w*, "back," here corresponds to the *ts.wt*, "neck vertebrae," of Apep.⁸⁷ The bark briefly stops on the spine of Apep because the great serpent, at the time of the greatest cosmic danger, drinks out the water on which sails the bark of the sun.⁸⁸






















ⁱ The sign of the egg above a stroke appears to substitute for the *nw*-pot above a stroke as an orthography of the masculine plural indirect genitive *nw*.

^j The name of the great serpent Apep is written as the '3-sign followed by a single pustule. This orthography of Apep parallels the writing in cryptogram no. 56 in the Book

dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago, 1959) pp. 28-33. I thank Prof. Wente for discussing this with me.

⁸⁷See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 296 n. 59 (the wordplay between *tsw* "spine" and *tsw* "sandbank" is lost with *bqsw*).

⁸⁸For the drying up of the water beneath the solar bark and other phenomena of the Apep-induced near-cataclysm, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 295-8, A 13, and pp. 310-1 and n. 47; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 132; Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt* 825, p. 147 n. 8. The conflict of the solar bark, aground on the back of Apep, with Apep and his minions occurs during the 7th Hour of the Amduat, in scene 89 in the Book of Gates, and during the 6th-9th Hours in the Book of the Day. This is the dangerous time at sunrise and sunset, when the bark of the sun is in danger of running onto a sandbank; see J.F. Borghouts, "The Victorious Eyes: a Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern 2 Religion* (Göttingen: Hubert and Co., 1984) pp. 703-16, particularly pp. 709-10.

of the Day and the Night in the tomb of Ramesses VI. Either the pustule has here the simple value *p*, the name being written in the syncopated form '3*p*,⁸⁹ or the pustule represents *pp*, as Drioton proposed to read the sign in two cryptic writings in the Book of the Day and the Night;⁹⁰ he assigns this value in cryptograms # 56  , the name of Apep, and # 99   , '*p*=*w*, "they passing," in the enigmatic section                


nn 'q=w *n t(3) p.t.*, "they passing into the horizon without entering into the sky;" alternatively the section could in fact begin with a nominal 'pp=w, emphasizing *nn* 'q=w *n t(3) p.t.*, "It is without entering into the sky that they pass into the horizon."⁹² Drioton derives his proposed value *pp* for the pustule from the word *ipp.t.*, attested in the medical texts (*Wb* I 69, 10, "Kloss, Pille").

^k Hornung reads: "Wenn er vorbeizieht, werden ihre Pfeile ausgesandt," suggesting reading *dd šsr.w=sn*. This requires interpreting *dd* as a geminating form of the passive *s_dm=f* of *rdj*, which is both unattested and unexpected in Middle Egyptian, although such a form does appear in Late Egyptian⁹³ (Hornung's translation suggests that he did not wish to understand a possible suffix pronoun *w* as missing--pronouns do not appear to be left off in this text, and *w* does not commonly appear in this genre of text). Here *sn* is taken to be a haplography, and the section is read as *dd<=sn> šsr.w=sn*, a nominal *s_dm=f* forming a *Wechselsatz* with the preceding 'pp=f.

^l For *imyw-i3.wt=sn*, one may compare a portion of the annotation to the first scene of the lower register of section B of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk:⁹⁴

nn n ntr.w m šhr pn m i3.t=sn

⁹²Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 92.

⁹³See J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (*Studia Pohl: Series Maior. Dissertationes scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* 4, 3rd updated edition; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984) pp. 243-44, §16.1.4; P.J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974) p. 29, §18. According to Černý and S. Groll, the second  of the apparent *dd* form may actually be the "carrier of the passive mood" (that is, a writing of *tw* through collapse of the dentals); they suggest that the apparent *dd.tw* writings are actually orthographies of a *s_dm.tw.tw* formation.

⁹⁴Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 29, pl. 14 text no. III.

ḥꜥy m-ḥnty db3.t=sn

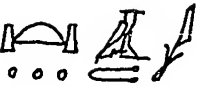
These deities are in this fashion, upon their mound(s),
standing within their sarcophag(i).⁹⁵

For *m* meaning “on,” as here in the plural nisbe *imyw*, see E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (SAOC 33; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1967) p. 46, n. b (to text #13 [l. 25/1]), citing H.-G. Fischer, “Land Records on Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty,” *RdE* 13 (1961) 107 n. 3 (Fischer’s examples deal mostly with “the use of the preposition *m* before words like ‘pond,’ ‘lake,’ ‘dyke’ in cases where it cannot literally mean *in* these water-filled places”).⁹⁶ On *m* as “on,” with the object *i3.t*, “mound,” see Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 31 n. af (to text #5).⁹⁷

⁹⁵For the sarcophagus/chest(*db3.t*)-shaped enclosure also termed a *i3.t*, “mound,” compare an identical shape also termed a *i3.t* as the fourth area of the Netherworld in chapter 150 of the Book of the Dead.

⁹⁶For a pictorial representation of a similar situation, see H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst* 4th ed., E. Brunner-Traut, ed. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) fig. 96 = I. Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia* vol. 1 *Monumenti Storici* (Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1977 [reprint of Pisa, 1832]) pl. 50 = The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* vol. 4, *The Battle Reliefs of King Seti I* (OIP 107; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1986) pl. 6 (now mostly destroyed). For a tree shown *m* water, see also pl. 7B (now lost; visible in J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, Librairies-Éditeurs, 1844) vol. 2, p. 92; both are in J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, d’après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux* 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie et Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1845) pl. 292 (=III); Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia* vol. 1 *Monumenti Storici*, pl. 50. R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* [Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849-59] vol. 3, pl. 128, shows that the tree touches the water, but the fort does not quite touch it.

⁹⁷In the occurrences Wente cites from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, deities depicted as mummiform within ovals are said each to be *m i3.t=f* (p. 28), their bodies are also *hr i3.t=sn* (pl. 14), yet “when Re passes by them, they hide” *m i3.t=sn imy*, “in their mounds therein.” This suggests a certain confusion as to whether they are in or on the hill, perhaps also present in the Ramesses IX text.

The group  appears to read *i3.wt*, “mounds,” on the basis of the determinative. The use of *t* also allows a reading *i3.wt*, “slaughtering places (*Wb.* I 35, 2).”

^m Hornung reads: “und springen für ihn die Hügelbewohner auf. Sie lassen die von Pfeilen Getroffenen in Flammen setzen.”⁹⁸ As its form suggests, *dī=sn* is best interpreted as a circumstantial, depending on the initial nominal *nhp*, meaning “to leap up,” as the denizens of the Netherworld physically move closer to Re at the time of his triumph over Apep. The leaping up could refer to the “jumping for joy” attested elsewhere for the inhabitants of the Netherworld.⁹⁹ In the eighth scene in the second register in section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, two hills are shown, each containing a mummy called *s'hyt i3.t=f*, “female mummy of his mound.” Atop each hill is a head, with arms in the pose of adoration, called *nhp imy i3.t=f*, “leaper who is on his mound.”¹⁰⁰ This scene parallels the Ramesses IX treatise, with inverted, shadowy (*šw.ty*) heads emerging from the upper border of the scene. The “leaping” deities in the tomb of Ramesses IX are also atop *i3.wt*-mounds.

Nhp also means “to get up early,” an action which one performs in order to adore Re at the time of his birth.¹⁰¹ *Nhp* can also refer to the rising of entities from the state

⁹⁸Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 232.

⁹⁹Compare M. Smith, “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt. c. 1 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 1),” *Enchoria* 15 (1987) 75-6 (n. b to l. 10): *py=i m t3y=i tw3.t hr ršy*, “I fly up from my underworld in joy.”

¹⁰⁰Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 19; similarly, in the eleventh scene in the third register of the same section, the same names occur three times (*ibid.* pp. 22-23).

¹⁰¹J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (*Theben* 1; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983) text 17 (TT 23 [15] II) p. 19 l. 17, p. 22 n. q. For a

of death,¹⁰² or the rearing up of a serpent on its tail.¹⁰³ The *nhp* of these gods may then contrast with the movement of the falling lords of the Netherworld to the left. As discussed above, the action *snhp*, “to make get up early,” which Horus-Upon-his-Throne (*Hr-hr-hnd=f*) takes in the third register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat results in the

transitive use of *nhp*, see A. Barucq and F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne* (*Littératures anciennes du proche-orient* 10; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1980) p. 332 n. *t* (N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration* [*Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition* 17; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953] pl. 33, ll. 8-9).

¹⁰²See the discussion of the verb *nhp* in the chapter on the second shrine of Tutankhamun. To that discussion, one may add: *nhp* “leaping” appears parallel to *h'wt*, “jubilation,” in section 21 of the Book of the Gates (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 130):

nhp n=k h'wt n'wy=k(y)
leaping be to you, and jubilation to your two arms.

Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 1117 n. 9, understands this as “wie das Hochsein Anzeichen der wiederkehrenden Lebenskraft, die ihn [Re] über seine Widersacher triumphieren lässt.” His reading of this section (“es schwellen für dich die Muskeln an deinen Armen” p. 116) is possible. The reading adopted here understands *nhp* as synonymous with the verb *bsi*, referring to Re-Osiris’ ultimate rising out of the Dat (J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak* [OLA 32; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1989] pp. 147-202; on *bsi* and sunrise, see also M. Malaise, “Bes et les Croyances solaires,” in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990] pp. 691-2). The *h'wt*-jubilation of the arms is the gesture of justification, as is also the raised arm of the ithyphallic Osiris, whose Nun-hand (see below, p. 475; chapter 6, pp. 576-583 *et passim*) ushers the reborn sun into the upper world.

¹⁰³Note also the text annotating a small serpent, standing up on his tail, in the third scene in the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 45, pls. 21-35):

Pn nh3-hr=f m shr pn nhp=f hr rd.wy št3(.t) nh3-hr
This one whose face is violent is in this fashion, he rearing up beneath the feet
of she-who-is-mysterious--(it is) Nehaheh.

Piankoff translated *nhp=f* here as “il monte la garde.” Probably it is simply “he jumps up,” with the suggestion of guarding remaining a possibility.

stars standing in the Netherworld; there *snhp*, like *pn* ʕ, “turn over,” elsewhere, rights the plummeting, inverted souls who enter the Netherworld.¹⁰⁴ *Nhp*, “to leap up,” means that these entities are standing and correctly oriented in the Netherworld. Their *nhp*-action is a first step towards restoring order at the time of the cosmic catastrophe.

A combination of movement nearer to the god while the punishment of Apep continues occurs in the the 12th Hour of the Book of Gates, the 89th scene, wherein it is said of the children of Horus:¹⁰⁵

ʕhʕ=sn hr ntr pn nwh=sn m db ʕ.w=sn
They fly up before this god, their bond in their fingers

Leaping would be particularly appropriate as a celebratory gesture at the time of the defeat of Apep and the renewal of creation. One of the possible occurrences at the time of the cosmic disaster is the collapse of creation, when the sky and earth are no longer separated. The *nhp*-leaping of the gods demonstrates and celebrates the presence of Shu, and the safety and stability of creation. Leaping up within the newly protected space of the renewed cosmos reaffirms the act of creation and ensures the continued existence of ordered space in the cosmos.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 128, 6-7; vol. 2, p. 135.

¹⁰⁵*idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 391; O version has *m* ʕ=sn db ʕ.w=sn, “in the fingers of their hands” (a *badal*-apposition, as Prof. Wente has suggested).

¹⁰⁶The verb *nhp* here does not refer to “mourning”--according to *Wb.* II 284, 17, *nhp*, “trauern,” does occur with the walking legs as determinatives. The passage which the *Belegstellen* volume cites, has, however, *nhp n=f ʕ3 m w ʕ.r.t.*, parallel to *h ʕy n=f imy.w w ʕ.r.t.* These parallel statements of joy in the necropolis read “multitudes leap up to him in the necropolis,” and “those in the necropolis jubilate to him.” *Nhp* in the passage which the *Wörterbuch* cites refers to the Netherworld denizens rising up. In line 60 in the autobiographical inscription in the tomb of Inhermose at El-Mashayikh (B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh 1 the Tomb of Anhermose--the Outer Room* [Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research

In the “livre de protéger la barque du dieu,” a group of protective entites which guard the bark of Osiris are referred to as *nhpy.w*:¹⁰⁷

nhp nhp nhpy.w
que fassent attention, que fassent attention les guetteurs¹⁰⁸

For the beings called *nhpy.w* P. Louvre N 3219 gives no determinative, P. BM 10252 has the man with his hand to his mouth, P. Metropolitan Museum 35.9.21 has a seated, bearded god as determinative, and the copy at Dendera Temple gives the walking legs. Goyon accepts the determinative of the man with his hand to his mouth as correct and reads “guetteurs.” The verb *nhp* which relates the action which the *nhpyw* perform has in three copies the walking legs as determinative; in the Louvre papyrus no determinative is given. The line should be read “the leapers leap up”--they perform *nhp* as they survey the overthrow of Seth and his gang, and the preservation of the *nšm.t*-bark of Osiris. The similar context to the 89th scene of the Book of Gates suggests that “the leaping ones leap up” is a better rendering of the passage.¹⁰⁹

Centre, MacQuarie University, 1988] p. 44 and n. 204, pls. 28-9), the deceased says *nhp ntr nīw.t=ī n=w*, “my city god calls out loudly to them,” they being the dead, “in the West.” Ockinga and al-Masri note that the rendering of *nhp n* is “a little uncertain,” and, although translating “cares for them (?);” they note that this should be *nhp hr* rather than *nhp n*. This could be the verb *nhp* “to scream,” with a more subdued meaning “to call out with a loud voice,” perhaps a parallel to *dwl*.

¹⁰⁷J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques I. <<le livre de protéger la barque du dieu>>,” *Kēmi* 19 (1969) (1969) 56-7.

¹⁰⁸*ibid.* p. 56.

¹⁰⁹The verb *nhp* here could also recall *nhp*, “to get up early” (*Wb.* II 284, 5-8; see also the form *snhp*, *Wb.* IV 167, 15, not only of the sun--see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, text 187, l. 3 = p. 260 and p. 261 l. 9, where *snhp* is parallel to *nhs* [*Wb.* IV 168, 1], “to wake up”), not infrequently employed in the context of adoration of the sun (see *ibid.* p.22 n. q). Note that in Assmann’s hymn 187, line 4 (lines 15-6 of Assmann’s transliteration), one reads:

For *dī sd.t* in this context, P. Bremner-Rhind 22, 13¹¹⁰ provides a parallel--there Re casts his spear at Apep: *dī=f sd(.t) īm=f*, "he casting fire in him." In P. Bremner-Rhind 22, 14-5, the title is *rdī sd(.t) m 'pp*, "casting fire into Apep."¹¹¹

ⁿ The *hry.w šsr.w=sn*, protective beings who bear arrows in defence of the sun, have counterparts in beings in the middle register of the 10th Hour of the Amduat.¹¹² One of the protective entities there (number 734) is called *šsrī*, "he relating to the arrow." The label describing the armed protectors of the sun begins:

wnn=sn m špr p(n) hr šsr.w=sn hr 'bb.wt=sn hr pd.wt=sn m h3.t ntr pn '3 ...

They are in this fashion, bearing their arrows, bearing their lances, bearing their bows before this great god ...

dmd Km.t nhp dšr.t
r m3 h'='f hr tp dw3yt

Egypt assembles, the desert rises early,
in order to behold his appearance at the break of day

This *dšr.t* which rises early here is the area of the necropoleis; as *Km.t*, the living, assemble to praise Re, so *dšr.t*, the dead, praise him early (in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 365e and p. 374h, the deceased rises early [*nhp*]). For the leaping praise, compare the terms *tbhn*, *thm*, and *thb* used of the vaulting praises of animals (Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 324 and n. 44).

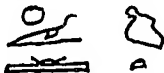
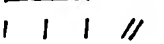
¹¹⁰W.R. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum No. 10188) (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. 3; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933) p. 44, ll. 1-2.*


¹¹¹*Dī sd.t* here may also allude to the illumination which some of the Datians are desired to provide for the sun during his travels in the Netherworld (compare *Amduat* I 18, 4: *st(w) n=i*, "illumine for me"). For *rdī h.t m*, "setting fire to," referring to the punishment of earthly criminals by burning, see A. Leahy, "Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt," *JESHO* 27 (1984) 199-206.

¹¹²Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 174, l. 7-p. 175, l. 5, and entities nos. 733-744 (pp. 175, l. 6-176, l. 3).

The *hry.w šsr.w=sn* of the Ramesses IX treatise are arrow bearers. On pl. 31 they appear as the deity standing atop mounds, the beings who have sent their flaming arrows against the necks of the serpents of chaos. The *hry.w šsr.qw=sn* are not those suffering from the arrows, not Hornung's "die von Pfeilen Getroffenen." The close proximity of plummeting stars (pl. 32) and arrow-wielding protectors on this wall may allude to the notion of the decan stars as arrow-wielding protectors.¹¹³

^o Grammatically, the enigmatic annotation presents a Noun + *sḏm=f* construction--

hry.w-šsr.w=sn s3m=sn. The term  ends in *-ty.w---ty* in *Klarschrift*,


followed by a bird over a bookroll and plural strokes--and should refer to Apep and his gang of Nehaher serpents as opponents of Re. The context of the word in question strongly suggests a reading *hfty.w*, "enemies."¹¹⁴ A reading *hft.yw* requires reading the first sign of the word as *hft*. In chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead and in Address 71 of the Great Litany of Re, the *hfty.w*-enemies of the sun are the object of the verb *s3m*,¹¹⁵ and the association of *s3m* and *hfty.w* in those passages suggests reading the object of *s3m* on the enigmatic wall as *hfty.w*. Such a reading requires that  on the enigmatic wall should represent *hf* or *hft*, a value otherwise attested for the sign only in

¹¹³See L. Kákosy, *Oikumene* 3 (1982) 164-5 (*šsr.w=sn hḡw=sn ḏ.t=k*, "their arrows protect your body").

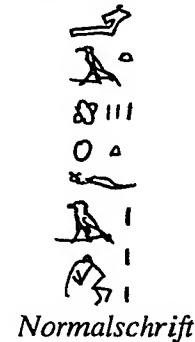
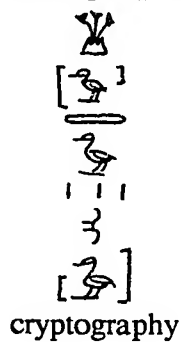
¹¹⁴Apep is *hf.ty pfy n R*, "that enemy of Re" (A. Farid, "New Ptolemaic Blocks from Rubí-el-Maganin-Armant," *MDAIK* 35 [1979] p. 67 [insc. 25]).

¹¹⁵Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, p. 40, l. 8; p. 42, l. 9; A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 4; New York: Bollingen Press, 1964) pl. 7.

the Book of Caverns. In the version of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns in the tomb of Pedamenope, an entity (number 12 in Piankoff's numbering) is called:¹¹⁶



Also in the Book of Caverns, in the first scene of the third register in the tomb of Ramesses VI, a group representing the hearts of the tormented damned are called:¹¹⁷



These two annotations, with the enigmatic text in the tomb of Ramesses IX, provide the only examples of the nose sign thus far recognized with the cryptographic value *hft*(*t*). The nose as *hft*y, "that which is in front," is a reasonable cryptographic value.¹¹⁸ In the orthography of *hft*y.w in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the circular sign above the back of the bird represents the determinative of *hft*y.w.









In a scene in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu depicting the spearing of Apep beneath the prow of the solar bark, the text states that the *wr.t nb.t*

¹¹⁶Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 147.

¹¹⁷*ibid.* number 36, pl. 150.

¹¹⁸*Cf.* also the word *hft* for face, given as questionable, in *Wb.* III 274, 2.

nsr.t, “great one, lady of fire,” (l. 11) is she who *s3m.t hft(y.w) nw R*’, “who burns up the enemies of Re” (ll. 13-4).¹¹⁹

For a possible reading of the group  as *irw.w*, with the circular sign representing the pupil substituting for the *ir*-eye, and the bird as *w*, one may compare the orthographies of *irw.w* in Hornung, *Das Amduat* vol. 1, pp. 121, 2, and 126, l. 11:   *pw št3*, and the orthography    for   in the tomb of Pedamenope.¹²⁰ Such a reading here would, however, produce a nonsensical translation.

^P For the construction *m-ht is* ‘*p=f hr=sn*, see text 5 in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Paroi du fond):¹²¹

ntr ‘3 *wd dw.wt=sn m-ht is* ‘*p=f hr=sn*

It is the great god who assigns their evil (condition), even when
he passes by them.

The particle *is* occurs with *sdm.n=f* forms following *m-ht* in the Book of Caverns, there also after an initial verb form which is not nominal.¹²² The *is* in such a context may

¹¹⁹The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6 *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (OIP 84; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963) pl. 421 B. On *3m(m)* fire, see C. Cannuyer, “Recherches sur l’onomasiologie du feu en ancien égyptien,” *ZAS* 117 (1990) 107.

¹²⁰See Piankoff, “Le livre de l’Am-Duat et les variantes tardives,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien (Fs. Grapow, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 29; Berlin, 1955)* p. 245 n. 5.

¹²¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 36, pl. 19 (for the orthography of *hr.t* there, see p. 36 n. 4).

¹²²A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, 1er tableau,” *BFAO* 41 (1942) pl. 3, 3-4 (*srq htwt-tn sdm=tn mdw.w Wsir m-ht is* ‘*p.n=i d3.t*; “your throats breathe, when you

then serve to emphasize the adverbial adjunct, in the absence of an initial nominal verb form. To capture the nuance of this passage the present translation employs “even.” One would expect the nominal form of the $\text{sdm}=f$, here $\text{'pp}=f$, after $m\text{-}h\text{t}$ or $m\text{-}h\text{t } i\text{s}$;¹²³ but the verb here has only one p , as in the parallel from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and appears to be the prospective nominal form.¹²⁴

In the middle register of the main, lefthand portion of the enigmatic wall there are eleven rampant snakes, called Nehaher serpents in the horizontal band of enigmatic script above them. Five of these serpents, those to the left of the beings atop their mounds, are each given the vertical enigmatic annotation $\text{\textcircled{S}rw}$ (pl. 31). The dark figures who adore the sun from atop their piles of sand in the right half of the middle

hear the speech of Osiris, even after I have travelled the Dat”); 6, 3 ($i\text{w}=i \text{ } i\text{r}=i \text{ } s\text{hr}.w \text{ } dw3.t(yw) \text{ } di=i \text{ } h\text{tp } b3.w \text{ } h3.wt=sn \text{ } m\text{-}h\text{t } i\text{s } h\text{tp}.n=i \text{ } h3.t=i$; “I take care of the Dat(ians), I causing that *bas* occupy their corpses, but only after I have occupied my corpse”); see M. Gilula, *Enclitic Particles in Middle Egyptian* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 1968) p. 193; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 144 n. 26. Piankoff interprets the $m\text{-}h\text{t } i\text{s}$ in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk and in the Book of Caverns as initial forms, but this is impossible in the Ramesses IX text, which shows that the $m\text{-}h\text{t } i\text{s}$ is subordinate to what precedes.

¹²³See W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter* 8; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962) §229, 2; in the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, compare $m\text{-}h\text{t}$ + nominal $\text{sdm}=f$ in Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 8 ($h\text{t } \text{'pp } n\text{t}\text{t } pn \text{ } \textcircled{3}$); pl. 23, ll. 55-56 ($i\text{r } m\text{-}h\text{t } \text{'pp}=f$); pl. 24, l. 23 ($m\text{-}h\text{t } \text{'pp } n\text{t}\text{t } pn \text{ } \textcircled{3}$); pl. 24, ll. 25-26 ($i\text{r } m\text{-}h\text{t } \text{'pp}=f$); pl. 24, ll. 35-36 ($m\text{-}h\text{t } \text{'pp } n\text{t}\text{t } pn \text{ } \textcircled{3}$); pl. 25, figure A, ll. 38-39 ($i\text{r } m\text{-}h\text{t } \text{'pp}=f$); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34, figure A, ll. 17-19 ($i\text{r } m\text{-}h\text{t } \text{'pp } n\text{t}\text{t } pn$). For $m\text{-}h\text{t } i\text{s}$ + nominal $\text{sdm}=f$, cf. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 34, l. 2.

¹²⁴Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System*, p. 64 and n. 672, states that the circumstantial $\text{sdm}=f$ can follow $m\text{-}h\text{t}/hr \text{ } m\text{-}h\text{t}$. He cites Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 119, §156; pp. 133-134, §178, 4-6. These are, however, examples of the nominal $\text{sdm}.n=f$, the nominal passive $\text{sdm}=f$, and the prospective nominal $\text{sdm}=f$ (Gardiner, *ibid.*, p. 133, notes that the form $m\text{-}h\text{t } pr=f$ occurs [*ibid.*, p. 133, n. 25] when the main verb refers to a future event).

register are all given a single label *pthy* (pl. 31), written in front of the first, leftmost figure. Although they have long hair suggestive of feminine gender, the fourth figure from the left wears a curved beard; like the figures in the lefthand portion of the lower register, they appear to be somewhat androgynous. The shafts of the arrows are yellow; their feathers and their points are blue-grey. The dots of fire connecting the arrow points to the heads of the Nehaher snakes are red.¹²⁵

Hornung suggested that the enigmatic labels *šsrw* refer to the arrows which strike the Nehaher snakes.¹²⁶ Regarding the snakes themselves, Hornung proposes: “vor der ersten steht, wohl stellvertretend für alle, ‘der zu Boden Geworfene’ (*pthj*), während die Anbetenden auf ihren Sandhügeln ... anonym bleiben.” The hieroglyphs making up the annotation *pthy* face in the same direction as the figures atop the slaughtering places of sand, however, and should be the one-for-all label of these figures. The arrows whose fiery tips strike the snakes directly in front of the solar bark point up to the left--the feathered ends are shown as though almost touching the necks of the snakes. The annotations *šsr.w* face to the right, opposite to the arrows, but in the same direction as the Nehaher snakes, which they in fact describe.

The annotations *šsrw* should describe the snakes, with which they are oriented. The snakes are shown as they are struck by the fiery points of the sun’s arrows; they

¹²⁵For the shape of the arrow points, compare W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tufankhamun* (*Tut ‘ankhamūn’s Tomb Series 4*; Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1982) pp. 24-5, pl. 4, #76. For the sharp edge of the arrow points giving off flame, compare the end of the third register in the 3rd Hour of Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 53, l. 11-p. 54, l. 1; and vol. 2, p. 71, text note 6):

shpr=sn 3m.wt hfty.w m imy.t-tp.w sf.w=sn

By means of that which is on the tips of their swords do they bring about the burning of the enemies.

¹²⁶Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 233.

are shown being shot. There is a verb *šsr*, “to shoot,”¹²⁷ of which *šsrw* should be a masculine singular imperfective passive participle¹²⁸--“the one who is shot.” The designation of the Nehaher snakes as *šsrw* may be the same word as the term *šsr* designating a “sacrificial animal.”¹²⁹

The word *pthy* is from the verb *pth*, “jem. (etw.) zu Boden werfen u.ä.” (*Wb.* I 565, 16-7), as Hornung recognized, but it is not a passive participle describing the Nehaher snakes as he assumed. The word faces in the same direction as the figures atop the sand-piles of slaughtering, and describes them in their action of protecting the solar god from the serpents before him. *Pth r t3* is attested for throwing an animal,¹³⁰ and the designation of the first of the *imy.w-i3.wt=sn*, “those on their mounds,” as *pthy* is best understood as a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pth*--“one who lays low (the enemy).”¹³¹ The entity *3wy*, “Ausstreckender,” who appears in the Amduat and the

¹²⁷*Wb.* IV 547, 2-7; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol. 2 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1981) no. 78.4197.

¹²⁸As A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* 3rd rev. ed. (London: The Griffith Institute, 1957) p. 275 (§358) indicates: “the ending -w [for the masculine singular imperfective passive participle] ... is much more frequently written than omitted”.

¹²⁹*Wb.* IV 547, 8-9; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol. 1 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1980) no. 77.4301; *idem*, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.4198-9. For Seth the enemy as a sacrificial animal, see H. Te Velde, *Seth, god of Confusion (Probleme der Ägyptologie* 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977) pp. 94-8.

¹³⁰H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägyptern* 7 parts 1-2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961-66) vol. 1, p. 301.

¹³¹See Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, vol. 1, pp. 120-211; Schenkel, *Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbale Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen (GOF* IV vol. 13; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983) pp. 52-69 (§2.3), 72-85 (§2.5), 89-115 (§2.6.2), *et passim*. On the interchange of -y/-w/-ty endings, see Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, p. 94, §172. For later writings of the -w ending as -y (as in *pthy* here),

Book of Aker,¹³² is perhaps the same as the *pthy*-beings in the tomb of Ramesses IX; in the Book of Aker the being is specifically the *3wy n 3pp*, “the one who stretches out Apep.”¹³³

For the combination of *pth*, “to lay low,” and *šsr*, “to be shot (with an arrow),” in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, one may compare the combination of *pd*, “to stretch out,” and *šsr*, “to shoot,” in PT § 1545 (= ch. 580):

pd tw m pd.t šsr tw m šsr

The one who has stretched you out is stretched out, the one who shot
you is shot.

There are seven of the entities at “their slaughtering pit of sand” (*nm.t=sn nt š*), to whom the horizontal band of enigmatic text above their heads (pl. 33) refers as *imy.w i3.wt=sn*, “those on their mounds,” and *hry.w šsr.w=sn*, “those bearing their arrows.” They are not shown carrying their arrows, nor are they depicted in the act of shooting the arrows. The scene in the middle register of the main portion of the enigmatic wall appears rather to show the immediate aftermath of what the text describes as *dd=<sn> šsr.w=sn*, “they loose their arrows.” For the significance of seven beings here, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 157, and the references cited there.¹³⁴ There is a

compare *nmhy* for *nmhw* (Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, pp. 176 and 686 n. 799). See also chapter 3, n. 372.

¹³²See the references given by Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 38.

¹³³Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 67.

¹³⁴In the text from the Book of the Day and the Night which Assmann discusses, the seven uraei of the sun slaughter the enemies of the sun. According to Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* 4th ed. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1956) p. 158, “Wir begegnen der Neunzahl als grosse Vielheit neben der magischen Siebenzahl als Ausdruck einer grösst-möglichen Ballung göttlicher Kräfte

relationship between seven uraei and the neck vertebrae,¹³⁵ such as occurs in PT §511 (Utterance 318):

NN pw n ʿw k3 psd.t

ʿm sfh.t=f i ʿr.wt

hpr=sn m sfh.t=f nhb.wt

The king NN is a *n ʿw*-serpent, bull (lord) of the ennead,
who swallows his seven uraei,

with the result that they become his seven neck vertebrae.

This association also occurs in Coffin Text spells 85-7 and 374, and in scene 60 in the lowest register of the 9th Hour in the Book of Gates, where there are seven entities on the back of the “flaming” snake. In the papyrus of Djehutymose, P. Turin 1781, seven headless beings, with snakes where their heads should be, sit atop seven mounds of sand.¹³⁶ These interrelationships of seven appear to apply here on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX--seven entities destroy the enemy of the sun, having cast

bei Gruppen verschiedenster Art”. See also W.R. Dawson, “The Number ‘Seven’ in Egyptian Texts,” *Aegyptus* 8 (1927) 97-107.

¹³⁵B.H. Stricker, *De Hemelvaart des Konings* (MVEOL 22; Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1990) p. 30 n. 186; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 157; P. Barguet, “Le livre des cavernes et la reconstitution du corps divin,” *RdE* 28 (1976) 27.

¹³⁶Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 21; these beings appear to correspond to the twelve women of the 12th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, entities nos. 822-33) with fire-spitting uraei on their shoulders. The women in the 12th Hour of the Amduat are elements in a scene of the triumph of light at the root of the eastern horizon, and they do not correspond to the four seated upon twin uraei of *ibid.*, p. 11, who cannot move (*ibid.*, p. 183, l. 12: *iwty pr.n=sn*, “they unable to proceed”), and whose feet are (*ibid.*, p. 183, l. 10) *m kkw-sm3w*, “in the uniform darkness”).

arrows into the necks of serpents, while the bark of the sun is stopped on the neck vertebrae (*bqs.w*) of Apep.¹³⁷

The right eye in the stern of the solar bark¹³⁸ launches a dart against the serpents. This is the solar eye,¹³⁹ described as wielding a spear in P. Boulaq 17 (=P.

¹³⁷Note also that the seventh hour is the time of the destruction of Apep and the enemies of the sun (see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 89 n. 13, and pp. 221 ff.). For seven as the number of the enemies of the sun, compare also the seven chiefs dispatched by Amenhotep II in the Amada stele (W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955-58) p. 1297); the solar imagery of the king's wrath is carried further there by the subsequent inverted fate of the corpses. In the earliest attestation of this upside-down hanging of defeated enemies, Thutmosis I hangs the corpse of his defeated Nubian foe upside-down from the prow of his vessel (Sethe, *Urk.* IV p. 9, l. 5); see also S. Schott, "Ein ungewöhnliches Symbol des Triumphes über Feinde Ägyptens," *JNES* 14 [1955] 97-9; Grimm, *SAK* 16 [1989] 111-9).

¹³⁸For the representation of the solar bark in the tomb of Ramesses IX, compare the representation of the same on a fragment of a Third Intermediate Period coffin in *La vie au bord du Nil au temps des pharaons* (Calais: Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle, 1980) pp. 45-6, object no. 74. Note that in the front of the bark there, there is a mirror, apparently taken from the moon bark (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 51) at the right end of the second register of the 2nd Hour of the Amduat (this is the hour of the Amduat on the wall opposite the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX).

¹³⁹The left eye is the moon, the right eye is the sun (see *inter alii* J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso* 3 vols. [Louvain: Orientaliste, 1992] p. 31). The eyes as shown here are reversed, the *canthi* pointing outwards, perhaps a reference to the notion that the eyes should go around (*phr*) the solar deity as he traverses the Netherworld (L. Žabkar, "A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae," *ZÄS* 108 [1981] 158, citing P. Berlin 3055, 20.2-6: *phr n=f 3h.ty=f[y]*, "for whom his two *3h.t*-eyes perambulate"). The scene reads from left to right, and this reversal of the eyes shows the solar eye first, before the lunar eye (compare the "Stele of Naples," K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* 1 part 1 [*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 2 part 1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904] p. 2, l. 17-p. 3, l. 1; see O. Perdu, "Le monument de Samtoutefnakht à Naples (première partie)," *RdE* 36 [1985] 100 n. d):

wnm.t=fpw itn
it3b.t=fpw i 'h

the sun is his right eye,
the moon is his left eye

Cairo 58038), iii, 4-iv, 1, and Stele BM 40959.¹⁴⁰ There, in a hymn to Min-Amun, we read:

ir.t=f pw šhr sbi.w

dī=s m b3=s m shp Nwn

dī=s sšbšb nīk m.n=f

It is his eye which fells the rebels,
striking her spear into the swallower of Nun,
causing the evil one to vomit forth what it had gulped
down.

The eye of the sun casts light, and the verb for casting light can be the same for shooting arrows--*stī*. There is a pun on these two meanings in a portion of section 24 of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:¹⁴¹

nn šm ds.w=sn im=i

nn h3y=i r kt.wt=sn

hr-ntt wī rh.kw(i) st

On Bankes Stele 6 (J. Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection* [Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1958] no. 6 [pages and plates are unnumbered]), the moon hovers above the prow of the solar bark, on the right side of the stela lunette, while the right eye, depicted just behind the seated figure of Re-Ḥorakhty, is at the stern of the bark.

¹⁴⁰P. Boulaq 7 = S. Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1928) pp. 157-93; G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909-10) vol. 2, pl. 3, l. 7; J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1975) pp. 201 (=87B, ll. 59-61) and 549-53; Stele BM 40959 = E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum* 4 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1913) pl. 50; E. Naville and H.R. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari (The Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 32; London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1913) vol. 3, pl. 4, 6*. In the parallel text O. D el-M. 1224-6, the passage concerning the eye and the spear is not present. Compare also Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 101, no. 4 l. 19 (fourth hour of the *Stundenritual*).

¹⁴¹Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 62.

rh.kw(i) rn ỉry
rh.kw(i) rn n m ʿdd pwy ỉm=sn n pr-Wsỉr
stt m ỉr.t=f n m3.n.tw=f

Their knives shall not have power over me;
 I shall not descend into their cauldrons,
 for I know them,
 I know the name thereof,
 I know the name of that pounder among them belonging to the
 domain of Osiris,
 who shoots with his eye, unseen.¹⁴²

In P. Bremner-Rhind 25, 3,¹⁴³ and elsewhere in the spell of which it is part, the eye of Re is called the "Devouring Flame," *wnmy*.¹⁴⁴ The form of the sun of the seventh hour of the day is the ape with a bow, an image of the left eye of the sun casting fiery arrows.¹⁴⁵ For the two eyes of the sun travelling in the solar bark, the second hymn on the side of the stone box Louvre E 25485, ll. 28-9, provides an excellent description.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴²On the invisibility of the divine punishment, see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 208 n. as (text no. 156, l. 47).

¹⁴³Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 52, ll. 1-2.

¹⁴⁴On *wnmy.t* as "the sun-god's eye/the uraeus," see Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 183 n. 449 (and footnote 8; note also *wnmy.t* in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 50).

¹⁴⁵See E. Brunner-Traut, "Atum als Bogenschütze," *MDAIK* 14 (1956) 20-28; K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum* vol. 1 *die heiligen Tiere des Atum* (HÄB 5; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978) pp. 81-91. In the tomb of Ramesses IX, on the lintel above the entrance into the third corridor (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 61), an ape is shown in the sun disk to the left of the ram-headed form of the night sun; to the right of the ram-headed god is an udjat-eye. On the lintel of the door leading into the second corridor, the ram-headed sun is flanked by an ape on the left and a kneeling woman to the right (*ibid.* pl. 36)--the eye of the sun as a goddess.

¹⁴⁶Borghouts, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern* vol. 2 *Religion*, p. 712. For a depiction of the two eyes in the bark, see Ch. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou, une*

The avenging eye may also be envisaged as the eye of Horus,¹⁴⁷ and Horus as the *sšd*-star shoots his fiery arrows as lightning.¹⁴⁸ For the relationship between the shooting eye and the dawn, beyond the east as the place of punishing sinners and the new rising, one may cite the description of the eastern sun as *w' spd*, “the sharp one.”¹⁴⁹

Lower register, vertical bands of enigmatic inscription (plate 34, figure A):

This text is of a different sort than that in the middle register of the composition in that the inscription begins in partial cryptography, but shifts by the end into *Normalschrift*.

ll. 1-24)

- (1) *wnn=sn m šhr pn*
m ḥtm.t a
Ntī pn dwt=f rrb=sn
q3w^c=sn n=f
hpr.w (9) 'š3.w īr=sn n=f
mtnw m hpr.w=sn^d
- (12) *ḥtp nī pn*
ītn=f m qrr.t^e tn
hpr msw.t=f īm=sf
- (17) *īr m-ḥt 'pp nī pn ḥr nn n nīryt⁸*



nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire vol. 1 (Cairo: Nubar Printing House, 1989) pl. 115 (Valley of the Queens 52, the tomb of Tyti).

¹⁴⁷On the natures of the eyes of Horus see J.G. Griffiths, “Remarks on the Mythology of the Eyes of Horus,” *CdE* 33 (1958) 182-193.

¹⁴⁸Volten, *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 354-5.

¹⁴⁹Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 160 n. 4 suggests “möglicherweise spielt die Bezeichnung des Gottes als *w' spd* ‘der Eine Gerüstete’ (=Spitze, Scharfe) auf die Gestalt des bogenschiessenden Gottes an.” The rays of dawn shoot out, destroying the damned and enlightening the living.

$\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}} \text{ḥr} = \text{sn} \text{ḥ}$
 $\text{ḥ}3\text{p}.\text{in} \text{sn} \text{kkw-sm}3\text{w}$
 So are they
 in the Place of Destruction:
 This god calls out to them,
 that they should be high for him.
 it is the numerous *ḥprw*-manifestations which they assume for him,
 they being endowed with their *ḥprw*-manifestations.
 When this god goes to rest,
 his disk is in this cavern,
 and his birth occurs therein.
 After this great god passes by these goddesses,
 they stand up;
 Then the uniform darkness covers them.

^a Hornung notes (p. 234 n. 39) “Lies *ḥtmyt*, mit Umstellung, die in der Kryptographie als weiteren Mittel der Verfremdung verwendet wird.” This is not Perturbation, however; here, *ḥ* is clear, the bird is for *ḥtm*, the  is for *m*, and  for *t*.¹⁵⁰

^b The preposition *r* here appears as *rr*; an orthography unattested elsewhere in the surviving versions of the Book of the Solar Osirian Unity. This reduplicated form of the preposition *r* appears most commonly in Late Egyptian texts,¹⁵¹ but does occur already in texts from the late Old Kingdom at Deir el-Gebrawi.¹⁵² The writing *rr* for *r* in this

¹⁵⁰Cf., *i.a.*, the orthography in text III B 6 on the second shrine of Tutankhamun (Drioton, *JEA* 35 [1949] pl. 9).

¹⁵¹Reduplicated *rr* for *r* occurs frequently already in the inscriptions in the private tombs at El Amarna; see F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930) p. 3 (§2) and pp. 25-26 (§43).

¹⁵²See G. Roeder, *Die Praeposition r in der Entwicklung der aegyptischen Sprache* (Berlin: Druck von Bernhard Paul, 1904) p. 8.

text is thus not necessarily an indication of the influence of Late Egyptian orthography on the cryptography of the enigmatic wall; in any event, this graphic peculiarity does not influence the grammar or content of the passage concerned.

^c Originally a 3ae inf., *q3i* geminates in Middle Egyptian.¹⁵³ In ll. 6-7 one could read *q33=sn*, a circumstantial *sḏm=f* as part of a result clause. The plural pellets following the book roll would then be otiose, perhaps somehow mistakenly derived from the word *q3w*, “Art Gebäck,” of *Wb.* V 8, 3-5. The second bird might also represent *w*, a suggestion which would explain the presence of the false plural strokes in the word. This would then be a prospective nominal *sḏmw=f* form. Hornung refers to “die aufgereckten Gestalten über den Schlangen.”¹⁵⁴ Their bent knees may indeed show them in the process of rising up. This scene, and the content of the text, is similar to the upper right scene in the second portion of the second shrine of Tutankhamen (pl. 10, fig. A). There, mummiiform deities rise up (*sn r=sn* ‘*r=sn*) from atop the backs of protective *mḥn* snakes (see above, chapter 3, pp. 173-174). The entities in the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise and those on the second shrine of Tutankhamen are shown in the process of rising up in response to the call of the solar deity. On the second shrine of Tutankhamun the rising figures are male deities, whereas on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall the corresponding beings are female.

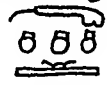
¹⁵³See J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984) p. 574, §738.

¹⁵⁴Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 234 n. 40.

The sun god's call that the beings be high suggests the first scene in the upper register of the 6th Hour of the Amduat; in the address by the great god to the *ntr.w tpy.w sh.t tn*, "the gods atop this field," we read:¹⁵⁵

q3.t n ir.w=tn 3.t n hpr.w=tn
 "Height be to your forms, greater size be to your appearances."

Hornung suggests: "gemeint ist wohl das stehen bzw. Erheben aus ihrer sitzenden Stellen."¹⁵⁶

^d Hornung's *mnw m hpr.w.sn*, "(obwohl) sie in ihrer Erscheinungsform bleiben," is possible. A better sense is achieved, however, by reading  as *mtnw*, with the bird below the book-roll as a following *m* (*Wb.* II 170, 11-12).¹⁵⁷ This passage from the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall would then parallel the passage which *Wb.* II 170, 12 cites from the Amduat¹⁵⁸ for the meaning "mit etw. versehen" for *mtnw m*:

rh m d.t=sn mtn m irw.w=sn
 dextrous of body, provided with their forms.

This passage closely parallels the portion of the Ramesses IX treatise here under discussion:

¹⁵⁵*idem*, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 100, l. 2.

¹⁵⁶*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 111 n. 7.

¹⁵⁷On *mtn* see also K. Jansen-Winkel, "Zwei Bemerkungen zu Gebel es-Silsila Nr. 100," *JEA* 75 (1989) 237-9, specifically part 1, pp. 237-8

¹⁵⁸Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 98, ll. 5-6 (introduction to the 6th Hour of the Amduat) (the *n* of *mtn* is missing in the long version, and is supplied from the short version--Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 3, p. 12, l. 1).

Numerous *hprw*-manifestations are what they assume for him,
they being endowed with their *hprw*-manifestations.¹⁵⁹

Hornung reads the Amduat passage as containing *mtn* of *Wb.* II 170, 16-171, 4,
"beschriften, gravieren."¹⁶⁰ This is possible, and could also fit the Ramesses IX
enigmatic treatise:

they being represented in their *hprw*-forms

However, *mtn m hprw* here is more likely parallel to *ʿpr m irw* (*Wb.* I 180, 20-1).¹⁶¹

^eIn the orthography of *qrr.t*, the circular sign following the two grasshopper signs
perhaps does double duty--it represents *t*, as a substitution of a round bread sign for the
more usual *t*-sign;¹⁶² the circle also suggests the frequent use of the circular sign to
determine the word "cavern," an indication of the *qrr.t* as a burial pit.

^fHornung reads: "indem sie verwandelt sind darin in Schlangen."¹⁶³ In line 5 of the
cryptic annotation accompanying the ithyphallic figure of the Osiride king (pls. 36 and

¹⁵⁹*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 98, l. 11.

¹⁶⁰*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 110 n. 10. But see also W.F. Edgerton, "The Nauri Decree of
Seti I: a Translation and Analysis of the Legal Portion," *JNES* 6 (1947) 224 n. 43 (ref. of
Prof. Wente).

¹⁶¹See also Ph. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons* (*Uitgaven van het Nederlands
Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul*; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch
Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1972) p. 7 n. 23.

¹⁶²*Cf.* Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 38.


¹⁶³Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, p. 235.

37), there is the statement *iw ḥd=f r ms.wt R^c*, “he lighting up at the birth of Re.”¹⁶⁴ This suggests that the birth of Re is indeed depicted in the concluding scene to this treatise

One could also render ll. 12ff. of the passage as:

As this god and his disk go to rest in this cavern,
so his birth occurs within it.

In this alternative rendition the verbs *ḥtp* and *ḥpr* are taken as two nominal forms composing a *Wechselsatz*.¹⁶⁵

g There is no water depicted in association with the goddesses, who, along with their serpents, stand on sand. Even above, in the scene of the solar bark, water has disappeared, and the divine vessel has halted on the sandy spine of Apep. A reading of  as *nn n* is thus preferable to Hornung’s **mw*, “water.”

h For the *hr* sign for *hr*; one should compare B. Gunn, in H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos* vol. 2 (*Egypt Exploration Society Memoir* 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933) p. 52 n. 1 (=Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 62, 2-3), and orthographies of *shr* in the texts discussed here.

¹⁶⁴Compare the statement *ḥd t3 r msw.t=f r^c nb*, “at whose birth the land lights up each day,” on the block NR C of Amenhotep IV from Karnak (J.-L. Chappaz, “Le premier édifice d’Amenophis IV à Karnak,” *BSEG* 8 [1983] 30-1; Chappaz’ rendering “qui illumine la terre afin de l’engendrer,” taking *msw.t* as an infinitive, and referring *f* back to *t3* [*ibid.* p. 31 n. 40], is incorrect).

¹⁶⁵For the close association of the ideas of setting and rising (here expressed as the birth) of the sun forming bound pairs, compare Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel* vol. 1 (Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d’Étude sur l’Ancienne Égypte, 1968) pp. 136-45 (n. 57).

11. 25-49) *Wsîr nb T3.wy nb m3 ˘t* 26) *Nfr-k3-R ˘ stp.n R ˘ pw* 27)
m3 ˘ hrw^a dd=f
î T3.w^b 28) *wr îmy* 29) *hr.t*
 29) *î df3w^c* 30) *îmy t3*
îh 31) *dî=î n t hnq.t^d n Pth*
 32) *î ˘=fr3=fe m hnd.wy*
 33) *îh t hnq.t^d n* 34) *s3 R ˘ R ˘-ms-sw H ˘-m-W3s.t Mrr-îmnf*
 35) *î ˘=fr3=fe m hnd.wy* 36) *hn ˘ Pth*
 37) *î p3yfdw ntr.w pw8* 38) *hryw gs.wy pw (?)* 39) *n t(3) p.t h*
nty mntsn 40) *smn t3 hr s3w* 41)=*f*
nn.t hr shnty 42)=*s*
mntsn 43) *dd d3 R ˘* 44) *m m3 ˘wi*
nmyj 45).*n=f hr.t m* 46) *htpw*
îh dî=n 47) *Wsîr nb T3.wy nb m3 ˘(.t)* 48) *Nfr-k3-R ˘ Stp.n-R f*
<m> p.t 49) *hn ˘ îr s.t^k*

¹⁶⁸de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, pp. 65-72.

Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Right Order, Neferkare-
 Setepenre, justified, says:
 ‘Oh great bread who is in heaven,
 oh provision who is in the earth--
 may you give bread and beer to Ptah,
 that he may dine on the two shanks;
 may bread and beer belong to the Son of Re Ramesses-Khaemwaset-
 Mereramun,
 that he may dine on the two shanks together with Ptah.
 Oh these you four gods who are over these two sides of the sky,
 who it is fixed the earth upon its beams,
 and the nether sky upon its four supports,
 and who it is cause that Re travels in a fair wind,
 he having traversed heaven in peace--
 may you place Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Right Order,
 Neferkare Setepenre <in> heaven together with the one who
 made it.’

^a For *pw m3* ^c*hrw*, see H.C. Jelgersma, “A Grammatical Peculiarity in the Tomb Inscriptions of the Sons of Ramses III in the Valley of the Queens in Thebes,” *JEOL* 21 (1970) 169-74 (p. 173 for the tomb of Ramesses IX).

^b Hornung reads *št3w*, but a *š* is not present (collated on several occasions in 1989 and 1990). His *št3w wr imy hr.t*, “O Geheimer, Grosser, der im Himmel ist,” would in any event be impossible. *Št3w* as a designation of the solar deity is attested, but it refers to the Netherworldly form of the deity, and can under no circumstances be referred to as *imy hr.t*. If one persisted in reading *št3w*, the only possible translation would be “Oh

secret form of the great one who is in heaven.”¹⁶⁹ A š is not present, however; the word is to be read *t3.w*.

The orthography of *t* “bread” as *t3* is similar to the demotic writings *t3y* /*t ʕy* /*ty* of the by then archaizing word.¹⁷⁰ The example from O. Hor 18¹⁷¹ is in a context similar to that of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall--a prayer for provisions for the king. Personifications of *t(3)* bread are not unknown: cf. entity no. 401 in the upper register of the 6th Hour of the Amduat, called *hṭp hnty D3.t*, “the one who is at rest in the forefront of the Netherworld,” who has bread and beer atop his head;¹⁷² the twelve entities with

¹⁶⁹Compare a portion of the text accompanying the 9th scene of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (*R VI* pls. 131-2):

B3 R ʕ mdw=f hr ʔtn=f
wḏ=f md.wt n ʔmy.w=f
hr št3.w n ʔmy hr.t

The *ba* of Re speaks on behalf of his disk,
 he commanding those amongst whom he is,
 because of the secret form of the the one who is in
 heaven.

¹⁷⁰W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954) p. 600; M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507 (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3)* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1987) p. 182; O. Hor 18 vo. 10 (see M. Smith, “Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern* vol. 1 *Sprache* [Göttingen: Hubert and Co., 1984] p. 391 n. 33); see also H.-J. Thissen, *Die Lehre des Anchsheschonqi (P. BM 10508) (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 32)* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 1984) p. 60. Compare also the use of bare Δ for writing the article *t3* (see for example E. F. Wente, in H. Ricke, G. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II [OINE 1]* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) p. 11, n. e; the orthography of *t3 h3s.t* in the Manshiyet es-Sadr stele of Ramesses II [Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 2, p. 361, l. 3]).


¹⁷¹Smith, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 1, p. 391, n. 33.

¹⁷²Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 100; vol. 2, p. 111.


bread on their heads in the 42nd scene, the upper register of the 7th Hour, of the Book of Gates, termed *hṭp.tyw*, “those relating to *hṭp.t* provisions.”¹⁷³ Also related are the bread-headed entities on some late New Kingdom mythological papyri, who are often accompanied by a prayer that food be provided for the deceased.¹⁷⁴ The goddess *T3y.t* encountered at Denderah¹⁷⁵ may be a personification of *t(3)*-bread, or at least a pun between the name *T3y.t*, the “goddess of weaving,” and the word *t(3)* for bread.¹⁷⁶

^c For *df3w*, see *Wb.* V 570, 16-17; P. Vernus, “Deux inscriptions de la xii^e dynastie provenant de Saqqara,” *RdE* 28 (1976) p. 123 text note *a*. A. Moret, “La légende d’Osiris à l’époque thébaine d’après l’hymne à Osiris du Louvre,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 731

¹⁷³*idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, pp. 177-8.

¹⁷⁴Papyrus of Ahaneferamun, P. Cairo 979, figs. nos. 15 (*wr t*) and 19 (*nb t*)=Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, pp. 70-1; Papyrus of Mutenwia, P. BM 10007, figs. nos. 7 (*nb hṭt*) and 19 (*nb t*)=*ibid.* pp. 75-6; Papyrus of Amunmes, P. BM 10011, fig. no. 21=*ibid.* p. 83; Papyrus of Taudjare, P. Cairo JdE 34033, fig. no. 48 (*nṯr nṯry nb ṯ3.t*)=*ibid.* p. 94; Papyrus of Paser, P. Bib. nat. 158-61, fig. no. 19 (*wr m ṯ33.t*)=*ibid.* p. 112; Papyrus of Nany, P. MMA 30.3.32, figs. nos. 13 and 27=*ibid.* pp. 116-7; Papyrus of Padiamun, a mummiform figure with an offering table in place of a head, atop which are three loaves of bread= Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 10; *nb t* with bread and onions for his head in P. Skrine 2 = A.M. Blackman, “The Funerary Papyrus of Nespeher’an (Pap. Skrine, no. 2),” *JEA* 5 (1918) 33, pls. 5-6; a deity with bread for a head called  in P. BM 10674 = A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (OBO 81; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989) p. 170 fig. 57 (likely a pun on the phonetic similarity *d3.t*, “Netherworld,” and *t3*, “bread”—see n. 138 in chapter 3).

¹⁷⁵For example, in É. Chassinat and F. Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara* 8 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1978) p. 47, l. 10, there is a mention of *T3y.t nb.t t*, “Tayet, mistress of bread.”

¹⁷⁶Compare also the entity  *t3-snt* in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 57, with a group writing of *t* “bread,” perhaps writing *t3*, “she of.”

n. (8), discusses the Heliopolitan and Osirian connotations possible for the term *df3w*; *df3* and *k3.w* foodstuffs are said to have been made by Osiris, and to consist of his body (*ibid.* p. 734 n. (14)--in line 4 of the text which Moret discusses [*ibid.* p. 733], Osiris is called *df(3) k3w hn.ty psd.t*, "Provision, Food, Foremost of the Ennead").¹⁷⁷ See also E. Iversen, "The Cosmogony of the Shabaka Text," in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990) p. 487 n. 22. The mention of foodstuffs here suggests the presence of the ka of the king, for "der Ka verbindet die Toten mit den materiellen Opfern."¹⁷⁸

^d The group *t hnq.t*, supported by other versions of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead, at first appears to be a writing of 'irtt, "cup of milk." The 'cup in the Ramesses IX text substitutes for the cup with bread, a variant of the simple loaf of bread for *t*. The *irtt*-vase appears to substitute for the *hnq.t*-vase.

The cryptic orthography of *t hnq.t* may have been chosen with the purpose of allowing the alternative reading 'irtt, "cup of milk." Milk is the liquid of rejuvenation,¹⁷⁹ an appropriate nourishment for Re at the eastern horizon, the child sun

¹⁷⁷For the living king as possessor and personification of *k3w* and *df3w*, and nourisher of Egypt, see C. Coche-Zivie, "Les colonnes du <<temple de l'est>> à Tanis," *BIFAO* 74 (1974) 110-14.

¹⁷⁸Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 102. For a living man described as *df3y*, "he of provisions," parallel to *nb df3*, "lord/possessor of provisions," see R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub* (UGAÄ 9; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928) p. 53 (note to graffito 23, l. 9).

¹⁷⁹M. Eaton-Krauss, "Eine rundplastische Darstellung Achenatons als Kind," *ZÄS* 110 [1983] 127-32; E. Feucht, "Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt," *SAK* 11 [1984] 401-417; Rössler-Köhler, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern 2 Religion*, pp. 929-46; J. Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa, allaitement et <<apparition>> royale," in *Mélanges Mariette* (BdE 32; Cairo: Institut Français

emerging from the Osiride womb in the penultimate scene of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.¹⁸⁰

^e On *ỉ ỉ r3*, “to dine,” see P.F. Dorman, “A Note on the Royal Repast at the Jubilee of Amenhotep III,” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, forthcoming).

^f The signs writing the name of the king are reversed to face in the same direction as the figures atop the serpents.

^g *Pw* with plural strokes in line 37 is a writing of the old plural masculine demonstrative *ipw* (*Wb.* I 506, 9-11); less likely would be to read *Wb.* I 506, 13, *pwy* for *pw*--“Oh ye four--that is, the gods...”¹⁸¹

d’Archéologie Orientale, 1961) pp. 251-84; A. Grimm, “Zur Tradition des Spruchtitels *r3 nj sw3d wdhw*,” *SAK* 10 (1983) 200-201; and F. Labrique, “Du lait pour éteindre les torches à l’aube, à Deir el Bahari,” in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, Sondernummer 1991; Cologne: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, 1991)* pp. 205-212.

¹⁸⁰For Osiris as the womb of the newborn sun, see J. Zandee, “The Birth-Giving Creator-God in Ancient Egypt,” in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1992) p. 177. For the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene see further chapter 6.

¹⁸¹For *pwy* for *pw*, cf. *pwy m3 ỉ-hrw* for *pw m3 ỉ-hrw* in F. Hassanein and M. Nelson, *La tombe du Prince Amon-(Her)-Khepchef* (Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d’Études sur l’Ancienne Égypte, 1976) p. 112.

^h The mention of *gs.wy* in the Ramesses IX treatise in the context of the sun's battle with Apep parallels the use of *gs.wy* in P. Bremner-Rhind 30, 16, where it is said of Apep:¹⁸²

nn ïï=k r R< m  =f.
You shall not come against Re in his two heavens.

J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970) p. 51 and n. 3, discusses the *gs*, “side, half,” of heaven, with otherworldly implications.¹⁸³

ⁱ For *m3* ‘w, the “good wind,” see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 273 and n. 52.¹⁸⁴ The *m3* ‘w-wind here may allude to the scene of the offering of Maat to Ptah in the final scene of the composition.¹⁸⁵

^j For *nmï*, cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (OIP 102; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980) pl. 20, l. 6; and Wente, *ibid.*, p. 38, and the literature cited there.

¹⁸²Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 79, l. 6.

¹⁸³The two halves of heaven correspond to the halves of the Netherworld, the *d3.ty*. The “upper region” (*hry.t*) and “the place of destruction” (*htmy.t*) as the positions respectively of Osiris’ hand and feet in the penultimate scene of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall (pls. 36-37 [ll. 1-2 of the enigmatic annotation]) may refer to these halves of the Netherworld, the *d3.ty*.

¹⁸⁴D. Meeks, *Anée lexicographique* vol. 3 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1982) p. 110 (no. 79.1114) suggests “vente arriée (?)”. And note the *m3* ‘, “rightly guided,” journey of the anguipede in the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI, probably an allusion to the *m3* ‘w-wind.

¹⁸⁵For a pun on *m3* ‘w-wind and *m3* ‘.t, see M. Lichtheim, “The Songs of the Harpers,” *JNES* 4 (1945) 203, n. j to no. 6.

^k This concluding wish parallels the similar wish at the end of the enigmatic annotation to the scene of the ithyphallic, Osiride king in the penultimate scene on this wall (pl. 37, l. 5): “Re, may you place Horus, who has appeared in Thebes, together with you, that he may inquire after you.”

This portion of the text in the lower register of the enigmatic wall is a variant of the first half of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead,¹⁸⁶ spell 179 of the Coffin Texts. The version in the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise reverses the opening addresses in chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead:

| | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| Ramesses IX: | <i>ỉ T3.w wr ỉmy Ỉr.t</i> |
| | Oh great bread who is in heaven |

The corresponding second address in chapter 106 of the book of the Dead is:

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| <i>ỉ wr(.w) Ỉntyw pr.w Ỉry.w</i> | <i>ddyw t n Pth ntr ỉmy s.t wr.t</i> |
| Oh great ones, foremost ones of the upper domains, oh you who give bread to | |
| Ptah, the great god who is in the great place | |

In the Ramesses IX version, the *wr.w Ỉntyw pr.w Ỉr.w* and the *ddyw t n Pth* have been combined; the *ddyw t* are now a single entity, the *T3.w wr*, “great bread,”¹⁸⁷ the *wr.w* have become the adjective *wr*. The *pr.w Ỉry.w* are simply *Ỉr.t*.

¹⁸⁶See E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1990) pp. 480-1; Ch. Kuentz, “Le Chapitre 106 du Livre des morts, à propos d’une stèle de basse époque,” *BIFAO* 30 part 3 (1931) 817-80.

¹⁸⁷For “the one provided with bread” as the meaning of the name of the personification of bread, compare the parallel Coffin Text chapter 179 (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 68): *ỉnk đf3 wr Ỉnty pr.w Ỉry.w prrw n=f t m ỉwnw*, “I am the great provision, foremost one of the upper domains, for whom bread comes forth from Heliopolis.” In Book of the Dead chapter 106 *t3.w wr ỉmy Ỉr.t* appears parallel with *df3w ỉmy t3*. This use of *t*, “bread,” parallel to a more general term for food provisions, suggests *t* in its general meaning “food” (see The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb*

The continuation of the address on the enigmatic wall: *ỉ df3w ỉmy t3*, “Oh provision who is in the earth” (plate 34, figure A, ll. 29-30) corresponds to the first address in chapter 106 in the version in the papyrus of Nebseny (Aa):

ỉ df3w ỉmy hr.t-ntr

Oh provision who is in the necropolis

In the enigmatic treatise *hr.t ntr* has become *t3* (on *t3* as a term for the necropolis, see below, pp. 522-523).

Names (plate 34, figure B):

The four bending figures in the middle of the lower register:

leftmost bending figure

1 *s3y.t*, “the protective one” (?)

child

2 *sd.ty*, “he of the flame”

second bending figure from the left

no name given

child

3 *sd.ty*, “he of the flame”

third bending figure from the left

4 *h3y.t*, “the naked one”

child

5 *sd.ty*, “he of the flame”

fourth bending figure from the left

of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192 [OIP 102; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980] p. 45 n. q [for pl. 28, l. 7]).

6 *hry.t*, “the pleased one”

child

7 *sd.ty*, “he of the flame”

A copy of a portion of this section was published by Puguet at the end of the eighteenth century, together with an explanation of the deities bent backwards on the snakes.¹⁸⁸ They appear to be shown as rising up from the bodies of the snakes, paralleling a scene on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 10, figure A; see above, pp. 167-174).

These bending figures are androgynous--their names are feminine, as is their hair, but they ejaculate as well. Androgynous beings have appeared in the version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, in the person of the lion-headed, femininely coiffed, archon-like beings in the middle register of the second side of the shrine (pl. 10, fig. B, and pl. 11). The androgynous beings on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall both spit and ejaculate (the phalli are now damaged), and these actions link their androgyny with that of the god Atum, and other primeval creator deities. Hornung¹⁸⁹ reads the names of the bending figures as “*hrjt* ‘Zufriedene’ [pl. 34, B, no. 6], *h3jt* ‘Nackte’ [pl. 34, B, no. 4], ohne Namen und *z3jt* ‘Hütende’ [pl. 34, B, no. 1]” (p. 236). The name *h3jt* may correspond to a name *h3jt* in the Amduat, which Hornung reads as “Klagende.”¹⁹⁰ Again, the lack of a clear parallel leaves the names of these beings unclear.

¹⁸⁸Puguet, 1802, republished by Bochalaty, “Un document de l’expédition d’Égypte: la biographie du Dr Pugnet, par Louis Reynaud,” *BIE* 32 (1949-50) 119-20, pl. 6

¹⁸⁹Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*.

¹⁹⁰Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 49, l. 7 (no. 216); vol. 2, p. 67.

In front of each of the four bending, androgynous deities is the figure of a child, each child labelled *sd.t* (pl. 34, figure B, nos. 2, 3, 5, and 7), for *sd.ty*, “he of the flame.” The child *sd.ty* is the youthful form of the rising sun.¹⁹¹ In chapter 15B of the Book of the Dead, the *p.t* and *rhy.t* worship the rising sun *m irw=f n nhnw R' sd.ty pr m Hpri*, “in his visible form of the youth, Re, the child come forth as Khepri.”¹⁹² Each bending, ejaculating figure with a child before it suggests the 4th tableau of the 2nd Register of Section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk¹⁹³ (with parallels in the tomb of Tawosret and Sethnakht¹⁹⁴ and the tomb of Ramesses IX¹⁹⁵). There the bark of the sun is stopped above the cavern (*qrr.t*) of *imn-wn.wt=f*, “hidden of his hour.” Beneath the phallus of the ithyphallic entity is a flaming vase, a child, and a figure *snfy*, who stretches out his arms. The name *snfy* is attested both for punished sinners, and the demons who punish them.¹⁹⁶ The flame in the scene from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk perhaps represents the name of the infant, which one could read as

¹⁹¹See K. Jansen-Winkel, “Die Stele London BM 1224,” *SAK* 17 (1990) 218-9 n. 3; E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 3; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1976) p. 117 n. 170 and p. 120 n. 195 (along with *Wb.* II 367, 14-5); J. van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus,” *JEOL* 26 (1979-80) 12-14.

¹⁹²Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, pp. 38-40 (based on the Aspalta sarcophagus, text on pl. 33).

¹⁹³Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire*, pls. A and 36.

¹⁹⁴E. Lefebvre, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes* 3 vols. (*MMAF* 2-3; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1886-89) pl. 67.

¹⁹⁵Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 92.

¹⁹⁶Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 132 n. 340; Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltbüchern*, p. 47.

sd.ty, “he of the flame,” the name of the solar child in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the fiery newborn sun.¹⁹⁷ The child, the flame, and punishment are all in keeping with a representation of recreation and the eastern horizon, where the sun is reborn, and the damned receive their ultimate fiery punishment.

The androgynous, bending figures both ejaculate and spit, dots of flame issuing from their mouths and pudenda. These spewing effluvia are a pictorial pun on the verbs *nh* and *nhh*, “spit” and “ejaculate,”¹⁹⁸ and depict the spitting and ejaculation at creation.¹⁹⁹ In P. Bremner-Rhind, the creator describes the engendering of Shu and Tefnut in terms of spitting and ejaculating:

I made masturbation (*d3d3*) with my hand (*mḏr.t=i*), I poured out from my mouth, I spat out Shu, I expectorated Tefnut.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷*Snfy* is the name of the entity with outstretched arms (so Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 18), not the name of the child (*idem*, *Tomb of Ramesses VI* p. 339, where he reads “The Gory One” as the name of “The child under the phallus”). The text in Ramesses IX says “so is this god, *wtt=f sd.t*, “engendering fire” (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 64). Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80) 13 reads “he procreates the flame.” B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 2 (*MVEOL* 17; Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1968) pp. 99-104, related the flame to the *b3*-soul. The seated child followed by the flame could be read *sd.ty*, and could correspond to the *hy n sd.t*, “child of flame,” of Horus on an ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings (van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 [1979-80] 13, citing A. Erman, “Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern,” *ZÄS* 38 [1900] 20).

¹⁹⁸On the similarity of these words, see Ph. Derchain, “Le démiurge et la balance,” in Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) p. 34 and n. 4.

¹⁹⁹Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, p. 30.

²⁰⁰Zandee, in Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 171, citing Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 60, ll. 11-13 (P. Bremner-Rhind 26, 24-27, 1).

The spittle of the figures pours down to the left of the figures' heads; in three of the four groups it strikes the ground just to the left of the heads of the scarabs that lie horizontally beneath the bent backs of the figures. In the second group from the left, however, the spittle bends in towards the head of the scarab, an indication that the scarab results from the spittle of the bending figure. In each group the dots of ejaculate flow down to the top of the child's head, an indication that the child results from the semen of the bending figures. The bending figures in the tomb of Ramesses IX, both spitting out and ejaculating, suggesting a portion of the description of the crocodile Wenty:²⁰¹

Wnty bš=f ʕ ʕ=f ʕr.t-R ʕ ʕmy.t h.t=f

Wenty spits out and ejaculates²⁰² the eye of Re which is in his body


In the scenes in the lower register of the main portion of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall the *hprw*-form of the sun is spat out, and the *mswt*-form is ejaculated. The fiery

²⁰¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 68.

²⁰²On ʕ ʕ, see W. Westendorf, "Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten," ZÄS 96 (1970) 146-7; Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, pp. 99-100 n. 174; B. Van De Walle, "Une base de statue guerisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet," JNES 31 (1972) 74-5; Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 67 n. 43; *idem*, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 96; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 23; Ritner, JARCE 27 (1990) 33 n. 28. ʕ ʕ and spittle are again closely associated in Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 71, 28, l. 27-29, l. 1. For some references on "creation by spittle," see R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993) pp. 75-8. For the association of the crocodile with sexual fecundity, see L. Kákósy, "Das Krokodil als Symbol der Ewigkeit und der Zeit," MDAIK 20 (1965) 116-20; E.F. Wente, "Hathor at the Jubilee," in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969) p. 88 and n. 39; and E. Doetsch-Amberger, *Ägyptische Sammlung* (Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1987) p. 61, item no. 130/130a, a crocodile above a copulating couple. The association of the crocodile with fecundity, the being Wenty, and the ʕ ʕ-ejaculation of the eye of Re led the use of the crocodile to write ʕ ʕ in a text on a late statue from the Fayuum (G. Daressy, "Statues de basse époque du Musée de Gizeh," RdT 15 [1893] 157 n. 1).

effluvia of the entities bring forth the sun,²⁰³ and the ejaculate suggests the overflow of Nun, in which the sun is born.²⁰⁴ A graffito in the Wadi Hammamat depicts ejaculate in the form of a flame emerging from the phallus of an ithyphallic figure of Min,²⁰⁵ a graphic combination of ejaculate and flame.²⁰⁶ In Pyramid Texts §199a, the land is said to have come forth from Atum, being namely *nšš pr m ḥpr*; the scene on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX suggests that this is to be understood as “the saliva which came forth as Kheprer.”²⁰⁷

The closest parallels for the image of a figure bending over a scarab appear as vignettes to later versions of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.²⁰⁸ The bending

²⁰³For spittle as fire, see de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 342; for semen as fire, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 109 n. 96. There is a red line, apparently a stream of light, going down from the head of the central, upside-down, ichneumon-headed entity in the disk atop the head of the rightmost of the three largest figures in the first scene of the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The ichneumon-headed entity there is named  (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 13), suggesting a fiery ejaculation of light.

²⁰⁴On the *3' Nwn*, see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 23. On the birth of the sun shown here as the disk entering the Nun-hand of Osiris, see n. 204, and chapter 6, pp. 576-583 *et passim*.

²⁰⁵J.-C. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1957) no. 116, pp. 123-23, pl. 20.

²⁰⁶For semen and flame as associated divine liquids, see the comments of R.W. Daniel in R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, eds., *Supplementum Magicum* Vol. 2 (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* 16.2; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992) p. 158.

²⁰⁷See R. Anthes, “Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B.C.,” *JNES* 18 (1959) 211.

²⁰⁸H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet* (*Egyptologische Uitgaven* 7; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991) p. 48 (with references); A. de Caluwe, *Un Livre des morts sur bandelette de momie* (*Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire E. 6179*) (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. 18;

figures there, though they have long hair like those in the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall, are bending forward over a scarab, supporting themselves with their arms in front in a pose similar to that of the goddess Nut. The identification of the bending figures in the Book of the Dead vignettes is uncertain.

Names (plate 34, figure B) (continued):

Label to the serpent grasped by a slanting, bearded figure to the right of the four bending figures

8 $n^{\epsilon}w$ -serpent

The depiction in the lower register of a figure slanting up to the right, holding a serpent may be an allusion to the resurrection of the $\underline{d.t}$ -body of the deceased king.²⁰⁹ The annotation to the right of the figure's knee refers to the snake which the entity is grasping. The group



(pl. 34, figure B, no. 8) is to be read as n^{ϵ} for $n^{\epsilon}w$,

Brussels: Éditions de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1991) p. xxiii and pl. 7 B-C; R.A. Caminos, "Fragments of the *Book of the Dead* on Linen and Papyrus," *JEA* 56 (1970) 125 (John Hay Library A 18901[2]1; S. Bosticco, "Due frammenti di un papiro funerario nel Museo Egizio di Firenze," *Aegyptus* 38 (1958) 71-76.

²⁰⁹Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 310-1, n. 47; R. Anthes, "Das Sonnenauge in den Pyramidentexten," *ZÄS* 86 (1961) 16-19; *idem*, "Der Gebrauch des Wortes \underline{dt} <<Schlange>>, <<Schlangenleib>> in den Pyramidentexten," *Drevnij Mir (Festschrift Struve)* (Moscow: Sbornik statej, 1962) pp. 32-49; *idem*, "...in seinem Namen und im Sonnenlicht..."', *ZÄS* 90 (1963) 1-2; in Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §14c, the king speaks to his "Schlangenleib." In de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 272e, the deceased seizes hold of his $\underline{d.t}$ -body ($\underline{sd(.n)}=f \underline{d.t}=f$). See, with the utmost caution, G. Thausing, "Yoga im Alten Ägypten," in M. Lurker, ed., *Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des Alten Orients* (Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1971) p. 121.

the pustule sign representing ζ ,²¹⁰ the snake being the determinative.²¹¹ In the 12th Hour of the Amduat²¹² the serpent through the tail of which the bark of the night sun is being pulled is referred to as $n \zeta w$.²¹³ When the sun emerges from the $n \zeta w$ serpent, he is born as Khepri in the east.²¹⁴ The snake Neheb-kau, who can draw the dead up to heaven, can also be termed $n \zeta w$.²¹⁵ By seizing hold of the chthonic snake, a representation of the primeval creative forces, the deceased identifies himself with the chaotic forces which engulf the present world and can potentially bring about a repetition of creation.²¹⁶ The Osirian element of the unified Re-Osiris, who remains in the Netherworld at the rebirth of Re, was perhaps likened to the primeval form of Amun--Kematef. Just as the Kematef serpent slumbered with the Ogdoad after the completion of the preliminary stages of creation, so the mummy of Osiris remains at the root of the eastern horizon. Kematef and the Ogdoad, originators of creation, were of serpent or amphibian form, retaining elements of the chaos from which they arose. Similarly,

²¹⁰For the pustule as ζ , see the discussion in chapter 3, pp. 69-72.

²¹¹Compare *Wb.* II 207 for writings of $n \zeta w$ as $n \zeta$.

²¹²Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 200 l. 1.

²¹³*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 190

²¹⁴*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 197, ll. 6-8.

²¹⁵Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 98-100; in Pyramid Text Utterance 85, cited by Zandee, there is a reference to $n \zeta w$ = Neheb-kau (see also Barguet, *RdE* 28 [1976] 27).

²¹⁶For the concept that chaos cannot prevail over creation because chaos would then lose its reference point, compare the interpretation of B2, 95-99 of the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* in R.B. Parkinson, "Literary Form and the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*," *JEA* 78 (1992) 174 n. 70, wherein falsehood cannot exist without its counterpart truth. Thus in reverse, Egyptian and Hermetic texts deny that God could or should abolish evil--see Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine*, p. 43.

Horakhty cannot succeed Osiris if the latter is yet upon the earth. Such an analogy may be behind scenes depicting the association of Osiris with a great serpent, beneath whom Osiris lies and on whose back he sits enthroned.²¹⁷ Such a chthonic Osiris was also represented as a serpent himself.²¹⁸

Names (plate 34, figure B) (continued):

The four figures standing atop serpents in the left portion of the lower register:

leftmost standing figure

9 *dm3mt = tm3.t*, “mother” (?)

serpent on which she stands

10 *imy-t3*-serpent

second standing figure from left

11 *hnw.tyt*, “she relating to the sarcophagus” (?)

²¹⁷For the serpent uniting the chthonic-Osirian and celestial-solar realms, see A. Niwinski, “The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *JEOL* 30 (1987-88) 97-8. This scene may also be related to the “Schlangenstab” of Osiris, the *mdw n Wsir* (C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen sur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* [MÄS 35; Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976] p. 146 and n. 648, citing Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 21 and 26; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 47 no. 136 [in the upper register of the second Hour]; the figure holding the serpent may also be related to the so-called “snake charmers” on amulets [L. Keimer, *Histoire de serpents dans l’Égypte ancienne et moderne (Mémoires présenté à l’Institut de l’Égypte*; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1947) pp. 18-20]). In the lowest register of the 6th Hour of Amduat, a serpent is referred to as the *sšmw*-image of Osiris’ visible appearance (*irw*--Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, pp. 115-6, vol. 2, pp. 122-3; Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, p. 115, n. c to col. IX, l. 21). One may also compare the pose of the serpent gatekeeper at the end of Sokar land in the 5th Hour of the Amduat (no. 400).

²¹⁸T. Hopfner, *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 57, 2; Vienna: in Kommission bei Alfred Hölder, 1914) p. 139.

serpent on which she stands

12 *nh3-ḥr*-serpent

third standing figure from left

13 *tmmy.t*, “she relating to the *tmm* shrine” (?)

serpent on which she stands

14 *dwy-ḥr*-serpent

fourth standing figure from left

15 *irtt* = *irt.t*, “milk” (?)

serpent on which she stands

16 *3pp*-serpent

Hornung reads the names of the four goddesses standing on the serpents as *dm3tt* (pl. 34, B, no. 9), *ḥnjt* (pl. 34, B, no. 11), *tmmjt* (pl. 34, B, no. 13), and *jrtt* (pl. 34, B, no. 15), for the first name (*dm3tt*) noting “eine männliche Entsprechung *dm3w* im Amduat (Nr. 735).”²¹⁹ Hornung reads the name of this Amduat deity *dm3w* as “Zusammenbindender,” noting “gemeint ist wohl das ‘Bündeln’ von Pfeilen” which the entity in the Book of Amduat carries.²²⁰ The names of these beings should somehow relate to each other, but the parallels which would relate these names to each other and to a similar environment of text and iconography remain elusive.

Tmmy.t (pl. 34, fig. B, no. 13) suggests “she relating to the *tmm* shrine” (*Wb.* V 308, 12-13), while *ḥny.t* (pl. 34, fig. B, no. 11) might then be “she relating to the *ḥn*


²¹⁹For the Amduat name *dm3w*, see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 235.

²²⁰*ibid.*, p. 169. Another possible association of the name of the leftmost being in the bottom register of pl. 31 (pl. 34, fig. B, no. 9) is the equally obscure *tm3t ḥnty imn.t* of Caverns 93, 5; for the name *Ḥny.t*, note that there is a god called *Ḥny* in Caverns 142, 7.

structure" (*Wb.* III 100, 11 [and 12 ?]). This name *hny.t* might also be read in a different manner, taking the chest as a depiction of a sarcophagus (compare the late word *hnw.t*, "Sargkasten," *Wb.* III 109, 10), and reading *hnw.tyt*. The goddess would then be "she related to the sarcophagus," an allusion to the sarcophagus as the place of regeneration.²²¹ The name *irtt* (pl. 34, fig. B, no. 15), if the name is indeed to be read this way,²²² looks like a writing of *irt.t*, "milk," and the leftmost name *dm3tt* (pl. 34, fig. B, no. 9) might perhaps be read as *dm3mt*, taking the first of the two hobble-*t*'s as *m*, in a writing of *tm3.t*, "mother."²²³ The two middle deities would relate to shrines, the beings on each end--"mother" and "milk"--relating to rebirth.

The serpents on which the figures stand are each named twice. They are *imy-t3* (pl. 34, B, 10), *nh3-hr* (pl. 34, B, no. 12), *dwy-hr* (pl. 34, B, no. 14), and *3pp* (pl. 34, B, no. 16). The writing of *Nh3-hr* is a variant of the orthography in pl. 33 (see above, p. 370); the substitution of the flesh sign for the *hr*-face derives from the use of both the

²²¹In a scene in the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 22, 5th vignette), a winged goddess, arms uplifted, kneels before a mummy on a bier, adored by a kneeling goddess at either end. Atop her

head the winged goddess wears a sarcophagus/chest sign . She too is perhaps a representation of the regenerative properties of the sarcophagus (four shrines of the same appearance as that which the goddess wears on her head are located earlier on in the papyrus, between two groups of the *nb.w-d3.t*, the "lords of the Netherworld," suggesting that the shrines are actually part of the funerary equipment).

²²²The horizontal line below the second hobble-*t* in the goddess' name is perhaps a representation of the *t3*-sign for *t*, although a third dental at the end of the name is unexpected.

²²³*Wb.* V 308, 2-3 (this word attested Dyn. 22 and later); the *m* after *m3* shows a metathesis attested for other *m3/3m* words (on which see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1 [*Analecta Orientalia* 34; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955] p. 60, §136).

flesh-sign and the *hr*-face to write *h*,²²⁴ through application of the consonantal principle, and similarity in sound between *hr*, “face,” and *h*ʕ, “flesh.”²²⁵ In the name *ḏwy-hr*, the writing of *ḏwy* as two *ḏw*-mountains is paralleled by the writing of *ḏwy* in *nty-ḏwy*, “the one who is evil,” in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G ceiling treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30, right-hand text, l. 3).²²⁶ The orthography of the name of Apep as the ʕ3-sign and a pustule suggests that the pustule here indeed has the value *pp*, as in pl. 33 (see above, pp. 380-381). The double writings of the names here appear to be based on the enigmatic names and *Normalschrift* transcriptions which occur in the Amduat. In the names of the serpents in the lower register of the enigmatic wall, however, no actual transcription occurs. The names ʕ3*pp* (pl. 34, B, no. 16) and *ḏwy-hr* (pl. 34, B, no. 14) have each a single orthography repeated. In the name *nḥ3-hr*, the flesh sign of the upper writing is transcribed with the *hr*-face in the lower orthography--this is the only true “transcription” in the double writings of the names of the four serpents. The lower writing of *imy-t3* (pl. 34, B, no. 10) differs from the upper writing of that name only in the omission of the stroke and *idb*-sign below the *t3*-sign in the lower writing.

The figures in the left portion of the bottom register appear in two groups of four, and the number four may suggest an association with the cardinal points. The four bending beings, the rightmost of the two groups of four entities, are the deities whom the

²²⁴See chapter 3, n. 122.

²²⁵“Flesh” is |Δ and ʕΔ< in P. BM 10808 (Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, pp. 287-8); “face” is (*ibid.*, p. 286).

²²⁶In the orthography of *ḏwy* in the Corridor G text (pl. 30, l. 3), two *h3s.t*-signs substitutes for two *ḏw*-mountains.

annotation to the scene addresses as *ỉ p3y fdw ntr.w pwy hryw gs.wy pw n p.t*, “Oh these you four gods who are over these two sides of the sky” (pl. 34, figure A, ll. 37-39). The beings appear to be female, but for the ejaculating phalli, and the text of the annotation above them refers to them as male gods. The address suggests that the four beings are to be associated with the cardinal points, and the deities of the cardinal points should be female.²²⁷ The purposeful intermingling of masculine and feminine features underlines the androgyny of the four bending, ithyphallic goddesses. The four deities to the left, who rise up on the backs of serpents, may also be associated with sides of heaven. Neugebauer and Parker note that the winged serpents in the Athribis ceiling may represent the cardinal points; in number 73, Salamûni 3 A, four goddesses, “probably the cardinal points,” have snake-like legs.²²⁸ The four goddesses of the cardinal points are addressed as aspects of Hathor in the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medineh,²²⁹ and Hathor Quadrifrons can be Temet, the feminine principle of desire acting on Atum to stimulate creation, perhaps present in the left portion of the lower register of the enigmatic wall in the name of the leftmost of the four beings standing on serpents--*dm3tt* (pl. 34, figure B, no. 9). The fact that one of the goddesses is called “the naked one” recalls the four winged and naked female figures who appear to represent the cardinal

²²⁷On the four goddesses of the cardinal points, see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, pp. 256-8; Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 4; *idem*, *Elkab I* (1971) pp. 55, 12*-13*; Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 (1972) 63, text note 31; R.K. Ritner, “O. Gardiner 363: a Spell Against Night Terrors,” *JARCE* 27 (1990) 35-9 and the references cited there. For goddesses associated with the supports of heaven, see D. Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen, die ‘Tw3 pt’ Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (*Rites égyptiens* 2; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975) pp. 90-8.

²²⁸Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, p. 100, pls. 51-2.

²²⁹Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 4

points and the four winds on a zodiacal ceiling in the tomb of Petosiris in Dakhleh Oasis.²³⁰

The text III 1 of Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 263-80 (trans. p. 267) provides a parallel to the importance of the representation of the four cardinal points in a scene of the birth and triumph of Re in the east. The text which Assmann discusses speaks of the defeat of the Rebel, and of Re sailing in a *m3* ʿ-wind; the Southerners and Northerners haul the *Msktt*-bark, and the Easterners and Westerners adore the victorious sun. As Assmann observes, the mention of the representatives of the four cardinal points gives the scene the quality of *Besitzergreifungsriten*.²³¹

The four cardinal points depicted in the lower register of the enigmatic wall are said in the enigmatic annotation above (pl. 34 A, ll. 43-44) to cause that Re sail in the fair *m3* ʿw-wind. In the context of a royal tomb, the winds of the four directions are associated with more than the *m3* ʿ-wind in which the solar bark sails. In the dedicatory stele which Sety I set up for Ramesses I in the latter's Abydene chapel, even the more stormy wind of the Netherworld is depicted as desirable. Sety says of his father:²³²

tī sw m ntr
nmi=f D3.t
sbḥ n=f Šw m s.t kk.t
kf3y=f ḥr=f
nh=f ḥmw=f

²³⁰O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, and D. Pingree, "The Zodiac Ceilings of Petosiris and Petubastis," in J. Osing, *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla, aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (AV 28; Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1982) pls. 38-41, 42a, 43d-e, and 44d; and p. 96.

²³¹Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 275 n. 65; see also O. Keel, *Vögel als Boten* (OBO 14; Freiburg:Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977).

²³²Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 1, p. 113, ll. 14-5, line x+19 of the stele

mhy.t m dñt.wt hf.t-ḥr=f

He is as a god.

When he travels the Netherworld,

the Sun shines for him in the dark place,

that he might uncover his face

and doff his dust,²³³

the Northwind whistling before him.²³⁴

The rushing Northwind blows in the face of the deceased king, loosening the dust and wrappings of the grave from about his face.²³⁵ The term *ḥnsk.tyw*, “lock-wearers,” describing the winds, and the prominent, dangling locks of the figures on the enigmatic wall, may associate the four Ramesses IX deities with the cardinal points and the four winds.²³⁶ These winds spit in assisting the *ḥprw*-manifestation of the sun, and the

²³³For this compare Pyramid Texts chapter 662 and Book of the Dead chapter 68.

²³⁴An interpretation of the literal “the Northwind being a storm-wind (compare *Wb.* V 466, 15) before him.” See also S. Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos’ I. für die Kapelle Rameses’ I. in Abydos (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1964)* p. 29, n. 6 to §23.

²³⁵For the storm wind as a helper of the deceased king, see U. Verhoeven, “Unwetter,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986) cols. 860-1 (and the references col. 861 n. 8); *idem*, “Eine Vergewaltigung? vom Umgang mit einer Textstelle des Naos von El Arish,” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten (Fs. Derchain, OLA 39, 1991)* p. 329. See also A. Piankoff, “Le naos D29 du musée du Louvre,” *RdE* 1 (1933) 175.

²³⁶See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 44 n. 15. The association of these figures with a text referring to the provisioning of the deceased suggests that these are the four winds as the *ḥnsk.tyw*, rather than the four spirits of the east as the side-lock wearing *d3nw* (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, § 1206a-b). The tumbled hair of the four corners is probably not to be related to *nwn* (Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 207), but rather to depictions of tumbling girls (The dancing girls in Opet at

winds themselves can be said to have been spat out.²³⁷

The scarab entering into the horizontal band of text above the lowest register closely parallels the scarab entering into a horizontal band of sand above the “smiting scene” of the bottom right portion of the 4th Hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Ramesses III.²³⁸ There, this scene is displaced, and found to the lower left of the 5th Hour.²³⁹ The scarab in the Ramesses III version of the Amduat scene apparently corresponds to the winged disk more commonly found over the scene.²⁴⁰ Located as he is above the *n*‘w-serpent, this scarab on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall may in fact be

Luxor temple [The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1 The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (OIP112; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1994) pls. 37-38]; W. Peck and J.G. Ross, *Egyptian Drawings* [New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978] pl. 6, figs. 67-8). The association of the four winds with tumbling dancers is attested (D. Kurth, “Das Lied von den vier Winden und seine angebliche pantomimische Darstellung,” in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* [San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1994] pp. 135-146), and it is to this association that the Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX refers. The four female figures on snakes, the four bending back, and the female entity within the disk as the eye of Re, suggest the combination of concepts which went into making Hathor Quadrifrons.

²³⁷See Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 27 (the winds as spat out, *īšš*). Like Shu, the four winds assist in supporting the sky, sun, moon, and stars--see D. Kurth, “Wind,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986) col. 1270 nn. 35-6, and the references cited there. For the association of the four winds with the god Shu, and the winds as the “four souls” of Shu, see B. van de Walle, “Survivances mythologiques dans les coiffures royales de l’époque atonienne,” *CdE* 109 (1980) 30 n. 4.

²³⁸B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I The Theban Necropolis Part 2 Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries* (revised ed.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964) p. 523 (28).

²³⁹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, plate illustrating the 4th Hour.

²⁴⁰*ibid.*, p. 74, ll. 6-7 (no. 326).

shown as having come forth from the $n^c w$ -serpent, an illustration of a statement to that effect in the 12th Hour of the Amduat.²⁴¹

The woman within the disk is the eye of Re, here as mother and daughter (see the section on *itny.t* in chapter 4, pp. 322-329); the scarabs emerge from the disk-womb on each side. In the parallel to the closing scene of this treatise on the papyrus of Heruben (pl. 41, and see the discussion below), the disk from which the scarab emerges is called the *i3.t-hpr*, “the mound of Kheprer,” the Netherworld.²⁴² The rightmost scarab in the Ramesses IX scene (in the bottom right of pl. 31) pushes ahead a disk, which can be both sun and netherworld, a depiction of the endless cycle of the sun.²⁴³

Middle Band of hieroglyphs between the middle and lower registers (plate 35):

Wsîr nb-t3.wy Nfr-k3.w-R^c stp.n R^c pw m3^c-hrw dd=f
i nn n ntr.w ipw wnn.w r gs dpw^a n it=i Wsîr^b

²⁴¹*ibid.*, p. 197, ll. 6-8.

²⁴²*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 105.

²⁴³*ibid.*; Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 23-5; compare particularly the relief in J. Cooney, “Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin,” *JNES* 12 (1953) p. 17 and pl. 55 (no. 89), cited by Hornung, where a scarab emerges from a beaming sun into the sign of the Netherworld. This is paralleled, with the offering of the eyes, by the scene over the entrance to the tomb of Ramesses X (Rosellini, *I Monumenti dell’Egitto e della Nubia*); there, instead of one form of the deity (scarab) and two forms of the abode (Netherworld and sun disk), there is one disk abode, and two forms of the deity--scarab and ram-headed night sun. This parallelism also shows that the baboons in Cooney’s piece represent the king--on this see Te Velde, in Kamstra, Milde, and Wagtenhoek, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, pp. 129-37; M. Dewachter, “Les cynocéphales ornant la base des deux obélisques de Louxor,” *CdE* 47 (1972) 74; J. Assmann, “Die ‘Häresie’ des Echnaton: Aspekte der Amarna-Religion,” *Saeculum* 23 (1972) 114). The scarab usually pushes ahead of it the solar orb; the disk containing the star, emblem of the Netherworld, may also be an allusion to Re as the star of the Netherworld, *sb3 d3.t* (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 119 n. 188; Kees, *Die Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, pp. 267ff.; *idem*, *Totenglauben* pp. 132f. and 207f.).

mīn īr=tn n=i
īry=tn n=i īr.n=tn n Wsīr
nḥm=tn (w)ī m-^c wpw.tyw nyw B3b3ī-Mnw
ḥr nty īnk ītm m ḥpr=f^c w^c m nwn
īw=i m ḥy n Mḥ.t-wr.t
ḥr nty īr Mḥ.t-wr.t wd3.t n ntr 3 ḥk3wd
ḥr nty īr ntr 3 ḥk3w Pd-^cḥ^e pwy psd=f m dw3y.t

Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkawre-Setepenre, justified, says:

‘Oh you gods who exist as the protection of my father Osiris:

Come to me,

that you may do for me what you have done for Osiris.

You should save me from the messengers of Babai-Min,

because I am Atum as he comes forth alone from the Nun-waters,

I being the child of Mehet-Weret;

because as for Mehet-Weret, (she is) the Udjat-eye of the god
great of magic;

because as for the god great of magic, he is Pedjaha, when he
shines in the morning.’

^a For *gs-dp.t* as “protection,” see J. Wilson, review of H.G. Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millennium B.C.*, in *AJA* 74 (1970) 209; H.G. Fischer, “Boats in Non-Nautical Titles of the Old Kingdom,” *GM* 126 (1992) 59-63; Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 17 (1990) p. 219 n. 10.

^b On the orthography of *Wsīr*, see Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 123, text note 5, and compare the orthographies in Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 73, ll. 6 and 9; pl. 76, l. 2; and pl. 79, l. 28.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴cf. also Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936) 27 and 29.

^c Although the horizontal sign beneath the *hpr*-beetle does indeed appear to be a water-*n*, *m sdm.n=f* is somewhat unexpected, and it may be better to see the water-*n* as a misinterpretation of the book roll determinative of *hpr*.

^d For the writing of *hk3*, see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 25-26 (particularly p. 25, n. 112).

^e According to Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 124, n. d, this epithet of Ptah refers to “die innerweltliche Erscheinungsform des Gottes”. The king as the creator Atum is here related to *Pd-ḥ*, an epithet of Ptah; for the equation of the creative deity with Ptah, see below (pp. 527-536), the discussion of the final scene of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall (pl. 39). Ptah also appears in the version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead appearing in the text accompanying the lower register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall (pl. 34, ll. 31 and 36).

The combination of Netherworld entities found in the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise finds textual parallels in a line from the Foundation Ritual of Medinet Habu and Luxor, and a portion of the 6th Address to Re in the Great Litany. In the Foundation Ritual, in line 12 of the text from the time of Thutmosis III on the bark shrine of the small temple of Medinet Habu,²⁴⁵ and in line 13 of the parallel text on the interior east wall (the second scene of the second register) of the hypostyle hall of Luxor Temple,²⁴⁶ the ritual asks:

²⁴⁵B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II Theban Temples* (2nd ed.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972) p. 468 (41).

²⁴⁶*ibid.* p. 318 (102) II, 2; P. Barguet, “Le rituel archaïque de fondation des temples de Medinet-Habou et de Louxor,” *RdE* 9 (1952) 6 (text), 16 (translation and commentary).

tn wr.w tn sn.w tn iħr.w-m-p.t

Where are the great ones? Where are the messengers? Where are those
fallen from heaven?

Barguet observes that “le mot *wrw* renvoie vraisemblablement aux morts bienheureux.”²⁴⁷ For this reasonable suggestion there is the support of the demotic designation *rm̄t* ʕ for the blessed dead--the blessed dead, like the solar deity whose rebirth they hope to emulate, become large, even giant beings. They are *wr* and ʕ.²⁴⁸ Barguet also suggests that the *iħr.w-m-p.t* are the *iħm.w-wrd*, “par opposition aux étoiles ‘indestructibles’”.²⁴⁹ The *sn.w* are the “Eilboten” of *Wb.* IV 39, 11, and in the 6th

²⁴⁷*ibid.*, p. 16 n. 2.

²⁴⁸See L. Kákosy, “Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion,” *ZÄS* 97 (1971) 98 and n. 19, with literature; and J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Ĥor (Texts from Excavations 2)*; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976) p. 43 n. *u*; see also M. Malinine, “A propos de *ħrj* = <<saint>>,” *RdE* 16 (1964) 211-2. For a possible Ramesside attestation of *rm̄t* ʕ as a designation of the blessed dead, see Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 64 n. *ai* = *LRL* 47, 9 (no. 26, P. Geneva D 187). Compare also the deceased as a *wr n n3 iħyw*, “greatest of the akh-spirits,” in P. BM 10507, “by virtue of the authority granted to him by Osiris” (Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, p. 115--compare also the ʕy-condition of the deceased, *ibid.* p. 110 n. *b*). These designations suggest the deceased to be partaking of the “immensity of the deity” (see S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]* [*Wilbour Monographs* 3; New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970] p. 26 n. *n* to l. 4, 4, on the giant deity). In the band of epitheta of Ramesses IX above the enigmatic treatise, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is termed ʕ (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 79), perhaps a reference to the deity’s immense size as the ithyphallic Osiris connecting the Netherworld and the sky. For more on the immensity of the deity, see chapter 6. For Osiris as the one ʕ *h3.t*, “immense of corpse,” see Caverns pl. 33, l. 5. The *ba* and corpse together are also ʕ, an indication of great size appropriate to the scene of the union of Re and Osiris (see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 37, l. 4; Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 55, ll. 2-3; Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 18, l. 9; and W. Barta, “Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches,” *JEOL* 29 [1985-86] 98-105).

²⁴⁹Barguet, *RdE* 9 (1952) p. 16 n. 2; but see Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §1760b, discussed below, chapter 7, pp. 756-757 and n. 94.

address to Re in the Great Litany the *wpw.tyw*-messengers are said to be *sġn.w* and *h3h.w*.²⁵⁰ For Barguet, “les âmes devenues aussi immortelles sont au service du roi après la mort de ce dernier, constituent sa cour céleste, et lui servent de messagers auprès de Rê (cf. Pyr. 153, 1991).”²⁵¹ For a parallel to this probable association of the *ihm.w-wrđ*, “those who do not know weariness” (as the *ihr.w-m-p.t*, “the ones fallen from heaven”), and *sġn.w*-messengers, one may compare PT §491 c, in which the messengers of the deceased king are called the *wpw.tyw ihm.w-wrđ*, “the unwearying messengers.”²⁵²

In Esna text 400,²⁵³ at the time of creation (l. 2: *wn(n) nn (n) ntr.w hr shpr*) Isis holds the *msġ.tyw*-constellation, *r tm rdġ.t shđ=f r d3.t* (ll. 6-7), “in order to prevent him from descending inverted into the Dat;” as a result of this, the *wpw.tyw*-messengers are held off. The malevolent messengers may themselves be the upside down stars depicted in the upper left portion of the enigmatic wall (pl. 32), continuing the association of the *ihm.w-wrđ* and the *wpw.tyw*.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 173. In the Book of the Heavenly Cow ll. 61-3 (Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, p. 6), Re summons the *wpw.tyw h3h.w sġn.w*.

²⁵¹*ibid.* p. 16 n. 2.

²⁵²Despite the remarks of W.R. Faulkner, “The King and the Star-Religion in the Pyramid Texts,” *JNES* 25 (1966) 157, these entities could be stars, and the designation *ihm.w-wrđ* would appear to suggest this.

²⁵³See D. Kurth, in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, pp. 136-7.

²⁵⁴They may be envisaged as becoming the *sb3.w šm3y.w*, “the malevolent stars,” on whom see Kákosy, *Oikumene* 3 (1982) 190. On inverted entry into the Netherworld, see chapter 7.

The associations of messengers with stars and the stellar dead in the Netherworld suggest that the answer to a question which Sauneron posed,²⁵⁵ as to whether decan stars could ever fulfill the roles of divine messengers, is “yes.” In the 6th Address to Re in the Great Litany, however, the *śn.w* are the punishing messengers “welche Bau und Körper packen.”²⁵⁶

ỉ R ỉmy ỉmn.t sb3wt(y) hn.ty D3.t
nhm=k wỉ m- ỉ wpw.tyw=k ndry.w b3.w h3.wt
śn.w h3h.w
*ỉmy.w nm.wt=k ...*²⁵⁷

Oh Re who is in the West, discipliner before the Dat;
 may you save me from your messengers, who seize bas and corpses,
 those who rush and those who hurry,²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵Sauneron, *JNES* 19 (1960) 282 n. 82.

²⁵⁶Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 137 n. 396, citing M. Valloggia, *Recherches sur les “Messagers” (WPWTYW) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Geneva and Paris: Librairie Droz, 1976) pp. 40ff., and O. Firchow, “Die Boten der Götter,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 29; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955)* p. 90.

²⁵⁷Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Wesen*, vol. 1, pp. 172-4; for *sb3wt(y)*, which Hornung questioningly renders “Strafender” (*Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 83 [with n. 395 p. 137]).

²⁵⁸For the rushing and hurrying slaughterers as a topos, compare The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 3 *The Calendar, the “Slaughterhouse,” and Minor Records of Ramses III* (OIP 23; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934) pl. 173, specifically text lines 9-11, 22, wherein overseers bark hurrying orders to butchers rushing about. The busy, frenetic atmosphere of a temple slaughter house is recalled in the Netherworld Books, lending to the horror of the butchers of the damned. For the speedy messengers, and the *wpw.tyw* described as *h3h.w* and *śn.w*, compare ll. 61-3 of the text of the Book of the Heavenly Cow (Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, pp. 6, 39, and 52-3 n. 12), wherein Re summons the *wpw.tyw h3h.w śn.w shs=sn mỉ šw.t n h.t*, “the speedy messengers, whose pace is as swift as the shadow of a body.”

who are at your slaughtering places ...

Soon after this, in the same address there follows:

nn dfy=i m t3 ḥtmyw

I shall not sink into the land of the destroyed.

At the moment of extreme cosmic danger, when the bark of the sun comes close to running aground on the spine of Apep, there is a danger that the king, as a star, will continue to fall in the Netherworld, out of the nether sky and into the place of total darkness and utter destruction;²⁵⁹ if the king does not turn over (*pn* ∩), he will be taken by the dolorous *wpw.tyw*-messengers.²⁶⁰ The *wpw.tyw*, according to the 6th Address of the Litany of Re, man the slaughtering places of the sun. Here in the Ramesses IX treatise, if the *nb.w-d3.t* continue to fall, they will reach the area of the Nehaher serpents, and become potential targets for “those on their mounds of sand.” The archaic Foundation Ritual suggests that the *sīn.w* are netherworld denizens parallel to the *wr.w* and the *īḥr.w-m-p.t*, the *īḥm.w-wrḏ*. The slaughterers who dispatch the Nehaher snakes

²⁵⁹For the choice of stars to indicate the stability of the Netherworld, compare Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, pp. 226-8. There Horus appears as the “pillar of heaven” and the “pillar of the Dat,” each time in the form of a “great star.”

²⁶⁰On which see Valloggia, *Recherches sur les “Messagers”*, pp. xii-xiv, and W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation (Probleme der Ägyptologie 7*; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991) pp. 220-221, and the literature cited in those works. For the *wpw.tyw* as messengers summoning the king to death and destruction, see T. Mrsich, “Gehört die Hausurkunde (*īmyt-pr*) in den Pyramidentexten zum sakralen Recht?,” *SAK* 3 (1975) 202-3 *et passim*; they may represent the dangers of the New Year as well—see Ph. Derchain, *Elkab* vol. 1 *Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'ouady Hellal* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1971) p. 59 and n. 41.

may themselves be the messengers, the dead who at the time of the cosmic cataclysm are in danger of reverting to chaos and themselves punishing the other blessed dead.²⁶¹

The messengers of Babai-Min suggest the deity Bebon in his not infrequent undesirable character.²⁶² For the use of Babai here, and the relation of this deity to the figure of the king as Osiris and Re and Shu, section 9 of chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead provides a parallel:

ir d3d3.t 3 ʿt imy.t N3irf
šw pw B3b3i pw
*R ʿpw Wsir pw*²⁶³

As for the great council which is in Nairef:
 it is Shu, and Babai;
 Re, and Osiris.

Babai is a chthonic deity,²⁶⁴ who might be expected to hold the deceased king down from his celestial destiny.

²⁶¹The messengers of Sakhmet are of course armed with arrows (see below, pp. 538-539 and n. 392; see also n. 324).

²⁶²For Babai-Min here, see Ph. Derchain, "Bébon, le dieu et les mythes," *RdE* 9 (1952) 25 and 42; further on the antagonistic Bebon, see D. Kurth, "Bebon und Thot," *SAK* 19 (1992) 225-30 (discussing a text on the façade of the library in the pronaos of Edfu Temple, in which Bebon is the foe of Thoth).

²⁶³Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, p. 131, ll. 4-6; p. 192, ll. 3-5.

²⁶⁴Note the etymology of his name as "hole-dweller"--Borghouts, "The Victorious Eyes," *Fs. Westendorf* (Göttingen, 1984) p. 705 n. 14. On Baba see also Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten* (ADAIK 9; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1976) pp. 57-8; J. Zandee, "Sargtexte um über Wasser zu Verfügen," *JEOL* 24 (1975-6) 22-4.

Right Portion: Penultimate Scene of the Treatise (plate 36):

Label to the Osiride Figure

1) *nb-T3.wy Nfr-k3-R ˁstp.n-R ˁ* 2) *nb-h ˁ.w R ˁms-sw H ˁm-W3s.t Mrr-ımn*

The lord of the Two Lands Neferkare Setepenre, the lord of glorious
appearances Ramesses Khaemwaset Mereramun.

This label identified the reclining, ithyphallic, Osiride figure who dominates the penultimate portion of the enigmatic wall. He is the deceased ruler Ramesses IX. The accompanying enigmatic annotation, along with the iconography of the figure and accompanying elements, allow one to interpret the figure of the Osirian Ramesses IX as an image of the unified Re-Osiris at the root of the eastern horizon.

Enigmatic Text

The penultimate scene at the right end of the book shows an ithyphallic, Osiride king, an arm raised above his head,²⁶⁵ depicted as though lying on a sandy slope. His feet are above the tail of a snake, the body of which follows the bottom right corner of the scene, its head rearing up behind and facing the back of the king's head. Above the figure is a solar disk; between the disk and the slope, its hind legs touching the disk, is a scarab beetle. Close iconographic parallels to this figure occur in the Papyrus of Heruben (see pl. 41),²⁶⁶ and in a papyrus in Richmond, P. Virginia Museum 54-10 (see pl. 42).²⁶⁷ The scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX is also similar to

²⁶⁵As will be discussed below, the figure most likely has only one hand raised, the other to be envisaged as grasping the phallus.

²⁶⁶Piankoff, *ASAE* 49/2 (1949) 129-67.

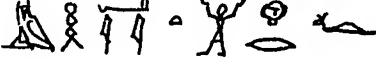

²⁶⁷Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 148 fig. 43 = Brown, *et al.*, *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum*, pp. 42-43, no. 42.

the third depiction in the third register of the third division of the Book of Caverns,²⁶⁸ and the image of Osiris in the fifth tableau of the Book of Caverns.²⁶⁹

In front of the king are five columns of text, four and a half of which are in cryptography. For each line the transliterations, translations, and notes as given by Piankoff are reproduced (a),²⁷⁰ followed by the translations and notes of Hornung (b) (plate 37, figure A):²⁷¹

- 1-2) (a) *nti pn m shr(w) pn 'wj.fī m ḥ ḥt hr=f, rdwj.fī m ḥtmjt*,
 “Ce dieu A est ainsi: ses deux bras sont dans le geste d’exultation au-dessus de lui, B ses deux jambes sont dans l’endroit de destruction C,”

A. Pour *ntr*

B. Le Dr Drioton propose =  le signe Q = ‘
 ( anneau).

C. Pour = 

(b) “So ist dieser Gott beschaffen. Seine Arme sind in Jubel¹⁰, sein Gesicht¹¹ und seine Füße in der Vernichtungsstätte.”

10. Lies *m* (der Vogel hat deutlich Eulen-Kopf!) *ḥ ḥt*, mit Q für ‘, gemeint sind die hochgereckten Arme der Osirisfigur. *ntr* erscheint auch in der

²⁶⁸Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 20.

²⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pl. 26. The following discussion is based on Guilmant’s publication of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, collated in the tomb. Lefebure’s sketch of the scene is inaccurate; his copy of the enigmatic text (E. Lefebure, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes* vol. 3 [MMAF 3; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1889] pl. 9 A) contains several omissions.



²⁷⁰Piankoff, *ASAE* 49/2 (1949) 129-67. R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le temple de l’homme* (Paris: Caractères, 1957) vol. 3, pp. 246-7 and C. Sourdivé, *La main dans l’Égypte pharaonique* (Berne: Peter Lange, 1984) p. 408 quote Piankoff’s translation (Sourdivé also quotes Piankoff’s translation of the annotation to the parallel scene on the papyrus of Heruben, and suggests that the text from the papyrus of Heuben actually accompanies the scarab in front of the ithyphallic figure in the tomb of Ramesses IX).

²⁷¹Hornung, in Osing and Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass*, pp. 226-37.

Kryptographie des Höhlenbuches in der Schreibung *ntj* oder nur *nt*: PIANKOFF, Le Livre des Quererets, pls. 69 and 73.

11. Mit dem Weg-Zeichen für *hr*, Heuschrecke für *r*.

- 2-3) (a) *hpr-ḥh, mswt ntj pn ʿ3 r krr.t ntj pn*
 “le scarabée vivant, ^D naissance de ce grand dieu, est dans la Quereret de ce dieu.”

D.  =  = *hpr ḥh*

- (b) “Die (Wieder)geburt dieses grossen Gottes (Re) ereignet¹² sich bei der Gruft dieses Gottes (Osiris).”

12. Gegen Piankoff nur *hpr* zu lesen, darüber steht deutlich das Haus-Determinativ zu *htmjt*.
























- 3) (a) *iw.f dwi.f n Wsir, Wsir dwi.f r.f.*
 “Il appelle Osiris, et Osiris l’appelle.”

- (b) “Er ruft dem Osiris zu, und Osiris ruft ihm zu.”


- 3-4) (a) *Wnn ntj pn hntj dw3t m kkw sm3w, iw Nhp m s3wtj.f,*
 “Ce dieu est dans la Douat (plongé) dans les ténèbres épaisses, le serpent Nehep est son gardien,”


- (b) “Dieser Gott befindet sich in (*hntj*) der Dat, in der Urfinsternis (*kkw zm3w*). (Die Schlange) Nehep ist sein Wächter,”


- 5) (a) *inh.f irw.f m mswt r ʿ...*
 “il entoure sa forme ^E au moment de la naissance de Râ. Donne qu’Horus, qui apparaît à Thèbes soit avec toi et qu’il te protège!”

E. Pour =                       

Hornung departs but little from the original Piankoff and Drioton edition of this text, and states “die Umschrift von Piankoff ist nur an einer Stelle zu korrigieren”. There are, however, a number of problems with the renderings and understandings of the text given by Piankoff-Drioton and Hornung. Examining the columns in order, left to right, a number of significant improvements can be made in the readings to enhance our understanding the enigmatic text:

lines 1-2) The cryptography of the beginning of line 1 is peculiar for the corpus which the present work examines only in the use of the sign of the *tī.t*-amulet  to write *tī*, a use well attested in New Kingdom monumental cryptography (most well-known in orthographies of the name of Sety I in his Great Temple at Abydos).²⁷² The plant following the *tī.t*-amulet is a phonetic complement *i*. The sign of the *tī.t*-amulet does not appear elsewhere in the extant versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

The text writes the dual for feet, and has the full form of the dual suffix pronoun (*fy*); the signs  suggest as well the dual “arms.” After *‘wy*, however, the suffix pronoun *f* is written without indication of the dual. Only one arm is visible, and the pose of the Heruben figure implies that the other arm is close by the figure’s side, the hand grasping the base of the phallus (pl. 41).²⁷³ A portion of the lower horizontal text

²⁷²Drioton, *ASAE* 40 (1940) 311 and 419. The *tī.t*-amulet sign does not appear in the Dra Abu-n-Naga enigmatic texts. The *tī.t*-sign may appear with the value *tī*, writing the second person singular Old Perfective ending, in a text accompanying the depiction of the Festival of Sokar at Medinet Habu (I thank Prof. Wente for this suggestion). In *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu vol. 4 Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (*OIP* 51; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940) pl. 226, l. 23,  may write *dd.tī*, “may you be stable,” unless one reads *dd(.tī) s3(.tī)*, “may you be stable and may be protected,” assuming an omission of the endings for these two words (as apparently G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen, “The Festival of Sokar,” *Or.* 38 [1969] 11).

²⁷³Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 2. The erect phallus of Osiris appears in scenes of the deity on the funereal bier, mourned by the sister goddesses, with Isis as a bird hivering over the phallus of the prone god (for early

suggests that the expected masturbation of the Min pose is in fact present in the scene (pl. 34, l. 3):

ḥr nty ṯnk ṯtm m ḥpr.n=f w ʿw m Nwn

because I am Atum as he came forth alone from the Nun-waters

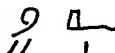
Sourdive²⁷⁴ states that “contrairement à l’inscription, un seul bras est levé à la vertical”. The lack of the dual ending to the suffix pronoun suggests that the text may not really indicate the dual of the word ʿ, “arm.”


The dual of the word *rd*, “lower leg and foot,” does occur as a writing of the singular.²⁷⁵ Singular ʿ occurs at times when one would expect the dual


attestations of this motif see E. Otto, “Eine Darstellung der “Osiris-Mysterien” in Theben,” in W. Helck, ed., *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968] pp. 99-105; Porter, Moss, and Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* II, p. 241 (101) [I thank Prof. Wente for these references]). For the hand of the ithyphallic Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX grasping the phallus one may compare depictions of Min, whose phallus grasping hand seldom appears in two-dimensional representations of ithyphallic deities. R. Gundlach, “Min,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982) col. 136 is incorrect in stating without qualification “nur rundplastisch erkennbar, im Flachbild linker Arm ‘verdeckt’.” For examples of two-dimensional ithyphallic Mins with masturbating arm visible, see Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, vol. 3, pl. 275a (Wadi Ham., Dyn. 26); Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, vol. 3, pl. 189h (Abu Simbel, great temple, sanctuary, back of left wall [B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* VII *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1951) 110 (113)]); numerous examples in Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 2 *et passim*; a Theban graffito in A.-A. F. Sadek and M. Shimy, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine* vol. 3, fasc. 5 (Cairo, 1973) pl. 242, no. 3463b.

²⁷⁴Sourdive, *La main dans l’Égypte pharaonique*, p. 408.

²⁷⁵Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, pl. 4a, n. 1a; see also R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)* (SAOC 52; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1992) p. 118.

orthography, ʕ.wy.²⁷⁶ ʕ.wy for singular ʕ does not appear to be otherwise directly attested. One should note, however, that the writing  ʕ.wy occurs for the word ʕ, “condition,” in T. Ashmoleon 1964.489a rt. 3.²⁷⁷ ʕ and ʕ.wy appear as orthographies of the word ʕ, “(hostile) action,” in the Brooklyn magical papyrus.²⁷⁸ ʕ “bowl” has the orthography ʕ.wy in P. Lansing 15, 4.²⁷⁹ The word ʕ.t, “limb,” is also found written as



²⁷⁶Late Egyptian hr-ʕ for hr-ʕ.wy, Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 58, 11 (=p. 73 n. k, citing J.J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs, Papyrus Leiden I 350 verso and Papyrus Turin 2008 and 2016* [OMRO Supplement 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961] p. 25). Not to be confused with the use of singular ʕ for dual ʕ.wy is the use of the sign  for ʕ.wy --K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt and Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1935-62) vol. 2, p. 153; *idem*, *Das ägyptische Verbum in Altägyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899-1902) vol. 1, p. 306; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1, §289; not recognized by W.R. Faulkner, *Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* (Brussels: Éditions de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1929), or P. Lacau, *Les Noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1970) pp. 13-16. In Hatnub Gr. 17, 3 (Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, pl. 16)


 is the “dual arm,” not a writing of the singular of ʕ for the dual. Other body parts are written in singular forms, but are apparently to be read as duals--for example *dr.t* for *dr.ty*, and *ir.t* for *ir.ty* (G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique* [Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949] p. 146 n. 27 and p. 164 n. 12; E. Edel, “Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon VI,” *ZÄS* 102 [1975] 27-8; H.G. Fischer, “Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' *Deir el Gabrâwi*,” *JARCE* 13 [1976] 11).




²⁷⁷See J. Barns, “A New Wisdom Text from a Writing-board in Oxford,” *JEA* 54 (1968) 74, and *Wb* I 158. In the Late Ramesside Letters, ʕ for “condition” occurs more often before suffix pronouns than does ʕ.wy (so in J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* [*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 9; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939] p. 1, ll. 7 and 9; p. 12, l. 7; p. 13, l. 11; p. 22, ll. 3 and 16); however, the orthography ʕ.wy does occur with a following suffix pronoun (*ibid.*, p. 28, l. 8).

²⁷⁸Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, p. 25 n. i.

²⁷⁹R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (*Brown Egyptological Studies* 1; London: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 426, citing editor's note, and A.M. Blackman and T.E. Peet, “Papyrus Lansing: a Translation with Notes,” *JEA* 11 (1925) 284-98.

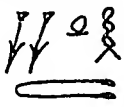
  𓂏.wy in P. Berlin 3038, 163 b (and d ?).²⁸⁰ One might therefore argue that 𓂏 could have been written as 𓂏.wy, the singular of a word for a paired body part attracting a dual writing because the member occurs so often in the dual. The orthography of 𓂏 in the Ramesses IX enigmatic annotation to the ithyphallic Osiris provides a graphic parallel to the intended dual of *rd.wy*; the presence and absence of the dual ending on the suffix pronoun indicates which dual is genuine and which is not.

Drioton and Piankoff, followed by Hornung, read *m ḥꜥyt*;²⁸¹ there are several basic difficulties with such an interpretation. The fact that the sign  does not appear elsewhere with the value 𓂏 presents a problem for the reading *ḥꜥyt*, and Drioton's proposed derivation of 𓂏 from 𓂏n requires the workings of acrophony, otherwise unattested for the sign.²⁸² In the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 7 B),



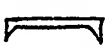
²⁸⁰Von Deines and Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texten*, vol. 1, p. 116 (and p. 114 has 𓂏.wy written as  | 𓂏.wt); 𓂏 for 𓂏, "Urkunde," is not really attested (see T. Mursch, *Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde des Alten Reiches, ein Beitrag zum altägyptischen Stiftungsrecht* [MÄS 13; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1968] pp. 24-5 n. 149). One may also compare the demotic orthography  | , for the singular and plural of 𓂏, "arm, hand."

²⁸¹A writing *ḥꜥy* is possible for the verb, and *ḥꜥyt* would not be an inconceivable writing of the substantive *ḥꜥwt*. E. Brunner-Traut, "Gesten," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977) col. 581 says *ḥꜥj* is "eine freiere Geste des Festes.... Hochwerfen der Arme;" see also H. Müller, "Darstellungen von Gebärden auf Denkmälern des Alten Reiches," *MDIK* 7 (1937) 80; H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich Anredeten, wie sie sich Grüßten und wie sie miteinander Sprachen* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, *Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft* 26; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960 [2nd ed.]); J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *l'Hommage aux dieux sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien, d'après les textes des pyramides* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954); A. Hermann, "Jubel bei der Audienz," *ZÄS* 90 (1963) 50-1.

²⁸²One might propose that the *šn*-ring could substitute for the simple ring. As there is a term *īwꜥw*, "der als Belohnung verliehene Ring" (*Wb.* I 51, 9), appearing also as 𓂏 and 𓂏y (Urk. IV 38, 14), the *šn*-sign substituting for the sign of a metal ring *īwꜥw*/𓂏 could acquire the value 𓂏. This unstested cryptic derivation based on a not overly common term *īwꜥw* for ring is, however, unlikely.


and in the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 23, l. 45), this sign has the value 'n. The parallelism speaks against the arm being described as raised in jubilation. The arm is said to be *m* , whereas the feet are in *htmy.t*,

the "Place of Destruction."²⁸³ The descriptions of the arm and the legs are probably parallel, a proposal which suggests that the arm is described as being in a place, most likely one which is antithetical to *htmy.t*. The raised hand of the reclining figure nearly touches the bottom of a sky sign which stretches over this penultimate scene and the final offering scene to the right. The group of signs under discussions may logically be expected to describe this position of the raised hand, almost touching heaven. Such a situation is similar to the positions of the top and bottom portions of the large standing figure of the solar-Osirian king on the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

The sign which Drioton suggested be read *hr* is a hollow with blue details inside. This is not a pair of falcon eyes, as Drioton and Piankoff suggested; it is rather, as Hornung recognized, the road sign , in the same form in which it occurs in Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 67 (in *st* 'r; the sign is also blue there).²⁸⁴ Here the road sign represents *hr* (for  for , see above, chapter 3). The sign is the determinative of *hry.t*, "Upper Region." The sign of the 'n-ring occurs once in each of the other two versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. On the













²⁸³In a scene in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 34), the legs of Osiris are shown as emerging from what the text describes as *htm.yt*.

²⁸⁴For this form of the road sign, cf. A. Gutbub, "Remarques sur l'épigraphie ptolémaïque: Kom Ombo, spécialement sous Philométor," in *L'égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No. 595; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982) vol. 2, p. 91, fig. 14, no. 40.*

first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun the 'n-ring writes the verb 'n, "to turn back," in the sentence *sn 'n=sn <h>tw 'qd b3.w*, "they turn back <af>ter the bas enter." (pl. 7, figure B). In the Corridor G treatise in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the sign occurs with the value 'n, writing the verb 'n, "to turn back," in the sentence *sn 'n=sn m-ht dwi nu pn 3 r-sn*, "they turn back after this great god calls to them" (pl. 23, ll. 44-48). In pl. 37, fig. A, l. 1, the value 'n does not work well. If one reads the 'n-sign here as a variant of a simple circular sign, the 'n-can be read as a substitution for the pupil, which itself substitutes for the eye.²⁸⁵ Through substitution for the eye the pupil can represent the sign *r*.²⁸⁶ If one reads the apparent šn-sign  as a variant for a circular hieroglyph,²⁸⁷ one may read the word in question as an orthography of *hr.yt*, "upper

²⁸⁵The 'n-sign substitutes for the sign of the eye in the divine name *kmn-ir.ty*, "blind in both eyes" on the Corridor G enigmatic ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 18, figure A, beneath rightmost domes; see chapter 4, particularly n. 33). The pupil represents the eye in *ir.t*, "making," in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 338a; Sethe, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 9*; etc.

²⁸⁶Compare Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933) 39.

²⁸⁷On the statue of Thoeris dedicated by Pabasa, with a prayer for the Votaress Nitocris, Cairo 39145, a circle is written as a variant for šn, "to encircle, to wind around" (M. Verner, "Statue of Tweret (Cairo Museum no. 39145) Dedicated by Pabesi and Several Remarks on the Role of the Hippopotamus Goddess," *ZÄS* 96 [1969] 57 [line 1 of the text on the base in front of the goddess' feet]). A further interchange of a circular sign and the šn--ring occurs in the writing of *irw*, "bodily form," as  at Dendera (Ph. Derchain, "La peche de l'oeil et les mysteres d'Osiris a Dendara," *RdE* 15 [1963] 14 n. 4; Derchain reads *šn, and questioningly suggests a reading *snn*), the šn-ring substituting for the more usual pupil in a writing such as (*Wb.* I 113). In Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104, Drioton proposes to read the sign  as *hnw*, through substitution with  =    , and a subsequent sound shift from šn to hn (Drioton notes the use of the "dotted" circle for hn in Ptolemaic). This is an incorrect reading, and is not a further example of a circle substituting for a šn/'n sign. As Drioton notes, the   of text B corresponds to the clear    of text A. Drioton's rendering of text A as *m 'ryt n* (p. 91) is unconvincing (F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* vol. 1 [Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1988] p. 153 cites only this reference for #163, the pupil, as šn.).

region.”²⁸⁸ This writing of *hry.t* is similar to that in the name of the first standing, mummiform deity from the left in the upper left portion of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 7, fig. A).

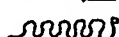
Rather than reading



as *hr=f*, “over him,” following



Drioton and Piankoff,²⁸⁹



represents *rd* in the writing of *rd.wy*. Thus

only the feet are in the *htmy.t*. *Htmy.t* is appropriate for the bottom of the scene, the

²⁸⁸*D3.t hr.t* also occurs in L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (*Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Seconda--collezioni 2*; Turin: Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1977) 94 (24) and 99 (24) (cited D. Meeks, *Anée lexicographique* vol. 1 [Paris: D. Meeks, 1980] p. 432, no. 77.5003).

²⁸⁹Their translation shows they read *hr=f* and understood it as an indication of the position of the arms. *‘.wy=f(y) m h‘yt hr=f* suggests, however, “his arms in jubilation over/because of him” (*Wb* III 41, 8). This sentence comes before the mention of the scarab, so the suffix pronoun could only refer to the Osiride figure, who would then be said to be rejoicing over himself. Egyptian would probably have ordered the sentence *‘.wy=f(y) hr=f m h‘yt*, “his arms over/upon him in jubilation,” in order to avoid such ambiguity. *‘.wy hr* would also suggest “upon, touching;” compare Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 115, discussing P. Leiden I 348 rt. 11, 5 (spell no. 18). There, according to Borghouts, “when the patient places his arms on his head (*‘.wy=ky hr=k*), he will, according to the next sentence, find that his headache has disappeared.” This placing of the arms upon the head could be a symbol jubilation at the relief of pain, but is more likely an exhortation for the patient to feel his head--the pain and soreness should be gone. To have the arms on, touching the head can refer to a gesture of mourning and pain (compare the text on the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV [Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 65, with the figure on p. 124], where mourning entities have their arms raised above them). Note, however, Coffin Texts chapter 52 = de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 239d-f, where the placing of hands on the head does appear to be an indication of jubilation:

239d *ih sp fdw*

| | |
|---|---|
| | <i>ih ršy=i ih nhy=i</i> |
| e | <i>ih dī=i ‘.wy=i tp=i hr ntr pn nb ntr.w</i> |
| f | <i>dī=i im sbh=i m wry.t</i> |

Oh, oh, oh, oh.

Shall I rejoice, or shall I mourn?

place of the feet of Osiris and the row of bound prisoners, for *ḥtmy.t* can be said to release Osiris, but to hold his enemies.²⁹⁰ In the final scene of the lowest register in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the feet of *Wsîr ḥnty imnt*, “Osiris foremost of the West,” are shown as below the ground line, apparently within *ḥtmy.t*.²⁹¹ One may thus read this portion of the Ramesses IX enigmatic annotation as:

Shall I place my arms upon my head on behalf of
this god, the lord of the gods;
or shall I moan and cry in the Weryet?

(For the use of *tp* here, see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 2 [*Analecta Orientalia* 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964] §771a. D.P. Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions with *in* and *in-îw* in Old and Middle Egyptian* [*Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 1; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1980] p. 19, misunderstands the portion of this section which he discusses). P. Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 1986) p. 195 n. 86 notes that *ih* is “aussi bien un cri de joie qu’un cri de deuil.” Sections *e* and *f* appear to be an expansion of the question *in ršy=i in nhy=i*. Section *f*, referring to lamentation, corresponds to *in nhy=i*, “shall I mourn;” if both sections *e* and *f* do not refer to mourning, section *e* could be an enlargement on the question *in ršy=i*, “shall I rejoice.” If the placing of hands on the head here refers to rejoicing, a parallel is difficult, and one can only recall certain dance poses where arms are upraised, and the hands just touch the dancer’s head (on prehistoric figures of possible women dancers assuming this pose [such as in I. Lexová, *Ancient Egyptian Dances* (Prague: Oriental Institute, Czechoslovakia, 1935) figs. 1-2], see E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten, nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen* [*Äg. For.* 6; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1958] pp. 11-2, and H. Wild, “Les dances sacrées de l’Égypte ancienne,” in *Les dances sacrées* [*Sources Orientales* 6; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963] p. 40; for more definite examples, see Vandier, *Mo‘alla, la tombe d’Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* [*BdE* 18, 1950] p. 113 fig. 54; J. Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne* vol. 4, part 2 *Bas-reliefs et peintures, scènes de la vie quotidienne* [Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1964] pl. 18, fig. 205 [tomb of Kagemni]; The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka Part 1 Chambers A 1-10* [*OIP* 31; Chicago: University of Chicago Press] pl. 87; The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 56).

²⁹⁰See Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 169-70.

²⁹¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 61; the female figure lying atop the ground line in the central scene of the same register is *h3.t ḥtmy.t*, “the corpse of the Place of Destruction” (*ibid.* p. 60).

nti pn m sh(r) pn ʿ.wy=f(y) m hry.t
rd.wy=f(y) m htmy.t

This god is in this fashion: his arm in the height (of the Netherworld), his feet
 in the place of destruction.

This is similar to the description of the goddess “Mysterious” in section D 3 of the Book
 of the Earth:²⁹²

tp št3.t m Dw3.t hry.t
rdwy=sy m Dw3.t hry.t
 the head of the mysterious one is in the Upper Netherworld,
 her feet in the Lower Netherworld

For a number of parallels to this description of the position of the feet and raised arm of
 an entity, see the discussion in chapter six.²⁹³

line 5) Piankoff and Drioton read *inh=f irw=f*, “il (the snake) entoure sa (Osiris’)
 forme;” a major problem with that suggested reading is that the snake does not entirely
 surround the figure, either in the tomb of Ramesses IX or on the papyrus of Heruben.
 From the use of *inh* to describe a circumvalation wall (*Wb.* I 99, 3-4), and to describe a
 besieging army (*Wb.* I 99, 10), one might expect the snake more fully to enclose the

²⁹²Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, p. 45; Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* 361; Leitz, *ZÄS* 116 (1989) 55-7 (Leitz is aware of the section D 3 Book of the Earth example of *d3.t hr.t* and *hr.t*, but does not appear to know the section A 4 occurrence--see below, chapter 6).

²⁹³The head in the Upper Netherworld recalls a Ptolemaic description of the giant Amun as *wnn tp=f hr d3.t n.t W3s.t...*, “his head is under/bearing the necropolis of Thebes...” (K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit [Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 8; Leipzig: Akademie-Verlag, 1957] §84h [p. 70]). Amun has his head at the top of the underworld, just below the western hills of Thebes; by describing his head as under the necropolis, this text links the necropolis with the giant Amun of the eastern horizon as the about to be reborn sun, stressing the regenerative potential of the West.

ithyphallic figure on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX.²⁹⁴ In the third scene in the third register of the third division of the Book of Caverns, the *Nḥ3-ḥr* serpent does in fact surround the figure of Osiris. Its function there is, however, not described as *inh*, but as *s3q*, “to hold together.”²⁹⁵ The verb *inh* is not the word one would expect to find in the Ramesses IX enigmatic annotation, and it does not accurately describe what is clearly depicted. Likewise, Hornung’s transliteration and translation *inh=f ir.t=f*, “er umschliesst sein Auge,” is impossible. The eye is not depicted, and there is no parallel forthcoming for the Nehep snake surrounding the eyes of Osiris.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴The address of Re in the fourth scene of the third register in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 43 [1945] pl. 135, ll. 6-8) indeed describes Osiris at the end of the Netherworld, approached by Re, as enclosed by the body of a serpent:

i mkwi š3s=i qrr.t=k sw išt imy q3b
dī=i n=k wd imy-r3=i
srq=i tw m pr im=i

Re says to this cavern:

‘Oh behold I rush through your cavern, you who are in the serpent coils,
 and give you the order which is in my mouth,
 and cause you to breathe by means of that which comes forth from me.’

²⁹⁵Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944), pl. 35, §§ 4 and 5.

²⁹⁶Certainly only a single eye would be mentioned in Hornung’s understanding of the text. However, if this were depicted, the problem of the mention of the single eye could be gotten around (the Egyptians might well in this case have referred to the figure’s eyes in the singular, due to the profile depiction of the face, in which only a single eye is actually represented [in line 10 of the stele Louvre C 14 (W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C14)* [MÄS 22; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1970]) we find, in a description of a scene of the king smiting his enemies, the statement *dgg ir.t n sn.nwt=s*, “an eye staring at its fellow,” referring to the eyes of the king looking into the face of the soon to be dispatched wretch]). The combination of the ithyphallic Osiris surrounded by the protective serpent, and the sun rising from the Osiride horizon hill, suggests the combination of *d.t*-eternity (Osiris and the serpent), and *nḥh*-eternity (the rising sun)--see L. Kákosy, “Einige Probleme des ägyptischen Zeitbegriffes,” *Oikumene* 2 (1978) 105-106.

The entire text is to be transliterated and translated as follows:

1-2) *nti pn m sh(r) pn*

$\epsilon=f m \text{ hry.t}$

rd.wy=fy m htmy.t^a

This god is in this fashion,

his arm in the upper region,

his feet in the place of destruction.

2-3) *hpr ms.wt nti pn 3 r qrr.t (nt --haplography ?) nti pn^b*

It is at the cavern of this god that the birth of this great god occurs.

3) *iw=f dwi=f n Wsir^c Wsir dwi=f r=f*

He calls to Osiris; and Osiris calls to him.

3-4) *wnn nti pn hnty D3.t m kkw-sm3w^d iw nhp m s3wty=f^e*

It is in the uniform darkness that this god, foremost of the Netherworld, exists. The
Nehep snake is his protection.

5) *iw h \underline{d} =f r msw.t R^f <R^g> di=k Hr h^h m W3s.t r hnⁱ=k nd.ty=f hr=k^g*

He shines at the birth of Re. <Re>, may you place Horus, who has appeared in
Thebes, together with you,²⁹⁷ that he may protect you.

^a The arm of the god is raised into the Upper Region (of the Netherworld), into close contact with the newborn sun and the world of the living, the whole figure being an image of the potential fecundity and rejuvenation of the Netherworld.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷For *r hnⁱ* see *Wb* III 112, 1-4.

²⁹⁸*Hry.t* as the "upper region" of the Netherworld could also contain a play on *hr.t* as the visible sky of the world (K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne* [Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Berlin, 1928] p. 4). There may also be an allusion here to the arms of the *m3nw*-mountain (Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 61 n. 97, and p. 232 A 1 and nn. 9-10; on "Umarmung" see *ibid.* pp. 146-7 [and especially n. 34, p. 147]).

b Ntī pn, “this god,” as Hornung recognized, is here Osiris. For this identification there are several indications: 1) the raised arm and the legs of *ntī pn* are described, corresponding to those limbs as represented in the accompanying figure of the Osiride Ramesses IX. 2) *Ntī pn* is *Hnty-D3.t*, who is Osiris, as discussed below, chapter 6, pp. 622-627. 3) *Nhp* is with the *ntī pn*, again corresponding to the depiction of the Osiride king. 4) The *ntī pn* lights up at the birth of Re, an event which is depicted above the Osiride figure. In line 2 we read of the birth of *ntī pn* ‘3, “this great god,” and in line 5 we have the birth of Re. We have here the terminology of the Amduat and the Book of Gates, wherein *ntī* ‘3 is Re.²⁹⁹ In the 12th hour of the Short Amduat³⁰⁰ are the following statements:

(272-3) *mss=tw ntr pn* ‘3 *m hprw=f n Hpr(i) r qrr.t tn*

It is at this cavern that this great god is born, in his realization as Khepri.

(281-3) *qrr.t št3.t nt D3.t mss.t ntr pn* ‘3 *r=s pr=f m Nwn htp=f m h.t Nw.t*

It is the secret cavern of the Netherworld, at which this great god is born, he coming forth from Nun and going to rest in the belly of Nut.

Thus in the Amduat *ntr pn* ‘3, “this great god,” is Khepri in the morning.

^c For the writing of the divine name Osiris, see above, p. 488, text n. b.

²⁹⁹See the remarks of Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 5, n. 17.

³⁰⁰*idem*, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 3 *Die Kurzfassung, Nachtrag* (Äg.Ab. 13; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967) p. 24 (280)-25.

^d Although the deity does extend his extremities into areas which may be parts of the Netherworld (lines 1 and 2), line 4 states that the deity is in the *kkw-sm3w*. On the basis of the cosmography of the Nut Book, “heaven and earth are surrounded by the *dw3.t*, which in its turn is surrounded by *kkw sm3w*.”³⁰¹ A reading of line 4 as: “It is in the Dat, in the uniform darkness that this god exists” is thus impossible. Rather than describing the deity as “in the Dat” (so Piankoff and Hornung), *hnty-d3.t* is here an epithet of the god whom the annotation describes, the ithyphallic Osiride figure. According to Hornung: “*Hnty-d3t* ist eigentlich Beiwort des Osiris, vgl. aber zur Identifizierung Chepri-Osiris die 6. Stunde.”³⁰² “Foremost of the Dat” may mean more than “chief of the Dat”--see the discussion of the giant Re-Osiris as the portal of the horizon in chapter 6.

^e The first bird in the word *s3wty* also has the “wing” drawn in below the line of the back (faint, and not copied by Guilmant, but still visible in the tomb).

In the upper register of the 4th Hour of the Amduat, the Nehep serpent is again a protector:³⁰³

ntsn s33 nhp nhp t3

It is they who guard Nehep, the protector of the earth³⁰⁴

³⁰¹A. Egberts, “The Chronology of *The Report of Wenamun*,” *JEA* 77 (1991) 63.

³⁰²Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 36. In *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 37, l. 6: *nhw Hpr(r) Hnty-D3t*, “living one, Khepr(er), preeminent of the Dat” (*ibid.* vol. 2, pp. 55 and 57); in the upper register of the 7th Hour of the Amduat (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 121, 2; vol. 2, pp. 128-9) *Wsr* and *Hnty-D3t* are parallel, and in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 204, l. 2, Osiris is clearly *Hnty-D3t*, “foremost of the Dat.”

³⁰³Hornung *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 68, l. 3.

³⁰⁴Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 68, l. 3; vol. 2, p. 85 Hornung reads “Sie sind es, die den ‘Beschützer’ (*Nhp*) hüten, der die Erde beschützt...” In Hornung, *Das*

^f The phrase *r ms.wt R* ^c, “at the birth of Re,” occurs in the 12th hour in the Short Amduat:

hpr Nwn Nwn.t Hhw Hhw.t r qrr.t tn r ms.wt ntr pn 3 pr=fm D3.t
hpr=fm m ndy.t hpr=fm ih.ty Nw.t

It is in this cavern, at the birth of this great god (Re) when he goes forth from the Netherworld, when he goes to rest in the bark of the day, when he appears in glory from the thighs of Nut, that there come into being Nun and Nunet, Hehew and Hehewt.

For an equation of the birth (*ms.wt*) of the sun with the emergence (*pr.wt*) of the solar deity, there is a parallel in chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:³⁰⁵

*ir pr.wt=f ms.wt=f pw*³⁰⁶
 As for his emergence, it is his birth.

According to Assmann, *msi* refers to a “zyklische Vereinigung mit der Mutter,” whereas *hpr* is a spontaneous development, “durch die innenwohnende göttliche Schöpferkraft;” *msw.t* refers to the birth of the solar deity as a child, and *hpr.w* to his realization as a scarab.³⁰⁷

Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits, vol. 2, p. 170 n. 13, however, Hornung cites this passage as an example of the earth quaking, as at the time of an epiphany.

³⁰⁵Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 42 (Allen’s §a S 6).

³⁰⁶See also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 118-22 A. 5; 175 A. 5

³⁰⁷Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 32-3; *idem*, *Sonnenhymnen*, no. 87 (TT65) p. 123 n. b; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 43 n. 20; see also U. Rössler-Köhler, “Der König als Kind, Königsname und Maat-Opfer,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern 2 Religion* (Göttingen: Hubert and Co., 1984) p. 937; L. Motte, “L’hiéroglyphe, d’Esna à l’évangile de vérité,” *Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte* 3 (1986) p. 115.

In verses 24-25 of the text of “the king as solar priest,” these forms of rejuvenation are paradoxically combined:³⁰⁸

iw=f rhw msw.t n.t R ⁶
hpr.w=f imy Nwy
 He knows the birth of Re,
 and his realization within the flood.

Similarly, in the Ramesses IX treatise, the text accompanying the Osiride king refers to Re’s rebirth as *msw.t*, it is the scarab/*hpr.w* form in which the newborn sun is depicted.³⁰⁹

See also the discussion of line 22 in the vertical enigmatic text accompanying the bottom register of the main section of the enigmatic wall (see above, pp. 460-461).

⁸ Re is perhaps written as an haplography. For the orthography of *nd* here as *nd.ty*, with *ty* perhaps simply representing the dental, see Wentz, in Ricke, Hughes, and Wentz, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, p. 22 n. b, in “protect;” according to Osing, *Die*

³⁰⁸Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 18, §3.

³⁰⁹In the bottom register to the left, the child and scarab forms are depicted together. For a crossing over of the the *msw.t* child and *hpr.w* scarab, compare the use of the squatting child king as a writing of *hprw* (Eaton-Krauss, *ZÄS* 110 [1983] 127-32; Feucht, *SAK* 11 [1984] 401-417; Rössler-Köhler, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern 2 Religion*, pp. 929-46). Feucht, *SAK* 11 (1984) 414 cites Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 2, 22, and 65-6, for the king appearing as “child” to people, and coming forth from Re as *Hpr* (compare also Feucht, *SAK* 11 [1984] 416 n. 75 citing M. de Rochemonteix and É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Edfu* vol. 1, rev. ed. S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, 4 fascicules [*MMAF* 10; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1984-7] p. 41 for Horus coming forth as a child and flying up to heaven as a beetle).

Nominalbildung, vol. 1, p. 335; vol. 2, n. 1435, pp. 874-5, *nd.ty*, “to protect,” is a verb with a *-taj* affix.³¹⁰

The orthography of *nd.ty* here suggests the verb *nd*, “to protect.” The use of *nd-ḥr* in the context of the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon may also have been intended to have a secondary meaning, being an allusion to *nd-ḥr*, “to greet” (*Wb.* II 372, 8-23). J.G. Griffiths has in fact suggested that the verb *nd* of the formula *nd-ḥr*, “greet,” is the verb *nd*, “to protect.”³¹¹ For *nd-ḥr*, “to greet,” and the significance of the formula in a solar context, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 132-3. In de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 3, p. 188 b and c, *nd-ḥr* and *shṭp-ḥr* are parallel; in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 329 b, the dead desires that the sun god should perform the *shṭp ḥr* of Osiris. The *nd-ḥr* occurring in the enigmatic annotation to the Osiride figure on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX is perhaps an allusion to the *nd-ḥr* of Osiris by Re in the 5th Tableau of the Book of Caverns.³¹² Re places the king with him, that the king might enquire after him (pl. 37, fig. A, l. 5), yet it is Osiris after whom one inquires. This wish is then a reference to the god known from elsewhere as *dmdy*, the unified Re-Osiris--the king with Re inquires after Re as Osiris, greeting himself at

³¹⁰Pronunciation may also have influenced this orthography. *Nd* is archaic in demotic, and does not appear in Coptic, but other words using the *nd*-sign show a not unexpected *-d > -t* shift. Compare also the final *t* in a writing of *hd*, “to damage” (*Wb.* III 212), in the second stele of Kamose--see L. Habachi, *The Second Stele of Kamose, and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital* (ADAIK 8; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1972) p. 38 n. *h*. The word is demotic *ḥ-ṯ-ṯ-ḥ-ṯ*, *ḥty* (perhaps Coptic *ⲉⲩⲧⲏ* [Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 395]), suggesting that the *t* on the Kamose stele to be a phonetic complement.

³¹¹J.G. Griffiths, “The Meaning of *nd* and *nd-ḥr*,” *JEA* 37 (1951) 32-7. For possible confusions of the determinatives of *nd*, “to protect,” and *nd*, “to question,” compare Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 35 n. *b*.

³¹²Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 pl. 70, l. 8.

the moment of rebirth at the eastern horizon. One could interpret the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall as a depiction of the disk of Re greeting the corpse of Osiris at the eastern horizon.³¹³

By indicating that he might protect or inquire after Osiris (pl. 37, fig. A, l. 5) the king may also place himself in the position of Horus. In the 12th Hour of the “Stundenwachen” of Osiris, we read:³¹⁴

wnw.t 12.t ny.t grḥ wnw.t pw ny.t nd-ḥr Wsîr îm=s î n s3=f Ḥr ḥn' ît=f Gb

The 12th Hour of the night--it is the hour in which inquiry is made after Osiris,
by his son Horus and his father Geb.

In the scene accompanying the enigmatic annotation in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the disk of the sun, as it passes over the body of the ithyphallic mummy, and enters the hand of the Osiride king, “protects” and “inquires after” Osiris. This concluding line of the annotation to the ithyphallic figure is similar to the concluding line to the annotation to the lower register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall (pl. 35, ll. 46-49): “may you place Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Right Order, Neferkare-Setepenre <in> heaven together with the one who made it.”

³¹³In a portion of the 1st Hour of the Amduat:

îî.n=î nd=î ḥr=î îm=î

“Ich bin gekommen, dass ich mich beschenke mit mir.”

Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 18, l. 7; vol. 2, p. 33 and p. 35 n. 10; Hornung reads *nd-ḥr* here as “jemanden beschenken mit etwas,” and notes that the text refers to the “Vereinigung der frei beweglichen ‘Seele’ des Sonnengottes mit seinem Leichnam, der in der Unterwelt ruht.”

³¹⁴H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse 54; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1910) p. 123.*

In the penultimate scene in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the ithyphallic Osiris lies on the sloping base of the horizon, one of its two hills, supporting himself on the horizon.³¹⁵ The feet of the god are in the Place of Destruction (*ḥtmy.t*), which could refer to the eastern horizon as a place of fiery punishment.³¹⁶ In the left (main) portion of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall, the sun triumphs over the serpents of chaos as it nears the eastern horizon, on which reclines the giant Osiride Re-Osiris. Images of bound enemies form the base of the wall, alluding to the time of the final victory of the sun at the end of the night as the time of the flaming destruction of the damned.³¹⁷ For a discussion of the significance of the giant-deity, and a comparison of the depictions and descriptions of this deity occurring in the various versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, see chapter 6.

³¹⁵See Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 33, l. 9, with the parallel in P. Magical Harris: *rmn=k ḥr dw py nt ḥqr.t*, “your shoulder upon that mountain of Igeret,” which would well describe the reclining ithyphallic Osiris; see also Derchain, *CdE* 74 (1962) 261; and J. Zandee, “Hymnical Sayings Addressed to the Sungod by the High-Priest of Amun Nebwenenef from his tomb in Thebes,” *JEOL* 18 (1964) 253.

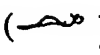

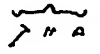
³¹⁶J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques II: Les révélations du mystère des quatre boules,” *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 364 n. 10, with references to the eastern horizon as a “lieu de punition et le brasero;” see also Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80) 16-7 (and the references p. 16 n. 49).

³¹⁷For an association of punishment of the damned with Min, deity of the southeastern horizon, see S. Sauneron, “Villes et légendes d’Égypte (§XXX-XXXIII),” *BIFAO* 69 (1971) 53-58 (especially the scene on p. 56). The “Island of Fire” is at once the abode of the solar deity, the place of rest for the Blessed Dead, and the place of destruction for the damned (for the Island of Fire, and the later Coptic notions of the purifying and destructive workings of the River of Fire, see C.D.G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der koptischen Kirche* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959] pp. 97-98, particularly n. 692a).

The Graffito (plate 37, figure B):

This text augments the horizontal line of text between the middle and lower registers of the left-hand portion of the wall (plate 35), ensuring the protection of the king.³¹⁸ Lefebure³¹⁹ and Guilmant³²⁰ published copies of the hieratic text; Kitchen³²¹ gives a transcription. There is no translation or commentary published, and the text has apparently received no further attention. The graffito was collated in the tomb on several occasions during the winter of 1991-92; though obscured by a layer of dust, it was possible to verify all of the readings.

- 1) *Wsîr nswt Nfr-k3-R ' Stp-n-R ' 'nh wd3 snb îwy hr=k ntr '3*
nd.n.tw=f 2) *<n> n3 h3b.w nt B3b3î*
dî=k s3-R ' R 'ms-sw H 'm-W3s.t mry-îmn 3)m-hnw=k
h3p=k sšm.w=f
ntf mw n h'.wt=k
b3=k špsy
- 4) *msy=f n îmy.w-p.t*
n îmy.w-t3
hr-nty ntf sf
îw=f rh dw3w


line 1) *.n.tw=f* () is preferable to Kitchen's  (and his questioningly suggested  ?).






³¹⁸For Osiris protected from harm, see the first scene of the upper register of the 6th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 100, ll. 3-4).

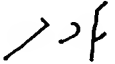

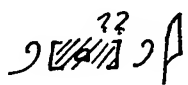
³¹⁹Lefebure, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, vol. 1, pl. 9 B.

³²⁰Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 77.

³²¹K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 6: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd., 1983) p. 460, l. 15-p. 461, l. 2.

line 2) Kitchen transcribed . What Kitchen transcribed as the first of two alephs is actually *n3*, the small aleph directly below the *h3* is the only aleph used in writing *h3b.w*. The *h3i*-fish can have a long snout, and this appears to have joined here with the *n* of *n3*. *M* appears to have gone to *n* before *n3 h3b.w*, and has been assimilated to the *n* of *n3*.

Lefebure's and Guilmant's  is not entirely accurate, and Kitchen's transcription  is not possible. The wall shows, through a thick layer of dust, . This suggests  for .³²²

line 4) The group  is better read as  than Kitchen's  (compare the relatively short tail on the viper-*f* in *nd.n.tw=f* at the end of the first line of the graffito).

1) The Osiris king Neferkare-Setepenre l.p.h. is come before you,
(oh) great god.



2) From the *h3b.w* of Babai^a has he been protected.

May you set the son of Re Ramesses IX, beloved of Amun, 3) in your
sanctum.^b

May you hide his forms.^c

He is the efflux of your limbs, your august ram-form.^d

4) For those in heaven and for those in the earth has he been born,^e
for he is yesterday,
while he knows tomorrow^f

³²²J. Wilson, "The Language of the Historical Texts Commemorating Ramses III," in U. Hölscher and J.A. Wilson, *Medinet Habu Studies 1928/29* (OIC 7; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930) p. 32; compare the writing  for  in H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Band 56, Abhandlung 4; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1913) p. 41.

^a The *h3b.w* of Babai are otherwise unattested. “Evil doers” is a possible rendering of the term *h3b.w*.³²³ The term should refer to the *wpw.tyw*-messengers of the central horizontal band of text (pl. 35). In connection with the *wpw.tyw* one finds the *h3.tyw*, armed with their knives.³²⁴ In the 5th Address to Re in the Great Litany is the wish:

nhm=k N m=‘ h3.tyw=k spd.w nm.w ³²⁵

May you protect N from your slayers, those sharp of knives.

In the lowest register of the 7th Hour of the Book of Gates are the *iry.w h3b.w* and the *h3b.yw*, the “Sichelträger.”³²⁶ Although the sickle does not appear to be used elsewhere in the Netherworld Books either as a weapon or as a tool of punishment, these *h3b.w* of Babai may be sickle-wielding furies. Dangerous beings who reap the

³²³On *h3b*, see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 51 n. 6, and the references cited there. For the association of the word *h3b* with Seth, see Te Velde, *Seth, god of Confusion*, p. 17 n. 16; R. Anthes, “Die Berichte des Neferhotep und des Ichernofret über das Osirisfest in Abydos,” in W. Müller, ed., *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums (Mitteilung aus der ägyptischen Sammlung 7; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974)* p. 24 (l. 28 n 6); J.J. Clère, “Une Hymne à Abydos sur une stèle inédite d’époque ramesside,” *ZÄS* 84 (1959) 90 and 98).

³²⁴Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 376 n. 1; vol. 2, p. 132 n. 339; C. Evrard-Derriks and J. Quaegebeur, “La situle décorée de Nesnakhietou au Musée Royal de Mariemont,” *CdE* 107 (1979) p. 42 n. c; P.W. Pestman, “Jeux de Déterminatifs en démotique,” *RdE* 25 (1973) 32-4; see the explanation given by Ph. Germond, “En marge des litanies de Sekhmet à Edfou: flèches et messagers,” *BSEG* 2 (1979) 25, on the *wpw.tyw* and *šm3.yw* of Sakhmet; M. Chauveau, “La glorification d’une morte anonyme,” *RdE* 41 (1990) 8 n. r; J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an [Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50]* 2 vols. (*BdÉ* 52 and *Wilbour Monographs* 7; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale; New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1974-74) p. 89 n. 51.

³²⁵Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 146; vol. 2, p. 132 n. 339.

³²⁶*idem*, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, 47th Scene; vol. 2, pp. 189-90 (and *Wb.* III 362, 1).

dead, using the symbolism of harvesting, appear as the *bw.w*, the “heapers up of corn” with pitch-forks in CT VI 84g,³²⁷ from whom the corpse of the dead should be kept safe. A similar association of the sickle with severing the heads of the damned appears to be behind the 13th vignette in the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II.³²⁸ There a woman cuts wheat with a sickle; behind her stands a lion-headed (?) female being holding a severed human head; behind these two creatures are several fantastic beasts, including a crocodile-headed entity seated on the back of a hippopotamus and holding a heart. The context appears to be one of punishment, and there is an association of sickle-cut wheat with a severed head.³²⁹

^b For *hnw* as *sanctum*, see R.A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* (*Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 33-34; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974) vol. 2, p. 97 n. 4. This *hnw* may be the *qrr.t ntī pn*, “the cavern of this god (Osiris)” (on which see above, p. 509, text note *b* to pl. 36). This occurrence of *hnw* also suggests the name of Osiris as *Hnw*, parallel to *3ht*, in PT 585a.³³⁰ Osiris should place the king in the *hnw*

³²⁷Wb. I 176, 15; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 201; in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 84g, the *bw.w* are parallel to the *s33.w ỉry.w ʿwt.*, “the guards who relate to the limbs.”

³²⁸Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 22.

³²⁹In the 7th Hour of the Book of Gates it is also said that “the one who offers to them (the sickle-bearing *h3by.w*) upon the earth is among the sickle bearers (*hry.w h3b.w*) in the fields of the Dat” (Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 270-271; for the formula “the one who offers to them upon the earth,” see E.F. Wente, “Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?,” *JNES* 41 [1982] 167-172); this may associate the blessed dead with the reapers of the dead, but more likely it indicates that the blessed dead are properly provisioned, provided with the sickles necessary for harvesting the grain in the Netherworld.

³³⁰Cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 103.

and hide him; this text thus corresponds to the depiction on the enigmatic wall--the king lies in the hill which is the root of the horizon, and Osiris is that hill of the horizon which hides the Osirian king.

^c This reference to hiding the forms of the king could liken the king and his manifestations in the *hnw* of Osiris in the Netherworld to the images of deities in temples,³³¹ and could also refer to a properly maintained burial (the “ones who are in the earth” [*imy.w-t3*] are “hidden of corpses” [*št3.w h3.wt*] in Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 176; vol. 2, p. 137, n. 403).

^d This “august ram-form” is the corpse of the Osiride king, identified with the *b3*-ram form of the Solar-Osirian deity. The association of the corpse of Osiris, the *fd.t* chest/sarcophagus, and the ram form of the sun on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 8), and the parallel of the rising ram in the tomb of Ramesses

³³¹In *Medinet Habu* V pl. 355E, there is also a mixture of temple and horizon imagery; the mortuary temple of Ramesses III is said to be:

3h.t h<<.wy s.t htp n Km.t P ntry n it ntr.w srh Hr-3h.ty
r sh3p šsm.w nw psd.t T3-Šm<

The Horizon of Jubilation, The Resting Place in Egypt;
 The Divine Socle for the Father of the gods, The Serekh of Horakhty,
 intended for hiding the images of the ennead of Upper Egypt; ...

For the naos as a place which hides (*h3p*) what it contains, cf. Chassinat and Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara* 8, p. 81, l. 6 (cited Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.2575). For hiding as a prelude to dawn, rising, and resurrection, see Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator*, pp. 111-3 and 141. On this Medinet Habu text, see J. C. Darnell, “Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu,” in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1994).

VII³³² show the king's corpse as the ram-form of the sun--a ram form of the god named in the accompanying annotation in the tomb of Ramesses VII *h3.t-R* ^c, "corpse of Re." Osiris is the corpse of the solar deity,³³³ otherwise called *iwf*, the ram-headed sun of the night.

^e The verb *msy* is here rendered as a nominal passive *sḏm=f*. J. Winand has suggested that the *sḏm(w)=f* passive was "perfective" in Late Egyptian, whereas the passive nominal form was *sḏm.tw=f*, derived through reduction from *sḏm.n.tw=f*.³³⁴ Support for the rendition of the passive *msy=f* presented here may, however, be derived from the passage P. Anastasi III 7, 2-3:³³⁵

h3y=f m p.t ms=f m iwnw

It was from heaven that he has descended, and it was in Heliopolis that he was born.³³⁶

³³²Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, p. 64, pl. 117; for a complete discussion see above, chapter 3, pp. 134-135.

³³³W. Barta, "Bemerkungen zur 'grossen Litanei' im Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen," *ZÄS* 113 (1986) 86-87.

³³⁴J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien 1, la morphologie verbale* (*Aegyptiaca Lealiensia* 2; Liège: Centre Informatique de Philologie et Lettres, 1992) pp. 476-86 (his presentation of the passive *sḏm(w)=f* as "perfective"), and pp. 487-504 (his presentation of the *sḏm.tw=f* as nominal).

³³⁵A. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. 7; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937) p. 28, ll. 9-10.

³³⁶Translation of E.F. Wente, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense," *JNES* 28 (1969) 6.

The passive *ms=f* there, in a parallel construction with a nominal *h3y=f* reduced from *h3.n=f*,³³⁷ supports the rendering of *msy=f* in the Ramesses IX graffito.³³⁸ The occurrence of the later *sdm.n.tw=f* nominal passive alongside the earlier nominal passive *sdm=f*³³⁹ suggests a possible difference in meaning between the two passive forms in this text.

Primarily, the *imy.w-p.t* would be the gods (Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol. 1, no. 77.0256; vol. 3, no. 79.0194), and the *imy.w-t3* the dead (*ibid.* vol. 1, no. 77.0270). See also Meeks, *Année lexicographique* vol. 2, p. 406 (no. 78.4494) for *ntr.w nb.w p.t t3*. On *t3* as a designation of the Netherworld, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 120, n. 192.³⁴⁰ The king is said to have been born for these

³³⁷*ibid.* n. 39. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien* 1, p. 306, §481, ex. 717, cites the P. Anastasi III 7, 2-3 passage as an example of the “perfectifs passifs suivis d’un sujet pronominal.”

³³⁸A probable example of a similar statement as a *sdm.tw=f* reduced from *sdm.n.tw=f* occurs in the speech of Seshat-Sefkhetabwy to Sethos I in a text from the great temple at Abydos (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 1, p. 186, l. 13):

ms.tw n=k R^c m hprw.w=f r h^c.t m-hnw=s

In order to appear in glory within it (the temple of Sety I at Abydos) has Re been born for you in his manifestations.

³³⁹See E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System in Old and Middle Egyptian* (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme* 12; Geneva: Patrick Kramer, 1986) pp. 85-88.

³⁴⁰See also the comments of J. G. Griffiths, revue of Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* vol. 2, in *JEA* 74 (1988) 277-8. In line 223 of the Metternich Stele, one finds *phr t3.wy*, “going around the earth” (the dual as a writing of the singular, unless the term is used as a netherworldly variant for *p.ty*, the two heavens); in a variant of this passage (A. Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of the Antiquities of Leiden* [OMRO 33; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952] p. 29 [M 223 = f 9]), one finds *phr d3.t*, “going around the Netherworld.” There was also a phonetic similarity between *t3* and *d3.t* (compare the hieroglyphic *t3 dsr.t*, “holy land,” corresponding to demotic *dw3.t dsr.t*, “holy Netherworld,” in G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg* [Demotische Studien 6; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913] pp. 42-3, p. 63*, p. 90 no. 154; in P. Magical XVII, 20, there is a pun on *ty.t*, “underworld,” and *ty*, “here” [see also above, second shrine of Tutankhamun]). For

entities “for he is yesterday, while he knows tomorrow.” This is the king as yesterday and tomorrow, Osiris and Re, the sun of the sky and of the nether-sky.³⁴¹ For Osiris as *imy-t3*, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 50, l. 72; vol. 2, p. 112, n. 118. The sun in the Netherworld can be referred to as *t3y*, “he of the earth,” the chthonic sun.³⁴² The *imy.w-p.t* and *imy.w-t3* occur in a similar context in the tomb of Prince Amunherkhopeshef. There, the god Qebhsenewef leads Ramesses III by the hand; a vertical column of text between the two figures, spoken by Qebhsenewef, states:

in.n(=i) n=k imy.w-p.t in.n(=i) n=k imy.w-t3

As I bring to you those in heaven, so I bring to you those in the earth.³⁴³

t3, “earth,” as a designation of the tomb itself, see L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (SAOC 34; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) p. 111.

³⁴¹On Osiris as the sun of the under heaven, see Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 35-7. Derchain cites the opening of the Hawara stele published by Daressy, *RdT* 36 (1914) 73-82, opening a copy of the Book of Travelling through Eternity, in which Osiris is referred to as *in n d3.tyw*, the “sun disk of the inhabitants of the Netherworld.”

³⁴²See entity no. 607 in the lower register of the 8th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 149; vol. 2, p. 150); the middle register of the 3rd Division of the Book of Gates (scene 11; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 68; vol. 2, pp. 86 and 87 n. 11); Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, text 14, p. 51, pl. 30, l. 7. *T3.y*, written as though a dual, is the reading of the divine name in F. Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen als Grabbeigaben in dem ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. und 19. Dynastie* (ÄG.Ab. 35; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979) 30 (303 A) = Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 319, no. 79.3344 (*T3-T3*).

³⁴³Hassanein and Nelson, *La tombe du Prince Amon-(Ḥer)-Khepchef*, p. 102 (text C 11). For the *Wechselsatz* composed of two *sdm.n=f* forms, see the examples in Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, pp. 275-276 (§409).

The mention of those in heaven and those in the earth also relates the king as Shu to the two major components of the world (*p.t* and *t3*), his purpose being to separate the two elements and complete the cosmos--heaven and earth belong "zur oberen und unteren Begrenzung des Weltgebäudes, in dessen Mittelpunkt sich der Pharaο befindet."³⁴⁴ The pose of the image of the Osiride king, feet in the place of destruction, one arm raised to the heavens, is consistent with an interpretation the king as Shu, separating the elements of the cosmos. Both the *imy.w-p.t* and the *imy.w-t3* could be the dead in their celestial and chthonic destinies.³⁴⁵ For the living king as having authority in the Netherworld and in heaven, compare the address of the vizier Khaemtore (usurped by Pareemhab) to the living ruler Amenmesse (usurped by Sety II) on a block in the Oriental Institute Museum:³⁴⁶

tw.k mī R' dī=f sw m d3.t mḥ.n=f t3.wy m stwt=f nsw.t-bity Wsr-ḥpr.w-R' [...]

You are like Re, when he sets in the netherworld, having filled the Two Lands with his rays, (oh) king of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheperure [...]

³⁴⁴W. Westendorf, "Der Eine im Himmel, der Andere in der Erde," in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1984) pp. 239-44 (quotation from p. 242).

³⁴⁵Compare a section of the Book of Travelling Eternity (Stela Vatican II. 6-7: W. Wreszinski, "Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit nach einem Stela im Vatikan," *ZÄS* 45 [1908] 117 and pl. 5; P. Leiden T 32, I ll. 11-12: B.H. Stricker, "De Egyptische Mysteriën, Pap. Leiden T 32," *OMRO* 31 [1950] p. 55 and pl. 2; P. Vienna 29, ll. 20-1: E. von Bergmann, *Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit [Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Band. 86; Vienna, 1877]* photo and p. 377), where it is wished for the blessed dead that he ascend (*hy*) to heaven unhindered, and that he descend (*shd*) to the Dat unhindered.

³⁴⁶The block is Oriental Institute Museum inventory number 10816--see Habachi, "King Amenmesse and Viziers Amenmose and Kha'emtore: their Monuments and Place in History," *MDAIK* 34 (1978) pl. 11.

For the combination of the concepts expressed by lines 3-4: *ntf mw n ḥꜣwt=k b3=k špsy msy=f n imy.w-p.t n imy.w-t3*, a portion of the bandeau text over the processional scene on the southern portion of the front interior wall in the court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos provides a parallel:³⁴⁷

mk pw ṛr nswt mw pw ntr(y)
tī sw m imy-ḥr.t mī-wn=f tp t3
ṛr=f ḥprw mr=f mītt i ḥ.t

Now as for a king, he is divine seed;
 for he is one in the necropolis as he was upon the earth,
 manifesting himself as he wills, like the moon goddess.

This is a reference to the continuing rebirth of the king, as he becomes part of the eternal Re-Osiris cycle.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1935) pl. 185; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 2, p. 532, ll. 7-8. This concept also finds expression in the phrase "König im Lichtland (wie) in der Unterwelt" (cited by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 81 A. 4, discussing a similar passage in chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead).

³⁴⁸For Osiris as the moon, see J.G. Griffiths, "Osiris and the Moon in Iconography," *JEA* 62 (1976) 153-9; *idem*, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980) pp. 239-40; E. Graefe, "Noch einmal Osiris-Lunus," *JEA* 65 (1979) 171-3; for the king and the moon, see Drioton, *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933) 44-5, and see above, chapter on Ramesses VI. Compare also the statement of awed foreigners concerning Egypt and Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 2 *Later Historical Records of Ramses III* [OIP 9; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932] pls. 80-83, l. 39): *nb=s p3 nty m ḥr.t qī=f mī qd=f*, "her (Egypt's) lord is the one who is in heaven, his nature like his nature ...," indicating their belief that (as W.F. Edgerton and J. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III* [SAOC 12; Chicago, 1936] p. 83 n. 39c observed), "Ramses' nature is like that of Re" (*qī=f mī qd=f* may also mean "he is as he is," an expression of divinity similar to the phrase *īw=i im=i*, "I am as I am," occurring in the Book of the Heavenly Cow--Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh*, §184, p. 63 n. 121, and G. Fecht, in *ibid.*, p. 125 n. aa).

^fThe conclusion of the graffito is a paraphrase of a portion of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.³⁴⁹ According to Derchain: “Il semble du reste que l’association d’Osiris et de Râ soit d’ailleurs encore le symbole du moment de la résurrection.”³⁵⁰ This is appropriate for the dead king at the base of the horizon, on the edge of this world and the next. For the independent pronoun paralleling *iw* + pronoun *rh*, see Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System*, pp. 102-103.

The graffito attached to the penultimate scene of the enigmatic wall supports the iconographic conclusions proposed here, and compliments the enigmatic annotation. The reference in the graffito to the sickle-wielding *h3b.w* of Babai elaborates upon the

³⁴⁹See U. Rössler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches* (GOF IV vol. 10; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979) p. 240; M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, *De Oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a, Coffin Texts Spruch 335a* (Leiden: J.J. Groen and Zoon, 1963) pp. 16, 53-5 (citing de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, pp. 192-93 parallel); J. G. Griffiths, “Some Egyptian Conceptual Triads,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (*Stud. Aeg.* 14; Budapest: La Chair d’Égyptologie de l’Université Eötvöl Loránd de Budapest, 1992) pp. 227-8.

³⁵⁰Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 35-7, specifically p. 36; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 101-5 A. 18, pp. 109-11 (according to Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 111, Re and Osiris together is a symbol for “Zeitlosigkeit”); Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 33; see also G. Englund, “Gods as a Frame of Reference,” in G. Englund, ed., *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions* (*Boreas* 20; Uppsala: Tryckeri Balder AB, 1989) 17-8; Van Dijk, *JEOL* 26 (1979-80) 19-21; J. Zandee, “Ein doppelt überlieferter Text eines Hymnus an die Nachtsonne aus dem Neuen Reich,” *JEOL* 27 (1981-2) 8-9. Compare Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 1, p. 191, ll. 6-7:

ir=k ndty hr Wnn-nfr
i i=k iw.tyw=f n sf
di=k hpr=f dw3w sp-sn m R r-gs ntr nb

you shall be a protector for Onnophris,
 washing away his putrefaction of yesterday,
 causing him to become manifest every morning as Re in
 the presence of every god

prayer in the vertical band of text (pl. 36) to the left of the ithyphallic figure that the king be preserved from the messengers of Babai, thereby tying the scene of the ithyphallic Osiris even more closely to the left-hand registers of the enigmatic wall.

The King Offers Maat to Maat and Ptah (plate 39):

The two brief texts accompanying the concluding scene of the enigmatic wall are written in *Normalschrift*, and serve to identify the figures of the king and the god Ptah. Ptah's epithets do not appear to relate specifically to the enigmatic wall treatise, although his epithet "creator of crafts" would have held a special significance for the artisans who decorated the tomb.

Text before the king:

nb-t3.wy Nfr-k3-R ˘ stp.n R ˘

nb-h ˘.w R ˘-ms-sw mrr-ımn H ˘(-m)-W3s.t

The lord of the Two Lands, Neferkare-Setepenre;

the lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Mereramun Khaemwaset

Text before Ptah:

ḏ(d)-mdw (ı)n Pth nb m3 ˘.t nsw.t-t3.wy


Nfr-hr msw ḥmww.t^a

hr(y) s.t-wr.t m ḥtp

Words spoken by Ptah, lord of right order, king of the Two Lands,

Perfect of face, Who created crafts,

One presiding over the great place at rest.

^a The first two lines of the text in front of Ptah are paralleled by the name and epithets of Ptah in J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna, die Reliefs und Inschriften* vol. 1 (AV 20; Mainz am Rhein, 1977) p. 21 and n. 56. Osing reads  *ḥmww.t* in the Gurna Temple example as "Werkstätte;" the epithet *ms ḥmww.t* occurs again in epithets of Ptah

at the Ramesseum, where *ḥmww.t* is indeed determined by the *pr*-sign.³⁵¹ Meeks lists the Gurna Temple example under *ḥmww*, “les arts;”³⁵² a reading “arts, crafts” better suits the orthography of the epithet in the Gurna Temple, and such a reading is also appropriate for the epithet as it appears in the tomb of Ramesses IX. On the ostrakon Berlin 15345 Vs., Ptah is called [*Pth n t*]ʒ *s.t-nfr.w qmʒ ḥmww*, “[Ptah of t]he Valley of the Queens, who created crafts,”³⁵³ suggesting that the Ptah who created crafts is perhaps Ptah as the god of the workers in the Valley of the Kings.

The scene of Ramesses IX offering Maat to Ptah, before whom stands a small figure of Maat, concludes this treatise and complements the penultimate scene of the ithyphallic Osiris. Maat stands before Ptah, a parallel to other descriptions of Maat before a deity, of which Assmann says: “Das Erscheinen der Wahrheit vor dem Sonnengott und ihre Vereinigung mit ihm ist gleichbedeutend mit dem Sieg des Lichts.”³⁵⁴

Ptah in this final scene of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall is the image of the deity,³⁵⁵ specifically Ptah represents the cult image of Re.³⁵⁶ Re appears as the disk

³⁵¹J.-C. Goyon and H. El-Achirie, *Le Ramesseum VI, la salle des litanies* (Cairo: Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1974) p. 28 (§R.9, second horizontal division of epitheta from the top, 7th column from the left).

³⁵²Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 245, no. 77.2696.

³⁵³E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH., 1956) pp. 25-26, pl. 7 (no. 10).

³⁵⁴Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 177-9 (quotation from p. 179). See also J. Assmann, *Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1990) pp. 174-95.

³⁵⁵idem, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 124 n. d.

entering the hand of the reclining Osiris, his *shm*-cult image, fashioned by Ptah, and thus Re is himself called Ptah.³⁵⁷ The solar hymn in Theban Tomb no. 23 describes three manifestations of the solar deity:³⁵⁸

p.t hr b3=k hr stz 3hw=k
d3.t hr h3.t=k hr sh3p dt=k
t3 pn hr hn.ty=k

Heaven bears your *ba* while raising up your glow;
 the Netherworld bears your corpse while concealing your *dt*-body;
 and this land bears your image.

The *ba* is in heaven, the corpse and *d.t* body are in the Netherworld, and the image is on earth. These manifestations of the solar deity help explain the two concluding scenes on the enigmatic wall. The scarab and sun disk depicted above the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene are the *ba* and glow of the deity in heaven; the ithyphallic Osiris is the corpse of the deity, and the Nehep snake behind the deity may allude to the *d.t*-body of the god. Ptah in the final scene receives an offering from Ramesses IX depicted as earthly ruler--Ptah is the image of the solar deity on earth.

Ptah as the image of Re is appropriate as a counterpart to the giant solar-Osiris. As that deity may be said to have his feet in the chthonic realm and his head and hands in

³⁵⁶idem, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 173; R. Anthes, *ZÄS* 90 (1963) 1-10.

³⁵⁷Assmann, "Zwei Sonnenhymnen der späten XVIII. Dynastie in thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit," *MDAIK* 27 (1971) 16 and n. 37, 25-7 (according to P. Boulaq 17, I. 7, the sun disk is the *shm nfr ir.n Pth*, "perfect image which Ptah has made; *idem*, *Basa* p. 80. For Ptah as "icon," see Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 94.

³⁵⁸Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, no. 17, ll. 8-9; *idem*, *Re und Amun*, pp. 243-6.

the heavens, so may Ptah as Re take on the aspects of the giant deity. According to a hymn to Ptah in P. Berlin 3048, col. 5, l. 4:³⁵⁹

rd.wy=ky h.r t3 tp=k [m] t3 hr.t m hprw=k m imy-d3.t

Your two feet are upon earth, and your head [in] the heaven, in your realization
as the-one-who-is-in-the-Netherworld.

In the concluding scene to the treatise on the enigmatic wall Ptah is the counterpart to the ithyphallic Re-Osiris in the penultimate scene. The name of Ptah appears twice in the version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead in the lower register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall (pl. 34, ll. 31 and 36), and the epithet of Ptah as *Pd-ḥ* occurs in the horizontal line of text above the lower register (pl. 35). In the horizontal text, *Pd-ḥ* is related to Atum the creator. As well as being the representation of the cult-image of Re, Ptah also appears as the manifestation of the creative force of the solar deity; according to the hymn of the sculptors Suti and Hor:³⁶⁰

Pth(wy) tw nwb=k ḥ.w=k

(How) Ptah-like are you,³⁶¹ moulding your limbs.

The ithyphallic Osiris is the Solar-Osirian deity at the time of the mystic union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon, the place of the regeneration of the day. Ptah, a representative of the creative aspect of the solar deity, is appropriate to the final scene of the enigmatic wall, a suitable counterpart to the creative solar-Osiris.

³⁵⁹A. Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* vol. 1 *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901) pl. 39.

³⁶⁰W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 1944, l. 1.

³⁶¹For this statement, see Assmann, *MDAIK* 27 (1971) 16.

In the concluding scene the king offers Maat to Ptah, a symbol of “Gemeinschaft mit dem Sonnengott,” ensuring the rising of the sun.³⁶² Maat is already with Ptah, and the king presents Maat to Ptah. The god and the king may exchange Maat, as an expression of “reciprocal creation.”³⁶³ Ptah and Maat are the guarantors of proper burial,³⁶⁴ ensuring that the inverted stars will be righted. The king holding Maat, with Maat as a representation of the semen of the god, parallels the sexual imagery of the ithyphallic Osiris.³⁶⁵ Maat is a symbol of passage through a liminal phase,³⁶⁶ here corresponding to the union of Re and Osiris, and the sun’s passage from the Netherworld into the upper sky. The image of the king offering Maat to Ptah in the company of Maat is then a scene of unity with the victorious sun parallel to that of the image of the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris. In one scene, unity is achieved through the offering of Maat, in the other, unity is expressed through the mystic unification of Re and Osiris.³⁶⁷

³⁶²*ibid.* pp. 162-3 n. 13; Assmann, *Ma‘at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, pp. 174-95. The hymn to the rising sun in *Kheruef* pl. 7 l. 7, refers to the deceased bearing Maat to the sun god, and this act is depicted accompanying the parallel text in TT 102 (see The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 31 n. h).

³⁶³See P.J. Frandsen, “Trade and Cult,” in G. Englund, ed., *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions* (Boreas 20: Tryckeri Balder AB, 1989) 95-108.

³⁶⁴Bruyère, 1930, p. 192.

³⁶⁵On Maat and *mtw.t*, see Grimal, *Les termes de propagande royale égyptienne*, p. 95 n. 227; D. Kurth, “‘Same des Stieres’ und ‘Same’, Zwei Bezeichnungen der Maat,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern 1 Sprache* (Göttingen: Hubert and Co., 1984) pp. 273-81.

³⁶⁶Assmann, *Ma‘at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, p. 174.

³⁶⁷This scene of the king offering Maat to Ptah accompanies a treatise, one of the major themes of which is the victory of the sun over Apep. For the association of

The scene of the king offering to Ptah stands back-to-back with the scene of the ithyphallic Osiride king. The figure of Ptah stands with his back to the back of the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris. Like Osiris, Ptah can represent the Netherworld. In the second eight-pillared hall in the Ramesseum, the king offers to Re, representative of the celestial gods of day, on the south wall, and to Ptah, representative of the chthonic deities of night and the underworld, on the north wall.³⁶⁸ Ptah is the image of Re.³⁶⁹ Like the Osiride king with his raised arm, Ptah can himself be seen as supporting the heavens.³⁷⁰ As with the Osiride king (see below, chapter 6, pp. 563-564, 580-581, 597-598, and 608-609), this heaven-supporting Ptah has female characteristics. In a scene in the temple of Hibis, a squatting, androgynous Ptah supports the sky in the

references to the offering of Maat in association with spells for Re as he battles Apep in the Book of the Two Ways, see *ibid.*

³⁶⁸West can correspond to North, and East can correspond to South, so Ptah here represents the deities of the Netherworld--see R. Stadelmann, "Ramesseum," *LÄ V* (Wiesbaden, 1984) col. 94; Goyon and El-Achirie, *Le Ramesseum VI, la salle des litanies*, pp. 2, 22-24, and 27-29; pls. 3, 8, 13-16. For the pairs of the directions, see C. Loeben, "Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu," *BSEG* 14 (1990) 57-68.

³⁶⁹For example, on the head of Ramesses-Mainakht in the Roemer-Peizaeus Museum in Hildesheim (Habachi, *Studia aegyptiaca* 1 [1974] 139-42), Ptah is *sh̄m n R* ʿ, "image of Re."

³⁷⁰For Ptah having the epithet *ʿhy-p.t*, "raiser of heaven," see A-P. Zivie, *La tombe de Pached à Deir El-Medineh [N° 3]* (MIFAO 99; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1979) p. 43 (cited Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, no. 79.0539); Y.J. Gourlay, "Trois stèles memphites au musée de Grenoble," *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 96 n. b; H. Wall-Gordon, "A New Kingdom Libation Basin Dedicated to Ptah, second part, the Inscriptions," *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 170-1 n. 2, and 175. Ptah as a raiser up of heaven is a counterpart to the Osiride king as Shu; for the similarity between the roles of Ptah and Shu, see Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, pp. 38-42. According to Allen (p. 42): "Shu is a *physical* principle, the first natural development of the creator. Ptah is an intellectual principle, the first instance of the creator's mind and will at work." For Ptah as the demiurge, see J. Yoyotte, "la naissance du monde selon l'Égypte ancienne," in *La naissance du monde (Sources Orientales 1)*; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1959) pp. 62-7.

presence of his children Shu and Tefnut, manifest as birds with human heads.³⁷¹ Though the pendulous breasts of the solar mother are not in evidence on the figure of the androgynous Ptah, the belly is the swollen womb of the creator-mother.³⁷² This figure in the temple of Hibis is the pregnant Ptah, who has just given birth to the pair of Shu and Tefnut.³⁷³ Together, the figures of Osiris and Ptah in the concluding scenes of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise are Osiris-Ptah, lord of life.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 5, south reveal, register V; on the scene and the triad see L. Kákósy, "A Memphite Triad," *JEA* 66 (1980) 48-53.

³⁷²See the depiction of the pregnant mother of the sun, pendulous of breasts, the solar child visible within her, in the Book of the Day (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 149 and 187; Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, Abb. 90, p. 130; A. Piankoff, "La vierge 'znamenie' et la déesse Nout," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 16 [1961-1962] 261-69); this example does not contradict Baines' generalization (J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures, Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* [Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1985]): "Pregnant women do not have pendulous breasts", but shows the creation of the sun on the potter's wheel (see a forthcoming study by P.F. Dorman). On the motherly characteristics of Ptah, see W. Barta, "Der Epilog der Götterlehre von Memphis," *MDAIK* 28 (1972) 79-82.

³⁷³For references to "the two bird children of Re," see Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project* vol. 1, p. 42. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 41 describes this as Ptah "in female or androgynous form (?)." That the Ptah figure there is indeed pregnant, or has just given birth, is supported by a cryptogram at Medinet Habu which parallels the Hibis scene. Above the doorway on the north side of the west wall in room R of the small temple at Medinet Habu is a cryptographic graffito of the epitheta of the primeval god of Djeme (W. F. Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles* [OIP 36; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937] pl. 6). Within this text is the group in our plate 38, figure B, which Drioton read as *ntr ʿ3 sty m kkw*, "Grand dieu, brillant dans les ténèbres" (É. Drioton, "La cryptographie égyptienne," *CdE* 9 [1934] 197). The birthing goddess is not likely to represent *m* from *ms* (Drioton also cites the value *m* for the *ms* sign in *ASAE* 40 [1940]). Drioton read the two birds and loaf *ts* which the lady holds aloft as *s3.ty*, a reasonable reading. Rather than reinterpreting the *s3.ty* as *sty*, but reading the lady as *ms*, and the *s3.ty* as the object of this birthing, the group is *ntr ʿ3 ms s3.ty m kkw*, "the great god, who bore the siblings in the darkness," the god of Djeme as Atum. This bearing of the *s3.ty*, Shu and Tefnut, is the result of the masturbation by the primeval deity. So Pyramid Text Utterance 527, describing the creative masturbation of Atum, says (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, § 1248d):

The piece Louvre E 25420, wherein Ptah faces an Ibis, with an adoring baboon on either side, facing in to the middle of the group, helps explain the final scene of the Ramesses IX treatise.³⁷⁵ The facing figures of Ptah and the Ibis in the Louvre group suggest that the Ibis is a representation of the god Thoth bringing Maat to Ptah,³⁷⁶ the

ms s3.ty snn.t
Šw (pw) ḥn Tfnw.t
 and so were born the twins,
 Shu and Tefenet

(translation of Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 198). This statement is paralleled in the cryptic text in room R at Medinet Habu. For the *s3.ty* see also Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 104 n. 92; J. Osing, "Etymologische Notizen," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, Sondernummer 1991; Cologne: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, 1991)* p. 248 and n. 21 (the term is a *dualis a potiori* based on the feminine *s3.t*). For the cryptogram showing the two children lifted up by the arms of the birthing figure, compare Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 20 (section A, third register, first scene): *ntr pn m šhr pn wts=f msw.ty*, "this god is in this fashion, lifting up the two offspring." The figure lifting the children may also be meant to recall the image of the king as Onuris in the form of a *ḥḥ*-deity, kneeling, holding a *rnp.t*-sign in each hand, symbolizing the raising up of the sky at creation (H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende [Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Band 59, 1. und 2. Abhandlung; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1917]* pp. 4-5). On the *ḥḥ*-figure, see also E. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 98; Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1968)* pp. 91-92 (ref. of Prof. Wente).

³⁷⁴On whom see B. Julius Peterson, "Der Gott Osiris-Ptah, der Herr des Lebens," *ZÄS* 95 (1969) 135-8.

³⁷⁵C. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Un petit 'monument' de théologie memphite," *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 83-5, pls. 7-10.

³⁷⁶An interpretation supported by the existence of groups showing an ibis facing two baboons, with Maat between them (on these groups, and the doubling of Thoth, see L. Fóti, "Hermes trismegiste et la mythologie égyptienne," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 [1989] 24-5). For Thoth and Maat see C.J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth, Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion (Studies in the History of Religion (Supplements to Numen) 26; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973)* pp. 121-3; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 71

*sh*m-image of the sun, and the baboons adoring the solar rising which the act ensures. The figure of the king in the final scene of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall may also be a representation of the king as Thoth.³⁷⁷ The horizontal text above the enigmatic wall treatise (plate 40; see below, pp. 536-544) describes the deceased Ramesses IX as having a four-fold nature, the third element of which is said to be the god Thoth. As Thoth, the king symbolizes the union of Re and Osiris, depicted in the scene of the ithyphallic Osiris, for--according to chapter 182 of the Book of the Dead--Thoth can be seen as actually bringing Re and Osiris together.³⁷⁸ Thoth, as judge and granter of *m3* *h*rw-vindication,³⁷⁹ is appropriate to a scene of the triumph of the sun at the eastern end of the Netherworld. The king himself, in his cultic function as solar priest, through the chanting of magically efficacious hymns to the sun, ensures the safe passage of the solar bark over Apep and his sand bank.³⁸⁰ Thoth can also be seen as the chief of stars,³⁸¹ appropriate to his presence in the concluding scene of a composition

n. h; Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat*, pp. 59-62; Derchain, *Elkab 1*; J. Assmann, *Ma'at, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, p. 186.

³⁷⁷For the king both likened to Thoth, and assimilated to that deity, see the references in Grimal, *Les termes de propagande royale égyptienne*, pp. 430-32 (and n. 384, p. 135, Taharqa called a "second Thoth").

³⁷⁸The passage Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, p. 182, l. 6 quotes from the Great Litany (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 178). On Thoth and Re see Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, pp. 119-21; on Thoth and the moon related to the union of Re and Osiris, see also Fóti, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 12 (1989) 18-9.

³⁷⁹See B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (GOF IV vol. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) p. 235.

³⁸⁰See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 211-13.

³⁸¹Ph. Derchain, "A propos de *Claudien*, Eloge de Stilichon, II, 424-436," *ZÄS* 81 (1956) 4-6; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 94 and n. 7.

showing the ultimate peril of the sun and the stellar lords of the Netherworld (pl. 32). As Thoth, the deceased king also ensures the return of the Inundation.³⁸² As a representation of the Inundation waters, the king as Thoth balances the figure of the ithyphallic Re-Osiris, whose hand represents the waters of Nun through which the newborn sun must pass (see above, n. 204; see also chapter 6, pp. 576-583 *et passim.*).

Horizontal Text above the Treatise (plate 40):

This text, in partial cryptography, records names and epitheta of Ramesses IX, and refers to the deceased ruler as having a four-fold nature:

ḥn ntr nfr bik ntry Ḥ (m) W3s(.t) s3 Wsṛ ṛr 3ḥ.w n nb.w T3-ḏsr snhs

d3.tyw m šḥr.w=f

w ḥpn ḥn Ḥk3 ḥsf=f ḏw-ḳd m 3ḥ.w=f

ḏḥwty ḥrw r-mḥ 3

Ḥpri dmd 4

Wsṛ nb-T3.wy Nfr-k3.w-R ḥ Stp-n-R ḥ s3-R ḥ R ḥ-ms-sw Ḥ ḥ-m-W3s.t Mrr-ṛmn pw

m3 ḥrw mry Pth-Skr ḥnty d3.t 3

Live the good god, the divine falcon, arisen in Thebes, the son of Osiris, who performs benefactions^a for the lords of the necropolis, who awakens the Datians with his governance (or ‘as is his custom’?),

this singular one,^b together with Heka who defeats the

evil-of-character with his 3ḥ-spells,^c

Thoth--the third face^d--

and Khepri, totaling 4;

the Osiris, lord of the Two Lands, Ramesses IX, justified,

beloved of Ptah-Sokar, foremost of the Netherworld, the great.^e

³⁸²É. Drioton, “Le roi défunt, Thot et la crue du Nil,” *Egyptian Religion* 1 (1933) 39-51. On the king and the Nile, see also Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel* vol. 1, pp. 219-20 (n. 483).

^a A horizontal band of text on the opposite wall of the tomb³⁸³ refers to the king as one who is *3h n 3h n=f*, “beneficial for the one who is beneficial for him.” Rather than simple “benefices,” however, the *3h.w* performed for the “lords of the necropolis” may be incantations,³⁸⁴ for which spells one may compare the bandeau text at the bottom of the west wall in room 18 in the Re Chapel in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. There, in a horizontal band containing the names and titles of Ramesses III, accompanying solar scenes and texts depicting the triumph of the sun over Apep and his gang, Ramesses III is one who *shr hft(y) m 3h.w tp(y) r3=f*, “who fells the enemy by means of the *3h*-spells upon his mouth.”³⁸⁵

As the deities of the middle register in the left portion of the composition send our flaming arrows against the serpents of chaos, the Osiride Ramesses IX pronounces *3h.wt*-incantations in defence of the solar bark. Speaking and fire are found in association: of the sun god it is said *md.wt=f m hdy.t*, “his speech is light.”³⁸⁶ Sadness

³⁸³Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 65.

³⁸⁴On *3h.w*, “spells,” see Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 30-5.

³⁸⁵The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 422 A, l. 1. For the importance of the power of the word in slaying Apep, compare Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 10: *rn=k wsh* (written *3sh*).*n=f ts pw*, “Your name has cut asunder that vertebra.”

³⁸⁶Tomb of Ramesses VII--see A. Piankoff, “Vallée des rois à Thèbes-Ouest, la tombe N° 1 (Ramsès VII),” *ASAE* 55 (1958) 153. Note also the text accompanying the third scene in the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns which says *iw R mdw=f n=sn m m3.wt=f*, “Re speaks to them through his light” (Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 31, l. 5). For the linking of breath and light, see Ph. Derchain, “L’adoration du soleil levant dans le temple de Psammétique Ier à El Kab,” *CdE* 74 (1962) 261. In P. Harris Magical a baboon has fiery lips and flaming words (J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978] no. 132; H. Te Velde, “Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk, *Funerary Symbols and Religion* [Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988] p. 131). One may also compare the statement from Hellenistic theurgic literature: “receive

in the cosmos is a result of the threatened return to chaos which Apep induces when the bark of the sun threatens to run aground on the beast.³⁸⁷ The association of deities sending out fire and flaming arrows with another being calling out *3h.wt*-incantations could be a description of an occurrence such as that detailed in P. Bremner-Rhind 30, 17:

sbh=sn r=k m sdt

They cry out against you³⁸⁸ with fire

According to Faulkner,³⁸⁹ “the meaning is that when the gods cry out against ‘Apep, fire leaps from their mouths.’ Uraei not infrequently have a glowing breath,³⁹⁰ certain entities are specified as having voices of fire,³⁹¹ and the messengers of Sakhmet can

my words as shafts of fire ...” (G.R.S. Mead, *Thrice Greatest Hermes, Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis* [reprint Kila, Montana, 1994] p. 287).

³⁸⁷For sadness at a possible return to chaos, see J. Zandee, “Sargtexte, Spruch 75, Schluss,” *ZÄS* 99 (1972) 52-53.

³⁸⁸The suffix pronoun *k* refers to Apep.

³⁸⁹W.R. Faulkner, “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus IV,” *JEA* 24 (1938) 50.

³⁹⁰For example, A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (*BdE* 13; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1942) p. 27 (4th register); on glowing breath in the Netherworld in general, see Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 137-8, and the references cited there.

³⁹¹So de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, p. 439a-c (spell 1110), cited by Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 140. Compare also line x+2 of stele fragment University Museum Pennsylvania, E16022A (a portion of the victory stele of Akhenaton from Buhen; see H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen, the Inscriptions* [*Excavation Memoir* 48; London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1976] pp. 124-9 [no. 1595], pl. 29 [bottom], 75.3):

hmhm.w=k mî hh nsr.t m-s3 h3s.t nb(.t)

Your war cry is like a blasting flame of fire, (pursuing) after every foreign hill-land

be said to cast their fiery arrows from their mouths.³⁹² The gods rage against Apep elsewhere in P. Bremner-Rhind (in 25, 7 the eye rages; in 26, 10 the uraei rage; in 32, 1 the ennead rages and Amun curses).

The gods might well bewail the sun when it is stopped on the back of Apep,³⁹³ exhibiting the parallelism of screaming and sending out fire, although here the object of

³⁹²P. Vernus, "Études de philologie et de linguistique (II)" *RdE* 34 (1982-3) 124 and n. 65, with references, discussing P. Leiden I 346, 1, 1-3:

h3yt.yw tpy.w- 'Shm.t pry.w m ir.t R 'c
wp.wtyw m-ht-sp3wt styw šsr.w=sn m r3=sn

The slayers, the henchmen of Sekhmet, who have come forth
 from the eye of Re,
 the messengers throughout the districts ... who shoot their arrows
 with their mouth(s)/from their mouth(s)

In n. 66, Vernus notes that *šsr*, "arrow," can be a way of referring to "parole," for which he cites S. Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès," *JNES* 19 (1960) 282 n. 82. Compare also R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (*Brown Egyptological Studies* 8; Providence: Brown University Press; London: Lund Humphries, 1979) p. 64 and pl. 25, l. 12, a cry of distress aimed at *bnnw*-targets." On messengers and their arrows, see also V. Rondot, "Le naos de Domitien, Toutou et les sept flèches," *BIFAO* 90 (1990) 303-37, pls. 17-23. For lightening as fiery arrows, see A. Volten, "Das Harpunierergestirn," *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 346-66, especially pp. 354-5. In Esna 400, 5, entites shoot light rays as arrows <*m*> *r3=sn* (D. Kurth, "Esna 400; 405," in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1984] p. 141 n. 41). For the Greek concept of light as arrows, see J. Diggle, *Euripedes' Phaethon* (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries* 12; Cambridge, 1970) pp. 135-146.

³⁹³Compare P. Cologne 9, II 2 (Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, pl. 2, pp. 33-4) where, at the time of the sun running aground on the spine of Apep:

im i 'nw m p.t rsy.t
nhy i 'nw m p.t mh.t

Heulen und Jammern gibt es im südlichen Himmel,
 Klagen und Jammern im nördlichen Himmel.

the wailing is not the recipient of the fiery blast.³⁹⁴ Screaming can imply a lack of Maat,³⁹⁵ and would be in keeping with the image of universal chaos when the bark of

The extreme nature of the screaming is pointed out by a text on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre, wherein a *hfty*-enemy rises up out of the water, grasps the left shoulder of the solar deity, and halts the bark; then (C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* [Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1937] p. 31 [text V c, 56-8]): *ntr.w hr rmy r ʿ3 wr m q3 hrw=sn r q3 n p.t*, “the gods weep profusely with loud voices to the height of heaven” (note, in connection with Sander-Hansen’s rendering of the text, that the *hfty n q h=f* may not be a miswriting of *hfty pn*, but may be a use of euphemistic *hfty* to avoid the *q h* of the solar deity being the direct object of a verb of violence; for this use of *hfty*, see Posener, *ZÄS* 96 [1969] 30-5; E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh, eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen* [OBO 46; Freiburg:Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982] p. 51 n. 4; J.F. Quack, “Sur l’emploi de *hft* ‘ennemi’ en démotique,” *RdE* 40 [1989] 197-8). In K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* 4 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1908-1922) §1120 (Utt. 509--*mdw p.t sd3 t3*, “heaven speaks, the earth shudders”), §1150 (Utt. 511--*nhm n=f p.t sd3 n=f t3*, “heaven cries out to him, the earth shudders for him”), and §1771 (Utt. 627--*p.t nhm=s t3 nmnm=f*, “heaven cries out, the earth quakes”), the sky itself screams at the time of the divine epiphany. But compare the *h3.wt hmhm y.t R ʿ*, “the corpses of the shouters behind Re,” of the third tableau of the second register of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 49).

³⁹⁴Screaming could be a sign of the cosmic catastrophe, but it would not be a sign of its repair. Thus in de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 379b, the *bg3*-cry of the Unwearying Stars (*ihm.w-wrd*) is heard in heaven. J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971) p. 172 n. 415 suggests that this may be a pun on *bg3*, “to cry” and *bg3*, “to become weary.” The crying would, like weariness, be an undesirable result of the cataclysm, a symptom of disorder, not a means of restoring order. Screaming mournfully is associated with fire in the lower register of the 5th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 238), but it is a fiery lake of mourning entities, whom Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 141, characterized as “punished sinners.” Here mourning and fire characterize the realm of the dead, not the potential vengeance of the righteously indignant blessed dead. Mourning for the sun could also herald the coming vengeance against Apep--cf. the remarks on Hebrew *hōy* “in the Mourning-Vengeance Pattern” in W. Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle* (*Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 125; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1972) pp. 27-34.

³⁹⁵J. Assmann, “State and Religion in the New Kingdom,” *YES* 3 (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1989) p. 72 and n. 66; but note that the mournful *hwt* (see W. Ward, “The Semitic Root *Hwy* in Ugaritic and Derived Stems in Egyptian,” *JNES* 28

Re grounds on the spine of Apep. Darkness is one of the dread results of the cosmic crisis, and in darkness the Netherworld beings make themselves known to the sun by screams and shouts.³⁹⁶ Speaking to the sun god can also be beneficial,³⁹⁷ and herald the rebirth of the god.³⁹⁸ What the king Ramesses IX cries out are *3h.w*-spells (pl.

[1969] 265-7), a shout of lament, follows the sun after he has performed *wḏ-mdw* for the Datians, surely an establishment of order (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 25, ll. 6-7; compare also *ibid.*, p. 26, ll. 6-7). Similarly ambivalent, the thunder of storm signals the revivification of the sun in the chamber of Sokar in the 5th Hour of the Amduat, and netherworldly powers which take control of the wayward Pistis Sophia in I ch. 42, 17 (p. 69) surround her $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\omega\ \eta\theta\epsilon\ \eta\omicron\gamma\mu\omicron\omicron\gamma$, “roaring like water.”

³⁹⁶Second Hour of Amduat--Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 25, ll. 5-7:

in hrw=sn ssm sw r=sn
in hwt=sn sbb sw
m-ht wḏ=f n=sn mdw.w

It is their voice which leads him (*ntr pn 3*) to them,
 it is their scream which accompanies him,
 after he gives orders to them.

According to Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 45: “In der Finsternis kann der Sonnengott die Wesen zunächst nicht sehen und muss sich daher von ihren Stimmen zu ihnen leiten lassen.” In the Nut Book, the human-headed birds in the uniform darkness call out in crying voices (see J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* [YES 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988] p. 74, note to A 1 l. 7).

³⁹⁷For helpful speaking to the solar deity, see chapter 4. There, in the high portion, l. 31 of section 2 of the upper register:

mdw=sn n irw Rᶜ pr hprw=f
 When they speak to the forms of Re, his realizations come forth.

³⁹⁸N. Grimal, *Les termes de propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIX^e Dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1986) p. 95, §II 5:1 (citing K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* [Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd., 1979] p. 354, ll. 5-7: *nb.wy nhm m p.t hrw n ms.t=f*, “the Two Lords shout in heaven on the day of his birth”).

40).³⁹⁹ Screaming for the sun may also foreshadow the coming glory of the triumphant sun, the *mysterium tremendum* of the unified Re-Osiris.⁴⁰⁰

The deities upon their slaughtering places of sand send out flaming arrows (pl. 31 [depictions of the flaming arrows], and pl. 33), and leap up towards the solar deity (pl. 33), while the Osiride king Ramesses IX calls out *3h.wt*-spells (pl. 40). In chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead, the concepts of grieving and rising up for the sun are combined:⁴⁰¹

h' n=i ikby.wt=sn
Their mourners rise for me

b This *w'* is the creator Re-Atum, the *deus unus*.⁴⁰²

c One may address the sun as “great of magic,” a name which “caractérise parfois la puissance du dieu solaire.”⁴⁰³ In the demotic papyrus Louvre E 3229 col. 6, l. 23, Re-

³⁹⁹See also the possible *shn.w*-incantations in the righthand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI (see chapter 4, pp. 375-379).


⁴⁰⁰For screaming as an indication of the *mysterium tremendum* and *fascinans* of the deity, see Zandee, *ZÄS* 99 (1972) 55. For beneficial screaming for the Osirian part of the unified Re-Osiris, see C.J. Bleeker, “Isis And Nephthys as Wailing Women,” *Numen* 5 (1958) 1-17.

⁴⁰¹Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 176.

⁴⁰²See Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine*, p. 48.

⁴⁰³A. Gasse, “La litanie des douze noms de Rê-Horakhty,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984) 220 n. 46, citing Assmann, *Re und Amun*, p. 210. On Heka, see H. Te Velde, “The god Heka in Egyptian Theology,” *JEOL* 21 (1970) 175-86; É. Liptay, “Heka as Hypostasis of the Sungod in the 21st Dynasty,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (*Stud. Aeg.* 14; Budapest: La Chair d'Égyptologie de l'Université Eötvöl Loránd de Budapest, 1992) pp. 389-91.

Shu is termed *k3 h3k*^c, “bull (lord) of magic.”⁴⁰⁴ In the Litany of Re, the solar deity separates heaven and earth by means of his *3h*-spells.⁴⁰⁵ Heka could be both the *ba* and *ka* of Re.⁴⁰⁶

^d The word *hrw* is an orthography of *hr*/𐎠𐎡, **ḥa3yaw* (Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 286). Meeks notes de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 2, p. 62e for the orthography , “qui tend à montrer que le sing. doit se transcrire *hrw* et non *hr*.”⁴⁰⁷ Qualifying Thoth here as the third of the four powers may be an early allusion to Thoth’s epithet “Trismegistos.”⁴⁰⁸

^e This epithet 3, “the great,” of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is a references to the description and depiction of the ithyphallic Osiride king as the giant god, connecting the depths of the

⁴⁰⁴J. Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: a Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977); Thissen, in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, p. 375 notes that Re-Shu as *k3-h3k*^c is otherwise unattested; the designation is, however, as a variant of *nb ḥk3*, in keeping with the sun as “great of magic.”

⁴⁰⁵Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 75; vol. 2, p. 71.

⁴⁰⁶See Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 23-5.

⁴⁰⁷Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 254, no. 78.2750, citing *FECT* I 92 n. 5 = de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, p. 62e. But note Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, vol. 2, pp. 498-9 (n. 179), who interprets this as an example of a plural ending *-ww* (see also W. Schenkel, *Aus der Arbeit an einer Konkordanz zu den Altägyptischen Sargtexten* [*GOF* IV vol. 12; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983] pp. 183-84). Alternatively, though less likely, one could propose a quail chick interpreted from the attested, though uncommon, flesh determinative of *hr* (*Wb.* III 125), or a writing for *hr=w*, “their faces making,” though the suffix pronoun *=w* would be a Late-Egyptianism.

⁴⁰⁸For which see the references given by G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes, a Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 26 n. 78; and R.K. Ritner, review of Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, in *Cauda Pavonis* (*Studies in Hermeticism*, new series vol. 8 no. 1, Spring 1989) 14 n. 4.

Underworld with the heights of heaven (see above, pp. 495-515; see also chapter 6). The four-fold nature of the deceased is a reference to the deceased king as the ram-form of the solar deity, a reference to the deity with four ram's heads who appears at the entrance to the tomb of Ramesses IX.⁴⁰⁹

Re as Heka suggests the Re-Shu of P. Louvre E 3229 col. 6, l. 23, as discussed above. Heka sails in the bark of Re, ensuring the daily rising of the sun, assisting the solar deity by means of his magic to sail on the sandy spine of Apep when the waters dry up in the 7th Hour of the Amduat.⁴¹⁰ The hymn to Osiris in the tomb of Imiseba, which could serve as a description of the ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene of this treatise, emphasizes the four-fold *ba*'s of the sun, the Mendesian ram-form of the supreme deity. This band of text above the enigmatic wall also emphasizes the four *bas* of the deceased king as the Solar-Osiris.

The version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX contains numerous references to other religious texts. To list but a few: The entities on the mounds, the designation *imn-h'wt*, "hidden of members," and the use of the verb *nhp*, find a parallel in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (cf. the third register of §A, text 24).⁴¹¹ The groups containing the child *sd.ty* and the

⁴⁰⁹Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 27; see also Bács, in U. Luft. ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, pp. 51-2.

⁴¹⁰See Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 18-25, 31 (citing Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 118; vol. 2, p. 125).

⁴¹¹Depending on the preferred interpretation of *nhp* here, there could also be a reference to the 89th scene of the Book of Gates (12th Division), a text similar to P. Bremner-Rhind. Most likely the entities performing *nhp* here are similar to the *nhy.w* of P. Louvre N 3219, P BM 10252, and P. Metropolitan Museum 35.9.21.

scarab are similar to depictions in the fourth tableau of the second register of §A in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The construction *is* with *sdm.n=f* following *m-ht* after a non-initial verb form is found in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk and in the Book of Caverns. The *nb.w-d3.t* in the vicinity of the bark on the back of Apep find textual parallels in a number of texts, including chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead, while the figure standing facing them suggests Horus Herkhenedef in the 7th Hour of the Amduat. The *hry.w-šsr.w=sn* may derive from beings in the 10th Hour of the Amduat, and a portion of the lower register parallels the 6th Hour of Amduat (to which the use of the verb *mtn* may also refer). The entities leaping atop their mounds and assisting in the destruction of the minions of Apep may also allude to the final scene of the middle register in the 7th Hour of the Amduat. There are possible parallels in the Amduat for two of the names of the four beings rising atop serpents in the lower register. There is a variant of the first half of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead in the texts accompanying the lower register.

The version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead on the enigmatic wall is located beneath a horizontal line of text which prays for the protection of the king from the baleful messengers of Babai (plate 35). For this association of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead with texts referring to the protection of the deceased from noxious messengers, a portion of Coffin Text spell 256 is instructive:⁴¹²

rdy n=i nsy.t hr s.wt Hr
šsr=f n=i h3w.tyw
ir=f n=i 3b.wt wdn.w

There has been given to me kingship upon the seats of Horus,
 that he might shoot for me the *h3w.tyw*-demons,

⁴¹²De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, pp. 365b-366b.

and that he might prepare for me holocausts and offerings.

Horus destroys the enemies and prepares the provisions of Osiris; provisions and safety are linked. For the position of this version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead, in the lowest register of this enigmatic treatise, several mythological papyri provide parallels: in the papyrus of Bakenmut, a serpent similar to that at the beginning of the upper register of the 11th Hour of the Book of Amduat is called, among other things, *nb ḥtp m ḥr.t-nṯr*, “possessor of offerings in the necropolis,” and the ship of the sun is towed above this serpent.⁴¹³ In the papyrus of Padiamun,⁴¹⁴ in a scene composed of two registers, the bottom register shows a falcon head descending from the sky sign, shedding light on a mummy. In the scene in the papyrus of Padiamun, a vulture is depicted above the head of the mummy, and a cobra above the feet. In front of each of these two figures is a cup atop which a loaf of bread is perched. In the accompanying text, the deceased prays that his mummy may be made erect and be provided with food.⁴¹⁵

The Ramesses IX version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead is followed by an address to the four gods represented, alluding to the cardinal points, and the winds thereof. This association is strengthened when the four are seen in relation to the provisioning of the deceased, a function of the four winds in spell 162 of the Coffin

⁴¹³Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20.

⁴¹⁴*ibid.*, pl. 10.

⁴¹⁵*Df3* can encompass more than the foodstuffs which the mummy will require; according to E. Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1984) p. 50, *df3* is “clearly used to signify spiritual as well as corporal nourishment.”

Texts.⁴¹⁶ As a parallel for the reference to provisioning (chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead), and to deities of the sides of heaven, there is a pairing of doubled entities in the upper register of Book of the Day; there a pair of entites *sh̄m p.ty*, “Power of the Two Heavens,” is followed by a pair of beings *wr-hr.t*, “Great of Provisions.”⁴¹⁷ The winds and the vertebrae of Apep are associated in the Book of the Two Ways, all swallowed by the victorious deity.⁴¹⁸

The reference to the god Ptah in chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead is appropriate to the presence of the god Ptah, as a counterpart to the ithyphallic Osiris, in the concluding scene of the enigmatic wall (see below). The reference in chapter 106 to food--bread and beer--being given to Ptah, in the the vicinity of a scene of the king offering Maat to Ptah and Maat recalls a portion of the great Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut.⁴¹⁹

s ʿ3.n=i m3 ʿ.t mr.t.n=f
iw rh.n=i ʿnh=f im=s
t=i pw s ʿm=i m i3d.t=s

⁴¹⁶De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol.. 2, pp. 389-405.

⁴¹⁷Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 7; Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 188-9.

⁴¹⁸De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 252ff (= CT spell 1029); see L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (*University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies* 17; Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1972) p. 11. For the association of the north wind with Osiris and the Inundation (recalling the raised Nun-hand of the ithyphallic Osiris on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall), see A. Moret, “La légende d’Osiris à l’époque thébaine d’après l’hymne à Osiris du Louvre,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 734 n. (17).

⁴¹⁹A. Gardiner, “Davies’s Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription,” *JEA* 32 (1946) pl. 6, col. 9.

Because I know that he (Amun) lives on it have I magnified Maat whom he
loves.

It is my bread/food, and I swallow its flavor.

Maat is the *t*-food of Hatshepsut. The placement of a scene of Maat standing with Ptah, as the king offers to them Maat, in the vicinity of a version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead, may allude to this concept of Maat as *t*-food.

The terms *pth* and *šsr* parallel *pd* and *šsr* in PT 1545 (ch. 580), and the orthography of the name of Apep parallels cryptogram 56 in the Book of the Day and the Night. The reference to messengers finds parallels in the version of this treatise on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, portions of the Foundation Ritual of Medinet Habu and Luxor, and the 6th Address of the Great Litany. The ithyphallic figure, the parallel of the central, standing Solar-Osiris on the first side of the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun and the snake-legged, disk-headed deity in the Corridor G composition of Ramesses VI, incorporates elements of the conclusion of the 12th Hour of the Amduat. The ithyphallic Osiride figure, together with some of the figures of the lower register, also ties in to scenes in later mythological papyri.

The paraphrase of a portion of chapter 17 at the close of the graffito in the penultimate scene (pl. 37, figure B, l. 4) is the most direct of several allusions to that text in this treatise. In §b S1 of chapter 17⁴²⁰ the deceased is protected from the slaughterers, as on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall the king is rescued from the messengers (pl. 35, l. 3) and *h3b.w* (pl. 37, figure B, l. 2) of Babai; in §b S5 of chapter 17⁴²¹ Khepri sails in his bark by the places of execution, as on the Ramesses IX

⁴²⁰Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 61-62 (the division of Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 30).

⁴²¹Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 67b-70a (the division of Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 31).




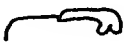

enigmatic wall Re nears the “slaughtering places of sand.” In §a S4 of chapter 17⁴²² the god is on the battlefield, and Osiris acclaims Re, as the soul of Re with which Re copulates; here on the enigmatic wall the left eye of the great god shoots at Apep, and the disk and scarab of the soon to be reborn sun enter the hand of Osiris, as Re and Osiris merge at the root of the eastern horizon. In §a P2 of chapter 17⁴²³ the viands of Onnophris are mentioned, and the first vignette shows bread and beer in the western necropolis; the brief version of chapter 106 of the Book of the Dead in the lower register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall (pl. 34, figure A, ll. 25-49) seeks to ensure the provisioning of the deceased ruler.⁴²⁴

The explanations for the iconography of the scenes which make up this treatise are consistent with the translations derived from the accompanying texts, including those written in cryptography. The texts and scenes of this composition complement one another, suggesting that the interpretation of the enigmatic texts offered here is correct. The texts and iconographic details of the treatise agree and emphasize the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon, the result of the victory of Re over Apep at the time of the near cosmic disaster. This unity of purpose supports the rendition of the enigmatic texts of the composition offered here.

⁴²²Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 37-39 (the division of Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 28).

⁴²³Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 29 (the division of Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 26).

⁴²⁴The giant deity depicted in the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall is paralleled by the giant deity with the two uroboroi on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun. Though this concept is not textually attested on the enigmatic panels, chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead is found on the same shrine, on the interior rear panel (this portion of the chapter is A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* [*Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 2; New York: Bollingen Press, 1955] p. 106).

The cryptography shows the usual signs occurring in the corpus, with values derived primarily through various substitutions. There are, however, a few obscure signs cropping up within the enigmatic texts: the sign  for  (pl. 33, l. 1) through conscious exploitation of an hieratic confusion;  for *hfty* (pl. 33, l. 6), a rare use occurring again in the Book of Caverns;  for *mt* in *mtnw* (pl. 35, l. 10);  for *t* (pl. 37 A, l. 1), common in writing the name of Sety I at Abydos, and occurring elsewhere, but unique in the corpus studied here. The cryptography of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall is a bit more sporadic than in the two other, earlier versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity; the cryptography here is also somewhat more mixed in with other orthographies, the boundaries between cryptography and *Normalschrift* being much less distinct than in the other versions of the composition.

Chapter 6

The Giant Deity

For each of the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, an image of the giant unified Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon is the largest single figure. On the second shrine of Tutankhamun the image of the solar Osiris dominates the central portion of the first side of the shrine (pl. 6, figure A). In the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the unified Re-Osiris appears as the snake-legged giant of the *Schutzbild* (pl. 29), and on the dropped portion of the ceiling as the ram-headed figure whose arms are the goddesses Isis and Nephthys (pl. 27, bottom register). In the Ramesses IX recension this image of the solar giant is the focus of the treatise. Both the main, left portion of the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall treatise (pls. 31-32), and the concluding scene (pl. 39), face in towards the large ithyphallic Osiris in the penultimate scene of the enigmatic wall (pl. 36). Taken together these giants are the most visible artefacts of the common template on which these three treatises are based, each figure differs from the others, and emphasizes a particular aspect of the unified Re-Osiris. The giant on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun is Osiride in appearance, and labelled as Re. The text accompanying the rightmost snake-legged figure in *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 30) describes that deity--as well as the ram-headed figure on the dropped portion of the ceiling--in terms which leave no doubt that they refer to the Osirian solar deity of the Netherworld. The figure on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is also Osiride in appearance, and labelled

as the deceased king; the iconography of the solar disk rising on his breast, and the scarab and disk entering into his raised hand, shows him to be Re and Osiris at the time of their mystic union. According to the enigmatic text accompanying the Ramesses IX figure, he is an omnipresent, universal deity, an important aspect of Re-Osiris filling the eastern horizon. The proximity of texts referring to noxious messengers near the giant figures on the shrine of Tutankhamun and in the tomb of Ramesses IX strengthen the association of these figures, and the identification of each as an image of Re-Osiris. The giant in the tomb of Ramesses VI, a snake-legged disk quite different from the Osiride giants of the two other versions of the composition, emphasizes the solar aspect of the unified deity. Like the giant in the tomb of Ramesses IX, he is shown at the root of the eastern horizon. The texts accompanying these figures have been examined in chapters 3, 4, and 5 above, along with certain aspects of the iconography of the individual figures. In order to minimize repetition, and to show better the common features of these images, much of the interpretation of the images of the giant deity is found in this chapter.

A large Osiride figure dominates the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun. Two uroboroi, the upper one labelled "Mehen," encircle the head and feet of this giant figure. As discussed above in chapter 3, an enigmatic label to the figure reads (pl. 6, fig. A):

dw3 wnwn R'itn pw wnwn

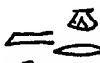


Adoration of the circling one--the circling one is Re/the sun disk.

The head of the entity is in the area of the *hry.t*,¹ his feet in the area of the *htmy.t*.² This parallels the specifications of the positions of the arms and feet of the similar figure in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl 37 A):³

nti pn m sh(r) pn
'=f m hry.t
rd.wy=fy m htmy.t

This god is in this fashion,
 his arm in the upper region,
 his feet in the place of destruction.

This description of the position of the feet and raised arm of an entity is parallel to scene A4 of the Book of the Earth. There, behind the smaller mummiform figures flanking the larger, plumed deity, is a defective formula:⁴

right: *ntr pn m shr pn tp=f rd.wy*  *'q*
 left: *ntr pn m shr pn tp=f*  *rd.wy=fy*  *'q ...*

For the *m hrt* of the right formula, Piankoff suggests understanding *<d3.t> hr.t*. For *hrt* in the left formula he questioningly proposes *<m d3.t> hr.t*. Piankoff reads the right formula as “ce dieu est ainsi: sa tête, ses deux jambes dans ... inférieure, entrer...,” the




¹Compare the text in the upper right enigmatic annotation (pl. 5, fig. B), referring to *qrr.(w)t=sn imy.wt hry.t*, “their cavern(s) which are in *Hry.t*.”

²Compare the text in the lower right enigmatic annotation (pl. 5, fig. C): *qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt htmy.t*, “their caverns which are in the Place of Destruction;” and that in the lower left: *qrr.t imy.t htmy.t*, “the cavern which is in the Place of Destruction.”

³F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX* (MIFAO 15; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907) pl. 77.

⁴A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (BdE 19; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953) pp. 12-13; E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1972) pp. 434-5

head and feet of the deity link the highest and deepest areas of creation. Hornung does not translate the formula on the right, but renders that on the left as “So ist dieser Gott beschaffen. Sein Kopf ist oben, seine beide Füße (sind) unten ... (Rest unklar).” There is a similar description of the goddess “Geheimnisvolle” in part D3 of the Book of the Earth.⁵ Of her it is said:

$tp \text{ } \dot{s}t3.t$
 $m \text{ } d3.t \text{ } \dot{h}ry.t$ ()
 $rdwy=sy$ () $m \text{ } d3.t \text{ } \dot{h}ry.t$ ()

The head of the mysterious one is in the Upper Netherworld,
her feet in the Lower Netherworld⁶

⁵Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, p. 45; A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 1*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954) pl. 361; C. Leitz, “Die obere und die untere Dat,” *ZÄS* 116 (1989) 55-7 (Leitz is aware of the D 3 Book of the Earth example of *d3.t hry.t* and *hry.t*, but does not appear to know the A 4 occurrence, or the others discussed here).

⁶The upper and lower divisions of the Netherworld are probably behind the *d3.ty*, “the two Netherworlds, the two halves of the Netherworld” mentioned at the end of the IIIrd Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division,” *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 37, 6-7; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 356; *idem*, “Dat,” *LÄ* p. 995 n. 15). The text there refers to the serpent guardian of the following gate, standing up on his tail, stretching from the very top to the very bottom of the Book of Caverns, a pose appropriate to one who “unites the two Dats” as one uniting the upper Dat and the lower Dat. In Coffin Texts chapter 317 (A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 4 [OIP 67; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951] p. 114c) the deceased, as the Inundation, is a possessor of offerings in the *d3.t hry.t*. Another example of the *d3.t hry.t* may be found in the 1st Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererets, 1er tableau,” *BIFAO* 41 [1942] pl. 8, l. 2):

$\dot{i} \text{ } hf3.w \text{ } nn \text{ } n \text{ } hf3(.w) \text{ } \dot{h}ry.w \text{ } d3.t \text{ } \dot{h}ry.t \text{ } Ws\dot{i}r$
 Oh snakes, these snakes of the depths of the lower Dat of Osiris...

So Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) p. 10 (and again in pl. 8 l. 5). One might read this as “the Dat which contains Osiris” (so Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 320), yet

In the Book of the Day and the Night, the supreme deity occupies a position in both levels of the Dat, for he concerns himself with all of the affairs of the *imn.tyw imy.w d3.t hry.t hry.t*, “the westerners who are in the upper and lower Netherworld.”⁷


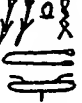
In the Book of the Earth, the Lower Netherworld (*d3.t hry.t*) is parallel to the Place of Destruction (*htmy.t*),⁸ as in the tomb of Ramesses IX *htmy.t* corresponds to (*d3.t*) *hry.t*.⁹ The feet of the giant deity in the tomb of Ramesses IX (see pl. 37A, l. 1) are in *htmy.t*, the “Place of Destruction,” his arms in some place which should correspond to (*d3.t*) *hry.t*. With $\text{Q} = \text{O} = r$, we have *m hry.t*, essentially the same writing as in section A4 of the Book of the Earth. The signs X , $\text{Y} < \text{P}$, and C appear have their common values, so the reading of Q only is in

this text is found in the fifth and lowest register of the 1st Division, a location which suggests the appropriateness of understanding *d3.t hry.t*, “lower Dat.”

⁷A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (BdE 13; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1942) p. 25, the twelfth hour of the day.


⁸To demonstrate this parallelism, one may examine the locations of several similarly depicted mummies. The female mummies (*s hyt*) in the second register of section A (A 11) are in the *d3.t hry.t* (compare the text to A 4); the same sort of mummies in the third register are in the *htmy.t* (in scene two of the third register [A 10] the arms rising from the ground line are the *wy htmy.w hnty htmy.t*, “the destroying arms resident in the place of destruction”). Note that at the foot of the sarcophagus of Ramesses IV, the arms of scene A 10, rising from the *htmy.t*, appear to rise from the floor of the sarcophagus chamber; the floor of the sarcophagus hall as *htmy.t* is also reflected in the rows of bound prisoners along the bases of the walls in the sarcophagus hall of Ramesses VI. At the bottom of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the area of the *htmy.t* in which the Osiride king’s feet are placed, there are also rows of bound prisoners.

⁹Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 77. The hand of Osiris in the Ramesses IX treatise is an image of Nun (see above, chapter 5). For the arms of Nun emerging from *htmy.t*, as here, compare the Book of the Earth (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 25, pl. 12 [text 25]), where the arms of Nun *mn m htmyt*, and when Re speaks to Nun he speaks *r htmy.t*.

dispute. If the sign is to be read neither as *ʿn* nor as *šn*, a substitution due to similarity of shape may suggest itself. Reading the sign  as a variant for a circle,¹⁰ the word  may be read as *ḥr.yt*, “upper region.”¹¹

As Hornung suggests, *ḥtmy.t* in the tomb of Ramesses IX could be understood as a synonym for the Underworld; this would be the eastern horizon as the place of destruction and punishment of evil. The *ḥry.t* could then be reinterpreted as the height of the world of day. The description of the Osiride king in the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX as having his hand in the height/heaven and his feet in the place of destruction at the eastern end of the Netherworld explains a description of Ramesses II in the stela of his First Hittite Marriage:¹²

...tp=f m p.t m šrw n ntr ds=f
 ...his head in heaven in the manner of god himself.

¹⁰On the statue of Thoeris dedicated by Pabasa, with a prayer for the Votaress Nitocris, Cairo 39145, a circle is written as a variant for *šn*, “to encircle, to wind around” (M. Verner, “Statue of Tweret (Cairo Museum no. 39145) Dedicated by Pabesi and Several Remarks on the Role of the Hippopotamus Goddess,” *ZÄS* 96 [1969] 57 [line 1 of the text on the base in front of the goddess’ feet]). A further interchange of a circular sign and the *šn*-ring occurs in the writing of *šrw*, “bodily form,” as  at Dendera (Ph. Derchain, “La peche de l’oeil et les mysteres d’Osiris a Dendara,” *RdE* 15 [1963] 14 n. 4; Derchain reads **šn*, and questioningly suggests a reading *snn*), the *šn*-ring substituting for the more usual pupil in a writing such as (*Wb.* I 113).

¹¹*D3.t ḥry.t* also occurs in L. Habachi, *Tavole d’offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (*Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Seconda--collezioni 2*; Turin: Edizioni d’Arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1977) 94 (24) and 99 (24) (cited D. Meeks, *Anée lexicographique* vol. 1 [Paris: D. Meeks, 1980] p. 432, no. 77.5003).

¹²K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd., 1979) p. 240, l. 9 (ref. courtesy of Prof. Wente).

This is the king as the enormous eastern deity, the sun at the eastern horizon of heaven, the creator god at the re-creation of the day.¹³ In a hymn in the contemporary tomb of Imiseba (TT 65, reign of Ramesses IX), the supreme divinity is described as:¹⁴

tp=k hr.t *rd.wy=ky d3.t*
your head is heaven, your feet are the Netherworld

This passage finds an echo in an address to a deity in a Coptic magical text:¹⁵

ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΧΩ4 2N TTE
ΕΡΕ ΡΔΤ4 2M ΠΝΟΥΝ
the one whose head is in heaven,
whose feet are in the abyssmal waters¹⁶

With *hryt* the sky of day and *htmyt* the lower world in its entirety, the annotation to the figure of the giant deity on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 36, and

¹³For other examples of Ramesses II as the creator god (one from the Hittite Marriage text), see L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des Göttlichen Wortes im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 42/1; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1938) pp. 96-97.*

¹⁴J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern (Theben 1; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983) no. 88, pp. 124-5; idem, MDAIK 28 (1973) 116; idem, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1975) p. 581; see also idem, "Primat und Transzendenz, Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines 'Höchsten Wesens,'" in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion (GOF IV vol. 9; Wiesbaden, 1979) pp. 7-42* (Assmann notes the survival of a such a "Weltgott-Prädikation" in Greek magical papyri); J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso 3 vols. (Louvain: Orientaliste, 1992) pp. 365-71.**

¹⁵W.H. Worrell, "Coptic Magical and Medical Texts," *Or.* 4 (1935) 185, ll. 12-13.

¹⁶As Prof. Wente has noted, the concept of the elements of the body of a deity being "in heaven" occurs earlier in Egyptian religious texts than the concept of those elements "as heaven," the latter notion first finding expression during the XXth Dynasty (so Assmann, in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, p. 15).

pl. 37 fig. A) is a description of the unified Re-Osiris as the highest deity of the cosmos.¹⁷ In a description similar to that in the tomb of Ramesses IX, P. Leiden I 348 vs. 12, 3 states that the giant deity, there Pre, stands:

rd.wy=fy hr s3tw qnī Nwn dr.t=f hr s3t

his two feet upon the foundation which Nun embraces, his hand upon the roof-beam¹⁸

In a Louvre hymn to Osiris the deity is described as having his feet upon his enemies, appropriate to having them in the Place of Destruction (*htmy.t*), while his crown “has pierced heaven (*hr.t*) and fraternized with the stars.”¹⁹ The Solar-Osirian nature is further expressed on the shrine through the use of excerpts from the Book of the Dead. To the right of the head of the giant deity is a portion of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, beginning with *īnk R‘ m h‘.w=f*, “I am Re in his glorious appearances” (pl. 2). To the right of the feet of the great god is a portion of chapter 1 of the Book of the Dead, addressed to Osiris as “Bull of the West” (pl. 2). The head of the giant deity, the disk of the sun, is in heaven, the body, Osiris, is in the Netherworld.

There is ambiguity within Egyptian texts as to the location of the Netherworld and its relation to the sky of this world. In the Pyramid Texts the Dat appears to lie beneath the earth, whereas in the Book of Nut the Dat-netherworld is within the body of

¹⁷For references to the deity having his head in heaven and his feet on or in the earth, see B.H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 4 (*MVEOL* 22: Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1982) p. 509 n. 3224; Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 147 n. 351.

¹⁸Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, pl. 14, p. 29, p. 147 n. 351.

¹⁹Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 737, ll. 10 and 13, p. 738 n. (41), and p. 739 nn. (48-9).

the goddess Nut.²⁰ The Dat may also appear in contrast to another portion of the Netherworld, as in Coffin Texts spell 1068:²¹

dw3 tw imy.w Imh.t s3h tw imy.w d3.t

may those who are in Imhet praise you, may those who are in the Dat
glorify you

According to Lesko these are the two ways of the Netherworld, Imhet the path on water, and Dat that on land.²² Imhet is, however, a portion of the realm of Sokar in the Amduat, and must be an arid area indeed, a black sea of sand.²³ According to Hermsen, Imhet in Spell 1068 is “unterweltlich,” the Dat “oberweltlich.”²⁴ Considering the stellar associations of the Dat, and the fact that it is upon the cosmic water that the bark of the sun sails,²⁵ Imhet should be the way of the lower earth, and Dat the watery path of the lower sky. This division of the Netherworld into terrestrial and cosmic paths

²⁰J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* (YES 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) pp. 3-7 and 61; *idem*, “The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts,” in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (YES 3; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) pp. 21-25.

²¹A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 7 (OIP 87; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961) pp. 329b-330a.

²²L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 17; Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1972) pp. 61-62.

²³E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* 2 vols. (Äg.Ab. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) vol. 1, p. 82, text n. 11; p. 91.

²⁴E. Hermsen, *Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits, das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie* (OBO 112; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1991) p. 167 n. 23, 168 and n. 25 (note also p. 113).

²⁵Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, pp. 4-6.

explains the division of the lower cosmos into the Upper and the Lower Dat, respectively the stellar, watery firmament of the nether sky, and the dark, sand-filled realm of Sokar, illuminated fitfully by the leaping flames of serpent tongues.²⁶ The enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX shows the stellar lords of the Netherworld in the upper register, the level of the hand of Osiris, which is said to be in *hry.t*, the upper Dat (see chapters 5 and 6). As the waters of the upper and lower sky are a continuous and contiguous route for the sun, the Nut Book may say that the sun travels in the body of Nut both by day and by night, and the Ramesses IX treatise may depict the stellar denizens of the nether sky on the same level as the birthing sun disk entering the hand of Osiris.²⁷

The scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX, as described in the enigmatic annotation, thus expresses the concept of the “immensity of the deity.”²⁸ In the band of epitheta of Ramesses IX above this treatise, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is referred to as ʿ3, “the great,” perhaps also to be understood as “the giant,” the Ptah of P. Berlin 3048, col. 5, l. 4.²⁹

²⁶According to Hermesen, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*, p. 113, the upper Dat is the sky of day, whereas the under Dat is the underworld.

²⁷The end of the Dat and the beginning of the upper sky are actually below the horizon of earth and visible firmament (*ibid.*, p. 6), further basis for the association of the stellar lords of the nether sky and the newborn sun of the next day. Allen, *ibid.* pp. 7 and 66 n. 39; *idem*, in W.K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 23-24 and n. 156, interprets the term “lower Dat” to be an indication that the Dat lies beneath the earth. This is a misinterpretation of the term, for it ignores the existence of the upper Dat.

²⁸S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]* (*Wilbour Monographs* 3; New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1970) p. 26 n. n (to l. 4, 4) on the giant deity. Note the description of the sun god as *wr.tī wr.tī* in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, no. 156, p. 203, l. 7, probably a reference to the awesome size of the deity.

²⁹A. Erman, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* vol. 1 *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche

This vision of the enormous god of the eastern horizon is the same concept of the supreme deity which inspired the central figure on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

The *Mḥn* uroboroi at the top and bottom of the figure represent the upper and lower realms of the solar deity, the watery firmament of the upper and lower skies, and the chthonic underworld.³⁰ The two Mehen serpents coiled about the head and feet of the deity on the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 6, fig. A) are perhaps indications that the deity is completely surrounded by the serpents. As an illustration of such a concept, there is the depiction of Re in the vignette on the coffin Cairo CG 28083--the "roads of Mehen" in chapter 758 of the Coffin Texts are there shown as a much coiled serpent which surrounds the seated figure of Re.³¹ Another, parallel depiction occurs on the same coffin--a headless, mummiform body stands atop two double-headed serpents in a boat, with another double-headed serpent stretched out at the neck; atop the uppermost serpent is a scarab supporting a sun disk. This depiction is accompanied

Buchhandlung, 1901) pl. 39, l. 4: *rd.wy=ky h.r t3tp=k [m] t3 hr.t m hprw=k m imy-d3.t*, "Your two feet are upon earth, and your head [in] the heaven, in your realization as the one-who-is-in-the-Netherworld."

³⁰See L. Kákosy, "Uroboros," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986) cols. 886-93, and the literature cited there; *idem*, "Osiris-Aion," *Oriens Antiquus* 3 (1964) 19 n. 26; R.K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *JNES* 43 (1984) 219-20. Compare Egypt as a ring in J.J. Clère, "Fragments d'une nouvelle représentation égyptienne du monde," *MDAIK* 16 (1958) pp. 30-46, pl. 5; and see L. Kákosy, "Selige und Verdamnte in der spätägyptischen Religion," *ZAS* 97 (1971) 101; C. Sourdivé, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Berne: Peter Lange, 1984) p. 260. See also L. Motte, "Orphica aegyptiaca I," *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 2 (1989) 266-67.

³¹P.A. Piccione, "Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent," *JARCE* 27 (1990) 44-5 (and fig. 1). This depiction is perhaps a precursor of the uroboros first clearly depicted on the second shrine of Tutankhamun (E. Hornung, "Verfall und Regeneration der Schöpfung," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 46 [1977] p. 435 n. 37 suggests only the five-headed serpent in the 6th Hour of the Amduat as "ein ikonographischer Vorläufer" of the uroboros).

by chapter 1098 of the Coffin Texts, which refers to the Mehen serpent on the head of the deity.³² The uroboros at the feet of the giant deity finds iconographic parallels in the uroboroi sometimes found on the footboards of 21st Dynasty coffins.³³ In the depiction on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, the upper snake encircles the heavens, the lower the Netherworld. Here Re is located in the body of Osiris. This is the *h3.t imy R*, "the corpse in which is Re," of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.³⁴ The serpents also represent the boundary of the *kkw-sm3w*, the uniform darkness bounded by the dragon in the *Pistis Sophia*.³⁵ With his feet and head in these areas of darkness, and

³²A. Piankoff and H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Wandering of the Soul (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 6*; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) pl. 5. In this portion of the Book of the Two Ways, there is another double-headed serpent with scarab and disk above the one perched atop the neck of the headless, mummiform figure. These serpents, separated by an area of sand, may represent upper and lower Mehen serpents corresponding to the upper and lower Dat, parallel to those at the head and feet of the giant deity on the Tutankhamun shrine.

³³A. Niwinski, "Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen religiösen Ikonographie der 21. Dynastie (3). Mummy in the Coffin as the Central Element of Iconographic Reflections of the Theology of the 21st Dynasty in Thebes," *GM* 109 (1989) 55-6.

³⁴Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 9 (the second scene of the first register on the right wall); text II (pl. 2) says:

dī=f hḏ.wt m h3.t 3h.ty
‘q=f m itn
h3y=f h3.t št3

He casting light in the corpse of the one of the horizon,
 entering as the disk,
 illumining the mysterious corpse

³⁵See J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960) p. 326; on pp. 334-35 Zandee is at pains to avoid Egyptian connections when discussing the eschatological use of the words $\Delta P \Delta K \Omega N$ and $\Sigma \Phi \Omega$ in Coptic texts, and his conclusions unnecessarily avoid parallels and explanations from the ancient Egyptian religious literature.

the ram-headed *b3*-bird of the sun in his middle, the figure finds a textual parallel in a portion of the introductory text to the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns:

ỉ Wsir ntr 3 nty tp=f m kkw ph.wy=f(y) m kkw

ỉw h3.t=f d3.n=s d3.t b3=f w3š hr tw.w(t)=f

Oh Osiris, great deity, whose head is in the darkness and whose hinder parts are in darkness, his corpse having traversed the Netherworld, his *ba* exalted upon his images³⁶

The appearance of this image is similar to that of the name of Ramesses III as it appears in the sarcophagus hall of his tomb, where the ruler's nomen and epithet *hq3-ỉwnw* are surrounded by two overlapping uroboroi, this group in turn orbited by 12 disks and 12 stars.³⁷ There the doubled uroboros encloses the name of the king, as the uroboroi on the second shrine of Tutankhamun enclose the actual image of the Solar-

³⁶According to R.T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1959) p. 80 and p. 272 n. 22, the two snakes "must be the two serpentine circles of the Coffin Text, delimiters of space when it is imagined as extending upwards," referring to Coffin Texts II (correcting the I 161ff reference in his note 20, p. 272) 161 *d* (chapter 136): *mỉ nn sp-snnw dbn sp-sn.nw hnm sp-sn.nw*, which he reads as "like those two serpentine circles," "lit. 'two crawling ones.'" Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, p. 257, reads I 161 *d* as referring to the previously mentioned "Voyageurs (?)," suggesting "(ceux qui vont) comme ceci, circulant et sillonnant" (W.R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 2 [Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1977] p. 116 questioningly offered "also the circumference of ..."). Rundle Clark's suggestion is an imaginative interpretation of the Coffin Text passage, but that passage is of such uncertain meaning that it can at present offer no certain help in interpreting figure on the shrine.

³⁷See E. Hornung, "Auf den Spuren der Sonne: Gang durch ein ägyptisches Königsgrab," *EranoS* 50 (1981) 466 (*contra* n. 35 the doubling of the uroboros does not appear first in the scene in the tomb of Ramesses III) and fig. 16 p. 467.

Osirian ruler. The uroboroi are surrounded by the stars and disks of the hours, and do themselves represent the unending round of time.³⁸

The figure of the ram-headed *ba* of the sun in the belly of the giant suggests again the description of the goddess in the third scene of the first register of section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, discussed above:³⁹

tp št3.t m Dw3.t hry.t
rdwy=sy m Dw3.t hry.t
b3.wy 'p=f h3.t=s
 the head of the mysterious one is in the Upper Dat,
 her feet in the Lower Dat,
 the double-*ba* traversing her corpse

The ram-headed *ba*-bird within the disk in the belly of the giant standing figure is an image of the *b3 špss imy itn=f*, “the august *Ba* who is in his solar disk.”⁴⁰ As *št3.t*, the mysterious feminine being, the goddess in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk is a representation of the corpse of Osiris, the *h3.t-št3.t*, the feminine member of the unified Re-Osiris.⁴¹ The sun shown as inhabiting a disk within the belly of Osiris

³⁸On the uroboros and time, see E. Hornung, “Bedeutung und Wirklichkeit des Bildes im alten Ägypten,” in *Kunst und Realität (Akademische Vorträge gehalten an der Universität Basel 8*; Basel: Verlag von Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1973) pp. 36-8.

³⁹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 2-3.

⁴⁰Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 340-341 (text 242, from TT 359, and n. q (p. 341, citing iconographic parallels to this statement, including the image on the second shrine of Tutankhamun).

⁴¹W. Westendorf, “Horizont und Sonnenscheibe,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 389-98; J. Assmann, “Horizont,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980) cols. 3-7; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* (MÄS 19; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969) pp. 325-26, especially n. 56 (p. 325). See further the

parallels depictions of the soiar child within the disk/womb of the pregnant goddess.⁴²

This is the Solar-Osiris as the creator deity:

ts m ʿy=f hn ʿ d.t=f r shpr swḥ.t=f m-hnw=f št3w

who binds his seed with his body in order to create his seed within his
mysterious corpse⁴³

The “secret self” is the *št3(.t)*, the Osirian corpse in the Netherworld, in which Re is rejuvenated during the night and through which the sun is born in the east.

The imagery of the enormous eastern figure of Re-Osiris, head in heaven and feet in hell, with two encircling uroboroi who are equated with the eye of the sun, occurs again in a portion of a hymn in Theban Tomb 84:⁴⁴

ity=k p.t hq3.n=k t3.wy

šn.n=k st m-hnw ʿ.wy=ky

You seize heaven, having taken control of the Two Lands;
within your arms have you enclosed them.

The omnipresent deity controls and protects heaven and earth in his enchanting, encircling embrace. At the same time that his head reaches into the firmament, his feet stretch down through the earth and into the Dat. His arms are the rays of the sun, which

discussion of the ithyphallic Osiris at the end of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise (chapters 5 and below, this chapter).

⁴²Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 149 and 187; A. Piankoff, “La déesse Chenit,” *Egyptian Religion* 2 (1934) 100-105; H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst* 4th ed., E. Brunner-Traut, ed. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) Abb. 90, p. 130.

⁴³P. Leiden I 350, II 27--Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 25.

⁴⁴Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 140 (text no. 101), ll. 11-12; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 302 n. 8 and p. 303.

can be represented as serpents.⁴⁵ Here they are represented as encircling uroboroi; in the Corridor G ceiling composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI,⁴⁶ they are great serpent legs connecting the disk in heaven with the bowels of the earth.

In his study of the giant figure on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, Piankoff, compared the images of "Him Who Hides the Hours" in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX. Citing a passage from the Creation of the Solar Disk which describes the hours entering the earth and travelling in the direction of "Him Who Hides the Hours,"⁴⁷ Piankoff concluded that the figure represented a being similar to Aken in the Sixth (old Fifth) Division of the book of Gates, into whom the hours travel and from whom they must be drawn forth. Of the central figure on the shrine Piankoff states: "Le dieu Aken, ainsi que *Celui qui cache ses heures*, symbolisent tous les deux l'arrêt dans le fonctionnement de la machine cosmique, l'arrêt du temps à un moment donné de la nuit."⁴⁸ Since an epithet "He Who Hides the Hours" does not accompany the figure of the giant deity on the Tutankhamun shrine, the arrest of time is most likely not an aspect of the nature of the giant deity on the first side of the shrine. The location of the ram-headed soul of the sun in a disk within the belly of Osiris is a symbol of the regeneration of the sun in the belly of Nut.⁴⁹ It also symbolizes the regeneration of Osiris through his

⁴⁵The sun as "many-armed" (an epithet in P. Boulaq 17, VI 7) parallels the sun as *š3 i'rr.wt*, "numerous of uraei," both expressions of the light power of the sun (see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 205 and 302-3 (and n. 12 p. 303).

⁴⁶Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 182.

⁴⁷Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 3, ll. 1-2 (text IV, middle of the first register, section A).

⁴⁸A. Piankoff, "Une Représentation rare sur l'une des chapelles de Toutânkhâmon," *JEA* 35 (1949) 113-6.

⁴⁹On the regeneration of the sun within a disk, see W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu Vier Unterweltbüchern* (MÄU 1; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang,

union with Re. According to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, certain Netherworld denizens are summoned:

šsp=sn Hr d3.ty pr=f m št3.t=f imy(.t) d3.t

that they might receive the Datan Horus, when he comes forth from his
mystery which is in the Dat.

This *št3.t*-mystery is the corpse of Osiris, which is both in the horizon and is the horizon, from which the newborn sun rises.⁵⁰

1990) p. 63, according to whom “die Regeneration des Sonnengottes in der Sonnenscheibe und seine Wiedergeburt aus der Scheibe finden sich nur im Erdbuch dargestellt.” Compare also the figure of Nut in the cover to the Ptolemaic period coffin of Horendotis in the British Museum (unpublished). There, in the belly of the goddess, are scenes of the birth of the sun and the Egg of Sokar from the Fifth Hour of the Amduat. This supports the association of the ram-headed soul of the sun within the belly of the giant deity on the second shrine, and the association of this figure with Aken and the corresponding 6th (old 5th) Division of the Book of Gates.

⁵⁰*št3* is a term for “corpse”—see J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (OBO 51; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983) p. 196; E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII. (Theben 11; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990)* p. 123 n. 20; compare also *št3* as a reference to “Bestatten,” in E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 3; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1976) p. 137 n. (403), citing also nn. (44) and (119). For *št3w* = *h3.t* and *h3w* = *iwf*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 84ff; L. Lesko, “The Shortest Book of Amduat?,” in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39; Chicago, 1976) pp. 137 n. 17. In Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 2, ll. 3-4, the corpse is the *h3.t št3.t*, “the mysterious corpse;” in Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, pp. 64-5, pl. 117, the corpse of Osiris is called *h3.t 3.t imy.t 3h.t h3.t ntr št3.t*, “the great corpse which is in the Netherworld, the mysterious corpse of the deity.” See also above, text n. *d* for the middle register, upper band of enigmatic text, left portion of the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, chapter 5. In the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, the dead are referred to as *d3.tyw št3.w-irw.w*, “The Dat-dwellers, mysterious of visible forms.” In the 12th Hour of the Amduat, the corpse of Osiris at the eastern horizon, actually forming the horizon, is called *sšmw-iwf* (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 205, vol. 2, p. 193), *sšmw n Wsir* (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 203, l. 11, vol. 2, pp. 124 and 192); the arms there associated with the reclining Osiris are the *sšmw št3 n Šw* (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 197, vol. 2, p. 188); here, *št3* corresponds to *iwf* and *Wsir*, both representing the corpse of the sun. The mystery is feminine--*št3.t*--because it refers to the corpse--*h3.t*--of Osiris, a

The ram-headed bird within the disk in the belly of the Osiride figure is Re emerging from Osiris; the opposite is expressed later in the same composition, where there is mentioned the two sanctuaries of:

ītn msw=f št3w=f

the solar disk who gives birth to his mystery

This text accompanies a scene of the disk from which emerges the head of Hathor. Here the disk is the womb from which the new sun is born, and the *št3w* is the Re-Osiris of the eastern horizon, to which Hathor shall give birth.⁵¹

In three horizontal lines in front of the mid-section of the giant deity on the Tutankhamun shrine is the text of chapter 27 of the Book of the Dead, a spell for warding off those who would seize the heart of the deceased. Behind the row of adoring deities standing behind the giant is chapter 29 of the Book of the Dead, a spell for warding off the *wpw.ty n ntr nb*, the “messenger of any god.” To the left of the feet of the Solar-Osiris is chapter 26 of the Book of the Dead, a spell for giving back to the deceased his heart, along with other physical functions. By their position and contents,

feminine element. For the feminine aspect of the Osirian element in the Unified Solar-Osiris, see the discussion of the ithyphallic Osiris in chapter 5. This body of Osiris envisaged as a separate female being, compare the giantess *št3.t* in section D of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk--Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 25, ll. 2-3.

⁵¹L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Boreas 14; Uppsala: Liber Tryck AB, 1986) pp. 20-25 concerning Re and Hathor; S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (MÄS 4; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1963) pp. 113-116; E.F. Wente, “Hathor at the Jubilee,” in G. Kadish, ed. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969) pp. 90-91; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* [GOF IV vol. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975] pp. 134-35, and Ph. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons* [Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1972] pp. 36-44). See further above, in the discussion of *ītny.t* in chapter 4, pp. 322-330.

these excerpts parallel the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX, where hieroglyphic and hieratic texts warding off malevolent messengers are located in front of the mid-section of the reclining, ithyphallic Re-Osiris in the penultimate scene of that tract (pls. 36-37). The annotation and iconography together support the identification of the giant with the ram-headed *ba*-bird in his belly as an image of the unified Re-Osiris, occupying all of space at the eastern horizon, with the sun of the coming day reborn within the horizon-corpse of the Osiride element of the unified deity.

The snake-legged being in the *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G enigmatic composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI emphasizes the fiery, punishing aspect of the giant Re-Osiris. Westendorf⁵² discusses the *Schlangehalspanthers* as carriers of the solar disk, and relates these to later Ptolemaic examples of the winged sun disk from which “hängen die Uräen bis auf den Erdboden herab.” He discusses the serpent-legged solar deity of the Corridor G enigmatic treatise as an example of the concept of the uraei of the sun god as “tragende Stützen.”⁵³ Pharaonic period parallels for this figure are found in the upper register of the 10th hour of the Amduat (discussed by

⁵²“Uräus und Sonnenscheibe,” *SAK* 6 (1978) pp. 201-25(quote = p. 222; the figure from the *Schutzbild* is cited on p. 222, and is the subject of fig. 22 [p. 223])

⁵³*ibid.* 222. As a small supplement to Westendorf’s study, perhaps showing an understanding of the uraei hanging to either side of the celestial orb as being both supports and connections with the earth, compare Apuleius, “The Golden Ass,” liber XI, iii (Apuleius, *The Golden Ass, being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius*, trans. W. Adlington, revised S. Gascke [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, London: William Heinemann, 1977] p. 542): On the forehead of the goddess Isis, Lucius sees a

plana rotunditas in modum speculi vol immo argumentum lunae candidum lumen emicabat, dextra laeraque sulcis insurgentium viperarum cohibita, spicis etiam Cerialibus desuper porrectis.

Serpents, as though rising from the earth, support the lunar disk on either side. This image from *The Golden Ass* recalls specifically the disk supported on each side by rearing serpents in the Amduat (Westendorf, *SAK* 6 [1978] 220 Abb. 16).

Westendorf), and in the papyrus of Dirpu.⁵⁴ The name of the entity in the Amduat is *m 'nn.wy*, "Doppeltgewundener."⁵⁵ As Hornung notes, the left eye of the sun is said in the accompanying text to emerge from this "double entwined one."⁵⁶ In the *Schutzbild* the eye of the sun has become the disk head of the solar deity, and the snakes are indeed supports and links with the earth, having become the lower legs and feet of the god. The legs of the sun here depict the designation of the sun as *phrr*, "runner,"⁵⁷ and the twice attested designation of Amun-Re at Khonsu Temple as *rnp (n) rd.wy=f(y) r h.h.w*, "whose legs are more vigorous than (those of) millions."⁵⁸ These are designations of the sun as one who travels the sky not in his bark, but as the great cosmic racer running his celestial course on giant, untiring legs.

⁵⁴Amduat = *ibid.* p. 220 (Abb. 16 = Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 85 [p. 295]; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 1669, #696; vol. 2, p. 164); Dirpu = *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 164 citing A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 3*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1957) no. 6, scene 7.

⁵⁵So Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 164; the figure in the papyrus of Dirpu is without accompanying annotation.

⁵⁶*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 169, l. 4. Compare also the entities in A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (OBO 81; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989) p. 187 fig. 63 (=P. Turin 7, bib. p. 367), which Niwinski (*ibid.*, p. 187) interprets as a hybrid of the entities Amduat #730 and #755; *ibid.* pl. 48a (=P. Berlin P. 3152).

⁵⁷E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project vol. 1 Translation, Commentary, Discussion and Sign List* (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1988) p. 129 and n. 770.

⁵⁸The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu vol. 1 Scenes of King Herihor in the Court* (OIP 100; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1979) pl. 70, l. 8; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu vol. 2 Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* (OIP 103; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1981) pl. 161 E, l. 2.

Stricker⁵⁹ and Hornung related the snake legs of the *Schutzbild* deity to the iconography of the entity Abrasax/Abraxas on magical gems from the Graeco-Roman period.⁶⁰ This important observation deserves to be pressed further, for Abrasax remains somewhat misunderstood. This “anguipede alectorocéphale” is known by a number of names, but most commonly the name Abrasax, which numerologically corresponds to the number 365; according to Delatte and Derchain, “ces noms ont une valeur astrologique et plus particulièrement solaire.”⁶¹

Abrasax most often has serpents which form his legs and bend up in place of feet; there are, however, examples of Abrasax with human legs and snakes for feet, parallel to the depiction on the *Schutzbild*.⁶² He usually has two human arms, one bearing a shield, itself perhaps an allusion to the disk of the sun.⁶³ There is in fact a

⁵⁹De Geboorte van Horus II (*MVEOL* 17; 1968) pp. 120-1.

⁶⁰E. Hornung, “Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses’ VI.,” in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988) p. 50

⁶¹A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964) pp. 23-4; see also the references given by R.D. Kotansky, *Texts and Studies in the Graeco-Egyptian Magic Lamellae, and Introduction, Corpus, and Commentary on the Phylacteries and Amulets Principally Engraved Onto Gold and Silver Tablets* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988) vol. 1, pp. 120-1; and W. M. Brashear, “Ein neues Zauberensemble in München,” *SAK* 19 (1992) 103-4.

⁶²Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, no. 34A (pp. 37-8), nos. 37-8 (p. 39)

⁶³C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950) p. 123 n. 2; in Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, no. 34B, Abrasax has human feet, and no arms. Abrasax is the deity represented as a rooster on a solar disk in a bronze from Karnak (see Abd El Mohsen El Khachab, in M. Azim, “La fouille de la cour du VIII^e Pylône,” *Karnak* 6 [1980] 117-18).

variant form of Abrasax, as a lion-headed anguipede, and he can hold an orb in place of the shield,⁶⁴ which suggests that the shield was indeed a solar emblem. Delatte and Derchain are uncertain of the deity's origin, and conclude that "l'association dans ce personnage énigmatique de deux natures opposées, l'une céleste, celle du coq, l'autre tellurienne, celle du serpent, est peu explicable."⁶⁵ In Egypt, however, the serpent uraeus is a solar symbol, often hanging pendant from the disk of the sun; in the iconography of Abrasax the disk or other solar icon (lion head, etc.) is replaced by the "Hellenistic" rooster,⁶⁶ but the Egyptian solar uraeus remains.

Abrasax is the sun as an avenger, as Nemesis could be the omniscient solar avenger.⁶⁷ As a symbol of the violent power of the sun, the association of a serpent and a purely solar element is perfectly explicable in the light of Egyptian iconography, particularly as represented in this thus-far unique *Schutzbild*. Bonner compared Greek representations of snake-legged giants, and stated that he had "seen no Egyptian work

⁶⁴Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 129 and n. 27.

⁶⁵Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, p. 24; they are not entirely averse to the hypothesis of Abrasax/Abraxas' origin in the Manichean Adamas (A.A. Barb, "Abraxas-Studien," in *Hommages a Waldemar Deonna* [Collection Latomus 28; Brussels: Berchem, 1957] 67-86). The statement by Barb (A.A. Barb, "Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in J.R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971 (2nd edition)] p. 162), that the cock- and lion-headed anguipedes were "without sufficient reason formerly taken to represent the 'god' Abraxas," ignores the frequent labelling of such beings as Abrasax/Abraxas; his own identification of the entity as Adam is not supported by a single label.

⁶⁶Though the bird is known in Egypt by the time of the New Kingdom (see H. Carter, "An Ostrakon Depicting a Red Jungle-Fowl (The Earliest Known Drawing of the Domestic Cock)," *JEA* 9 [1923] 1-4, and the references cited there), the solar imagery of the rooster is not fully developed until the Graeco-Roman period.

⁶⁷Cf. W. Brashear and A. Bülow, *Magica Varia* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 25; Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1991) p. 57.

of dynastic times representing a human head, arms, and torso combined with two serpent coils instead of legs.”⁶⁸ While the figure in the *Schutzbild* does not fill all of Bonner’s criteria (*ie.* the human head and arms), it does provide an Egyptian parallel for Abrasax, far older than the snake-legged giants to which Bonner was forced to have recourse. Similarly, in the light of Egyptian religion, Bonner’s difficulty with snakes having a protective function must vanish.⁶⁹

Bonner’s association of Abrasax with the Greek giants is not entirely misleading, however. Abrasax is indeed a giant, and may represent the giant deity who encompasses all of creation. The snake-legged disk, reaching down below the surface of the earth from his celestial heights, is another form of the giant deity at the eastern horizon, the unified Re-Osiris. For this image, compare an illustration on the mummy mask of a woman, now in the Medelhavsmuseet--the uraei of the winged sun disk drop down to the earth, and rear up to either side, enclosing the standing figure of Osiris.⁷⁰ The snake-legged solar disk is an expression of the omnipresent, giant deity as the great flame stretching across the firmament.⁷¹ The *Schutzbild* reveals that his arms are Isis

⁶⁸Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 124; for him (p. 128) “a monster with snake legs suggests only the earth-born giants.” Stricker terms the anguipedes “Giganten” (*De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 2 [MVEOL 17; Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1968] p. 120 fig. 22).

⁶⁹Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, p. 125.

⁷⁰L. Kákosy, “Eine Frauenmaske im Medelhavsmuseet,” *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 15 (1980) 20, fig. 4.

⁷¹As expressed in Pyramid Text utterance 261 (PT §§ 324 a-c):

s3 ib Šw 3wy 3w.t 3sb i3hw
RN pī nsr m tp t3w r dr p.t r dr t3

a son of the heart of Shu, extensively extended, fierce of brilliance,

and Nephthys. As uraei, his legs can also be seen as manifestations of these goddesses (see above). These goddesses can represent the mountains of the horizons, and can encompass all of creation.⁷² Both the *Schutzbild* anguipede and the goddess-armed deity in the solar bark on the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling (pl. 27) are representations of the giant god at the eastern horizon, Re and Osiris at the time of their union. As he is depicted on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, his omnipresence is emphasized, his head in the Mehen-surrounded firmament, his feet in the similarly

this RN is a flame at the head of the wind, from the limit of heaven to the limit of earth.

See J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984) § 695 p. 487, and n 438 p. 537. On the cosmic flame, see Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 184 n. 455 and the references cited there. This enormous, fiery aspect of deity, and its potentially wrathful manifestation, shows the significance of the “stellar wonder” which Thutmosis III relates in his Gebel Barkal stela (Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 1238, l. 4-p. 1239, l. 11)--the cosmic epiphany of Thutmosis III as the omnipresent flame, there to the woe of his Nubian foes. This imagery is also the source for the description of Sety I as “a blasting flame, trampling the mountains” on his Amarah West and Sai stelae (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 1, p. 103, l. 10)--at the edge of the world the pharaoh manifests himself as the blasting cosmic flame, on the piedmont of the horizon. A further example of the warring pharaoh as the omnipresent giant deity of the eastern horizon is in a description of Thutmosis III from Buhen Temple:

šn.n=f s.t m-ḥnw ʿwy=f(y) ḥ ʿḥm=f ḥr wp.t-t3 r šhr.t Mntw-Styw

He enclosed them [the entire cosmos] within his arms, his majesty standing at the edge of the world in order to overthrow the Asiatic barbarians.

(west face of pillar 16--R.A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* [*Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 33; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974] vol. 1, pls. 60 and 62, p. 51). For *wp.t t3* as the extreme north, as here, cf. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, p. 92, no. 78.0936. The solar imagery of the enclosing arms (for *šn n m-ḥnw ʿwy*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 302 n. 8) is perhaps picked up by *wp.t*, which can refer to the horns of the heavenly cow, upon which the young sun perches (Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, p. 66, no. 79.0646).

⁷²See Clère, *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 30 n. 1, 31 fig. 1; see also the chapter on the second shrine of Tutankhamun.

entwined underworld. On the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX the ithyphallic giant emphasizes the fecundity of the creative powers resulting from the union of Re and Osiris. The *Schutzbild* anguipede emphasizes the punishing powers of the deity at the eastern horizon, the area of the final punishment of the damned. Combining the far-off disk of the sun, and the serpentine legs of his fiery power which reach to the earth and below, he also symbolizes the concept of the solar deity as one who is both far and near at the same time.⁷³ Like the giant Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon, Abrasax depicts the magic solar deity with his head in heaven and his feet in hell.⁷⁴ Like Re-Osiris, Abrasax is the sun of morning, day, and night.⁷⁵

Abrasax is usually helpful, and he often bears an epithet designating him as a destroyer of giants; he can, however, be dangerous, and have his power turned back on himself.⁷⁶ The *hpr-hprw*, "coming into being of the realization," which is said to occur "in this cavern" in line 2 is a precaution which the sun god takes when he encounters Apep, and the *nty-dwy* against whom the serpent-limbed sun shoots in line 3 is Apep. As Abrasax/Abraxas destroys the chthonic giants, so the anguipede of the Corridor G *Schutzbild* is the destroyer of the great serpent Apep. As a solar deity, Abrasax is a cosmic ruler,⁷⁷ as is the unified Re-Osiris.

⁷³cf. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 355 n. g to text 253 (from TT 373).

⁷⁴Cf. Brashear and Bülow, *Magica Varia*, pp. 28-33.

⁷⁵Cf. R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax, ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts, Band 1: Gebete (Papyrologica Coloniensia 17/1; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990) pp. 158-61.*

⁷⁶Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, p. 24

⁷⁷Brashear and Bülow, *Magica Varia*, p. 53.

Osiris is in the horizon and *is* the horizon.⁷⁸ Osiris reclines in the “Forehall” of the Netherworld, in the slope which rises up to the eastern horizon, and which is in the fact the root and base of the eastern horizon. One hill of the horizon is shown, the rightmost. In a representation of the two hills of the horizon the leftmost hill can represent the western horizon, while the rightmost hill can represent the eastern horizon.⁷⁹ The figure of Osiris is whole, the head is joined to the body, an aspect of the eastern horizon.⁸⁰ In the scene of the sun between Isis and Nephthys above the entrance to the tomb of Merneptah, the text behind Nephthys on the right side of the scene, the eastern hill,⁸¹ is spoken by “Osiris, the lord of the west.”⁸² There, as in the tomb of Ramesses IX, Osiris is associated with the eastern horizon, the place of repose for the mummy of Osiris in the concluding scene in the Amduat, emphasizing the cyclical

⁷⁸W. Barta, “Zum Wesen des Gottes Osiris nach Zeugnissen der älteren Totenliteratur,” *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 89-93. This concept may explain the end of column 7 on pl. 56 of Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944); the gap indicated on the plate does not exist, and the conclusion of the column appears to read *3h.t=k nsw.t* Ramesses VI *pw m3 ʿ-hrw*, “your horizon is king Ramesses VI, justified” (on *pw m3 ʿ-hrw*, see H.C. Jelgersma, “A Grammatical Peculiarity in the Tomb Inscriptions of the Sons of Ramses III in the Valley of the Queens in Thebes,” *JEOL* 21 [1970] 169-74).

⁷⁹Assmann, in Helck and Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3, pp. 6-7 n. 26.

⁸⁰Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 397-8 n. 11.

⁸¹For the association of Nephthys with the east and Isis with the west, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 341 n. 19 (see also pp. 197-8 and 352 n. 63). See also chapter 2, n. 123. On the sarcophagus of Djedhor, son of Nesqashewty (Cairo 26030), the Apis bull carrying the mummy on the foot of the coffin is flanked by the two goddesses--Nephthys to the right, labelled “east;” Isis to the left, labelled “west.”

⁸²B. Porter, R. Moss, and E. Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I The Theban Necropolis Part 2 Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries* (revised ed.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1964) p. 507; color illustration in E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1983) p. 115 (no. 86).

nature of the course of the sun.⁸³ The passages, cited by Barta,⁸⁴ Pyr. 636 a-c and 1887a-b (damaged), could serve as descriptions of the concluding scene in the Ramesses IX treatise (see below, pp. 594-595). In the Pyramid Texts passages Horus as Horakhty emerges from the horizon.

There are several possible explanations for the elevated arm of the ithyphallic Osiride figure. The most important image which the giant deity's raised arm conveys is that of the hand of Osiris as Nun, the waters out of which Re is reborn each morning. The figure of the enormous unified Re-Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX emphasizes the liminal, watery realm of rebirth which the giant deity inhabits. The raised hand of the Osiride figure represents the waters through which the sun will be reborn. The depiction here of the scarab and disk at the fingertips of Osiris' raised hand is an iconographic allusion to scenes of the turning over of celestial bodies as depicted in the second shrine of Tutankhamun and on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. More specifically, the scene on the enigmatic wall could well serve as the illustration to P. Carlsberg I C I 43:⁸⁵

⁸³This association of opposite directions is also possible for mixing the normal south/east, and west/north associations of the south-north and east-west axes (on which see C. Loeben, "Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu," *BSEG* 14 [1990] 67). For an example, see Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 110, no. 11 ll. 9-10 of the hymn, where Re is "oberägyptischer König der westlichen Götter, unterägyptischer König der östlichen Götter."

⁸⁴Barta, *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 89-93.

⁸⁵O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text* (*Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Skrifter, Bind 1, Nr. 2*; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940) pp. 22 and 24-6, p. 4*, pl. 1; O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* vol. 1 (Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960) p. 49

[w 'b=f(m-)hnw] 'wy it=f Wsir w 'b=f(m-)hnw dr.t p3y=f it Wsir d hr ir=f s
p3 mw nty iw=f h' (m-)hnw=f p3y

[He is purified in the] arms of his father, Osiris. He is purified in the hand of his father, Osiris--that is to say, he is accustomed to do it. It is the water from which he rises.

This is repeated again in C II, 7:⁸⁶

sw 3h=f hr 'wy it=f Wsir m t3-wr.t iw=f nfr (m-)hnw dr.t p3y=f it Wsir n
pr-imnty d wn-n3w iir=f n pr-imnty p3 mw nty p3 R' h' (m-)hnw=f p3y
He was glorious in the arms of his father Osiris, in t3-wr--he was beautiful in the hand of his father, Osiris, in the underworld--that is to say, it was in the underworld that he was. That is the water from which Re rises.

In reference to the setting of the sun, F III, 43 repeats this idea:⁸⁷

3[h=f] 'n=f m-hnw 'wy it=f Wsir iw=f nfr iw=f tsr (m-)hnw dr.t p3y=f it Wsir
p3 mw p3y

[He] becomes glorious, he becomes beautiful in the arms of his father, Osiris. He is beautiful, he is resplendent in the hand of his father, Osiris; it is the water.⁸⁸

⁸⁶Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No 1*, pp. 23-4, p. 5*, pl. 2; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 50.

⁸⁷Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No 1*, p. 37, p. 14*, pl. 3; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 63.

⁸⁸See also Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 63; for some other references to the hand of Osiris, see H. Altenmüller, "Hand," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977) col. 940 and n. 61 col. 943.

In these passages, the arms and hands of Osiris are depicted as carrying the sun at both horizons, and are equated with the waters of Nun in which the sun is purified.⁸⁹ As a pure and washed (*w'ḥ*) celestial body, the sun is clear and bright. The hand of Osiris symbolizes the purifying waters,⁹⁰ and points forward to the brilliance which the rising newborn sun will attain. The sun joins the corpse of Osiris in an aquatic setting, and here a portion of the corpse itself is the watery element.⁹¹ Osiris and Nun may be identified,⁹² and this identification of the arms and hands of Osiris with the waters of

⁸⁹According to Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 63, these texts (I 43, II 7, III 43) occur "in association with the personification of the sun as it prepares to leave the Duat." For the equation of the concepts of embracing (*m-hnw* 'wy) and lifting up the sun, see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970) p. 43 (and n. 4, pp. 43-4). For *w'ḥ* and solar/stellar clarity, see the discussion below of cryptogram 124 in text III of the Book of the Day and of the Night. The hand as Nun is appropriate also to this scene as an image of the union of *Re* and Osiris, which, according to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, occurred in the primal *ny.w*-waters (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. 22, l. 9; see W. Barta, "Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches," *JEOL* 29 [1985-86] 99).

⁹⁰The association of the hands of the god Osiris with the purifying Nun-waters through which the sun rises may be one of the bases on which is founded the late desire that Osiris offer cool water to the blessed deceased (on which see D. Delia, "The Refreshing Water of Osiris," *JARCE* 29 [1992] 181-190).

⁹¹R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (*Brown Egyptological Studies* 8; Providence: Brown University Press; London: Lund Humphries, 1979) p. 46 n. 11 characterize the union of sun and corpse in the sixth hour of the Amduat as occurring "in a humid atmosphere recalling Nun and pregnancy."

⁹²In O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3 vols. (Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960-69) vol. 1, p. 49, in ll. 43-4. For Osiris and water see *i.e.* K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit* (*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* vol. 8; Leipzig: Akademie-Verlag, 1957) p. 82, l. 10 (Bab el Amra, Karnak; 3rd scene from the top, N end of W interior = P. Clère, *La porte d'ÉueRegète à Karnak* [MIFAO 84, 1961] pl. 45), the king says to Osiris: *hrp=i n=k H'p wtt m rdw=k*, "I dedicate to you the inundation, engendered from your efflux;" see J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Swansea: University of Wales, 1970) pp. 436-437; J. Barns, *Five Ramesseum*

Nun suggests the designation of the sun god as *imy drw nhh*, the solar deity at the “Todesschwelle.”⁹³ In the introductory text to Division V of the Book of Caverns, *3h.ty* is said to stretch forth his hand and receive the morning:⁹⁴

3h.ty dī=k ʿ=k

šsp=k dw3w

hnm=k nsw.t Ramesses VI

Akhty, you put out your arm,
that you receive the morning,
and that you unite with the king Ramesses VI.

This is the solar horizon-dweller embodying Osiris, reaching out to himself--*dmdy*, “the unified one,” Re-Osiris. As the Osiride element reaches up to the sun, so the solar element stretches out to unite with the Osiride king. In a passage from Medinet Habu,

Papyri (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1956) p. 21 n. 16; H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1956) pp. 408-409; Assmann, *Re und Amun*, p. 263 n. 275; for Osiris and Hapi see also the references cited by D. Kurth in “Nilgott,” *LÄ* IV (1982) p. 486 nn. 67-68; for Osiris and Nun, see A. Moret, “La légende d’Osiris à l’époque thébaine d’après l’hymne à Osiris du Louvre,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 734 n. (16). In the demotic Book of Breathing P. Louvre E 10605 l. 19 writes *Wsīr* instead of the *mw* of P. Berlin 8351 l. 9 (M. Smith, “An Abbreviated Version of the Book of Opening the Mouth for Breathing (Bodl. MS Egypt c. 9 (P) + P. Louvre E 10605) (Part 2),” *Enchoria* 16 (1988) p. 75 (the substitution may not simply be “in error”). On Osiris and the Inundation, L. Žabkar, “A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae,” *ZÄS* 108 (1981) 144 n. 21. For Osiris’ arms and the Inundation, see section *n* of chapter 145 of the Book of the Dead, the 13th portal, and see also Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 734 n. (17).

⁹³See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 87-8, text note 11.

⁹⁴Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 56, 5 (73a). In *ibid.* pl. 52, l. 3, Osiris extends his hands towards *Re*. For *Re* and Osiris as stretching out their hands towards each other, see Barta, *JEOL* 29 (1985-86) 103 n. 79.

the king is himself the unified Re-Osiris, present now in both the upper and lower worlds, and present at the beginning of time as the undivided creator:⁹⁵

nsw.t ïmy 3h.t ïmy d3.t

nhh ïmy Nwn

the king who is in the horizon and who is in the Netherworld;

the aged one who is in Nun

In the 12th Hour of the Amduat, the arms of Shu receive the disk of the sun at the end of the Netherworld;⁹⁶ the emerging sun is later referred to as *3gb-wr*, the primordial Inundation waters⁹⁷--the sun entering the arms of Shu is the swimming soul of Re.⁹⁸ In the tomb of Ramesses IX the Osirian king is the eastern horizon, bridging the Netherworld and the upper world of the living; he is a giant figure representing the horizon and Nun, the borders respectively of this world and the next in the realm of eternity (*drw nhh*).⁹⁹ The one hand masturbates, and is a feminine element, a vaginal

⁹⁵The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6 *The Temple Proper Part 2, The Re Chapel, The Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms, with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall* (OIP 84; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963) pl. 424 B 4 (corresponding to a passage in the Book of the Dead of Ndjemet).

⁹⁶Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 197.

⁹⁷*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 205, l. 4; vol. 2, p. 193.

⁹⁸For the image of the corpse of the Osirian Shu in the hill of the horizon, compare the scene in the fourth register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, where each Aker front has an image of the "corpse of Shu" on its breast (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 26, pl. 12, l. 4 [text 26]).

⁹⁹This interpretation of the reclining Osiride king in the tomb of Ramesses IX is a representation of the concepts expressed in a hymn in the contemporary tomb of Imiseba (TT 65 [discussed briefly above, p. 486, in relation to *htmyt* and *hryt*]; J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* [*Theben* 1; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983] no. 88, pp. 124-5):

substitute for the self creating deity;¹⁰⁰ the other hand receives the disk of the sun, and represents the male element Nun.¹⁰¹ At the same time, Nun can be seen as the

nwy b3=k dfd=k i3d
 ir.ty=ky itn i ʿh
 tp=k hr.t rd.wy=ky d3.t

the flood is your *ba*, and your pupil is the dew,
 your two eyes are the sun and the moon,
 your head is heaven, your feet are the Netherworld.

The deity is the sun and moon, the flood through which they pass, and the upper and lower worlds. The pupil as the dew is probably a reference to the girl in the eye, the goddess of the eye of Re, as moisture, Tefnut. For this notion, one may compare the idea that Hathor came into to being from a teardrop out of the solar eye, for which see W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation (Probleme der Ägyptologie 7; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991)* p. 228 n. 4. This association of the goddess of the eye of the sun with moisture further recalls the image of Isis as a rain cloud, in L. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1988) pp. 42-3, 149, an image which suggests Isis in the form of the returning, moisture laden solar eye (not suggested by Žabkar in his excellent commentary). The image of Isis as the returning rain cloud may also allude to Isis mourning Osiris, recalling the name of the portal of the 7th door of the Netherworld as "Storm Cloud Veiling the Weary One, mourner whose desire it is to conceal the body"--T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day, Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* (SAOC 37; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) p. 130; see also A. Piankoff, "Le naos D 29 du musée du Louvre," *RdE* 1 (1933) 175. The word *i3d*, "dew," (ΕΙΩΤΕ) may be intended to allude to *idy*, "vulva" (ΟΟΤΕ). For a pun involving *t3 it.t*, "vulva," in relation to the creator Ptah, see W. Erichsen and S. Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift (Pap. demot. Berlin 13606)* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1954) 4, 2 (pp. 316 and 382, and p. 331). For Isis as the dew, see R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax, ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts, Band 1: Gebete (Papyrologica Coloniensia 17/1; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990)* pp. 160-61 (§234).

¹⁰⁰see A. Gardiner, "Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus," *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 36; J. Zandee, "The Birth-Giving Creator-God in Ancient Egypt," in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1992) pp. 170-71. On the masturbation of Atum, see also J. Baines, "*Bnbn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes," *Or.* 39 (1970) 389-97.

¹⁰¹For water as a male element at the time of creation, see Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, col. 4, l. 3, and the commentary pp. 65-6 ([*p3 mw nty iw hwt p3y*]). Compare the goddesses Iusaas and Nebet-Hetepet. The first is the

overflowing ejaculate, the result of the other hand's masturbation.¹⁰² In view of these aspects of the image, the reclining Osiride king represents the eastern horizon as the vulva of the sky goddess.¹⁰³ For this reason, the union of Re and Osiris in the east can be seen as copulation, as in section S 4 of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:¹⁰⁴

ptr r=f sw Wsir pw

masturbating hand of Atum, the other a personification of the vagina, and both can be termed the hand of the god (J. Vandier, "Iousaâs et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet," *RdE* 16 [1964] 55-146, *RdE* 17 [1965] 89-176, and *RdE* 18 [1966] 67-142; Ph. Derchain, "Le démiurge et la balance," in Ph. Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969]; *idem*, *Hathor Quadrifrons*; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, pp. 28-9). Note that in the example F 99 from Philae which Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 52, discusses, Nebet-Hetepet is found with Khepri, with marginal inscriptions mentioning Horakhty emerging from Nun.

¹⁰²See above, the section discussing the ejaculation and spitting of the four winds (chapter 5, pp. 412-414). On the imagery of the fist and masturbation see D. Kurth, "Zum Pfortenbuch, 12. Stunde, 90. Szene," *GM* 105 (1988) 49-54.

¹⁰³Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 391; in Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, col. 4, l. 4, the hill is a feminine element (*t3 qj nty iw s.hmt*). Also note that *3h.t* is a term for the excitation, the *h3d* of Atum (see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 47 and n. 12). The raised hand of the deity, in a Shu-like pose, can also be seen as opening the vulva of the east at the time of the birth of the sun (see S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* [Esna 8; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1982] p. 164; M. Malaise, "Bes et les Croyances solaires," in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 2 [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990] pp. 715-7). For the body of Osiris as a womb, see Zandee, in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 177.

¹⁰⁴U. Rössler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuchs* (*GOF* IV vol. 10; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979) pp. 214, 241 (citing the Coffin Text parallels; the *b3...nk=f* of the Book of the Dead is not in CT utterance 335a [see M.S.H.G. Heerma van Vos, *De Oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a, Coffin Texts Spruch 335a* (Leiden: J.J. Groen and Zoon, 1963) p. 18]); see P. Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 1986) p. 233 n. 14; L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, pp. 95 and 103; Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 731-2 n. (11).

ky dd

hknw-R^c rn=f

b3 pw n R^c

nk=f im=f ds=f

Who is he? He is Osiris.

Alternatively:

‘Acclaimer of Re is his name;

he is the *ba* of Re,

with whom he himself copulates.

Along with the explicit statement that he is the “*ba* of Re with whom he (Re) himself copulates,” the name ‘Acclaimer of Re’ also bears sexual connotations.¹⁰⁵

The *hry.t* into which the hand of Osiris reaches could also be equated with Nut, from whose thighs the newly born sun emerges.¹⁰⁶ The hand which receives the sun also lifts it up into the sky.¹⁰⁷ The sun as coming from the hand of the horizon is

¹⁰⁵On *hknw-R^c*, see Rössler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuchs*, p. 214 n. 6 (citing the parallel in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, no. 105), and p. 241; Heerma van Vos, *De Oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a*, pp. 57-8. On the sexual connotations of *h^c ib*, see the references in n. 1703 below, especially Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*. For further considerations on embracing as a means of effecting the union of Re and Osiris, see C. Desroches-Noblecourt, “Poissons, tabous et transformations du mort, nouvelles considerations sur les pèlerinages aux villes saintes,” *Kêmi* 13 (1954) 33-42.

¹⁰⁶Compare Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 221 n. 158.

¹⁰⁷Compare the arms of Tatenen in the Litany of Re (E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 [*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 3; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1975-76] p. 147 n. 518), which receive and lift up the sun. On the lid of the outer sarcophagus of Merneptah (J. Assmann, “Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah,” *MDAIK* 28 [1972] 47-73), in ll. 3 and 12, Neith is said to lift up the king as the sun. Assmann, *ibid.* p. 62, text note 26, notes this is usually a function of male deities, adding “die androgyne Neith vermag auch diese Funktion zu erfüllen.” Through the lifting deity’s hands as Nut, he becomes a female element, so the fact that Neith lifts up the sun god here may have less to do with Neith’s assumed androgyny than with the fact that she is female.

depicted in the third scene of the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns. There, as though emerging from the paws of Aker, are deities labelled *dw3.ty*, *itm*, and *ifny*; each deity receives the annotation *pr=fm 3kr*, “he coming forth from the hand of Aker.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) 24. Osiris has Re in his watery hand at the time of the union of the gods Re and Osiris, at the horizon, at the time of Re’s rebirth and rising. This is an explanation for the description of *Re* (W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955-58] p. 2097): *pry m mw/st3 sw m nnw*, “come forth from the waters, he who draws himself from the watery abyss.” The reclining pose of the ithyphallic figure may also suggest the waters of Nun, both by recalling the languid state in which the creator existed before the desire to create entered his mind, and his weariness following the initial phase of creation (Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, pp. 18 and 49; K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* [Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1929 Nr. 4] pp. 44-5). A similar association of the languid, watery state of the creator god, in a context of creation, is found in The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1* (OIP; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, forthcoming) pl. 64 (some of the following commentary will be repeated in the accompanying commentary volume), where a priest shouts to the Amun bark leaving Luxor Temple:

bg33.wy smn b3g3
How weary is the cackling goose!

The statement is clearly punning, and the imagery is appropriate to the riverine procession back to Karnak. The *smn* is Amun (Wb. IV 136, 3; J. Vandier, “L’oie d’Amon, à propos d’une récente acquisition du Musée du Louvre,” *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Eugene Piot* 57 [1971] 5-41; W. Guglielmi and J. Dittmar, “Anrufungen der persönlichen Frömmigkeit auf Gans- und Widder Darstellungen des Amun,” in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck, eds. *Gegengabe, Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* [Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 1992] pp. 119-42). On *b3g3* see Wb. I 482, 11; J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984) pp. 62 and 581; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1 (*Analecta Orientalia* 34; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955) p. 199 (§448); J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971) p. 120 n. 257 and p. 172 n. 415 [noting possible confusion of this word with *bg3w*, “weariness,” which is the source of the pun in the Opet cry]; *b3g3* may be related to *ngg*, the cry of the *smn*-goose, on which see W. Ward, “Lexicographical Miscellanies II,” *SAK* 9 (1981) [1981] 367-9; J. Yoyotte, “Études géographiques I. la cité des acacia (Kafr Ammar),” *RdE* 13 [1961] 83; Ch. Kuentz, *L’oie du Nil (Chenalopex Aegyptiaca)*

The combination of the waters of Nun and the place of fiery punishments occurs also in chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead:¹⁰⁹

ỉỉ.n=ỉ mỉn <m> p3 sb3 n sd.t

ỉn H'p ms kkw ỉr n=ỉ w3.t

Through the portal of flame have I come today.

It is the Inundation, child of the darkness, that has made a way for me.

The concept of the rebirth of the sun out of the place of ultimate, fiery destruction, associated with the upside-down lords of the Netherworld, appears again in a scene in the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns. The legs of Osiris are shown as emerging from the *htmyt*, “the place of destruction,” as his enemies descend head first into the place of destruction. This is the edge of the Netherworld with Osiris emerging from the hell into which the damned fall. In the tomb of Ramesses IX it is not the damned who are falling, however, but the blessed dead who are in danger of falling at the moment of the cosmic crisis. The scene might be read as Osiris *ỉmy q3y.wt* or *n q3*, citing an epithet of the god recorded in the hymn of O. Hess,¹¹⁰ “Osiris who is in the high land,” with the one-sided stairway as the determinative of *q3*.¹¹¹

dans l'antique Égypte [extrait des *Archives du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Lyon* 14; Lyon, 1926] pp. 46-8; Allen, *Genesis in Egypt*, p. 94 [note to text 16 §C l. 18]).

¹⁰⁹E.A.W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Oxford University Press, 1912) pl. 52, ll. 9-10 = section w S 14 of Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 136.

¹¹⁰M. Smith, “A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 123 and 131 n. c (line 6 of the ostracon).

¹¹¹Compare also Osiris termed *hnty h' y.t wr.t*, “Prééminent sur la Grande Butte” (C. De Wit, “Inscriptions dédicatoires du temple d'Edfou,” *CdE* 71 [1961] 64, citing *E* IV 4, 6). For the Osirian deceased king as the horizon, compare the epithet of the living king *dw n nwb*, “mountain of gold,” a reference to the glowing eastern horizon, personified by the king (C. Coche-Zivie, “Les colonnes du <<temple de l'est>> à Tanis,” *BIFAO* 74 [1974] 107-9).

The hand of the Osiride figure is that of Akhty (see above, p. 580) extended towards the rising sun. According to P. Carlsberg I, the hand of Osiris is the watery realm through which the sun rises. The raised fingers of the Osiride figure are the waters through which the sun rises, the portal connecting the lower and upper worlds. This imagery of the disk at the tips of the Osirian fingers entering the world of the living is that of a passage on a statue of the Third Intermediate Period from North Karnak. On the right side of the block statue of Djedthothiufrankh (T 35), the son of the man depicted, one Harsiesis, addresses his father in the Netherworld. The son describes what the father was wont to do in the temple, already at that time assimilated into the entourage of Re (horizontal lines 2-3):¹¹²

wn=k ['wy] p.t m3=k imy=s

pr itn hr db 'k

you opening [the doors] of heaven, and seeing the one who is in it,
the disk coming forth beneath your finger(s).

The opening of the shrine and removal of the divine image for Re was performed by the deceased father when on earth, a foreshadowing of his later Osirian service for the solar deity. The hand of the ithyphallic Osiris lifts up heaven and opens the portals of the firmament, lifting up the image of the sun into the world of the new day.

The elbow of the ithyphallic god, very slightly bent back, points behind him. This fact, along with the erect phallus, suggests the pose of the god Min. An epithet of Min is

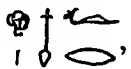
¹¹²C. Robichon, P. Barguet, and J. Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV (1949-1951)* (FIFAO 25; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1954) figure 143 (opposite p. 148), and pl. 126.

f3i ˁ, and this epithet is also born by Osiris in Theban Tomb 65 (Tomb of Imiseba, reign of Ramesses IX--see plate 38, figure A):¹¹³

- 1) *dd mdw in Wsir hnty-imnt.t nfr-hr q3 3tf*
- 2) *nb ˁb.wy dm-hnw.ty wsr-ib it sbi*
- 3) *wtty tpy n Gb hry-tp m h.t Nw.t*
hprr ˁnh 4) wtt mt3
f3i ˁ iwh nhh
- 5) *B3 st3w hry-ib Ddt ˁpwy hry ntr.w s ˁh*
- 6) *šps imy iwnw sr n Hw.t-Brbr ˁš3 k3.w*
- 7) *nb qbhw ššm htp.w n 3h.yw smsw w ˁ*
- 8) *n imn-rn=f b3 pn r mh 4 m štt dmdy n Ddw*

- 1) Words spoken by Osiris, foremost of the West, perfect of face,^a high of Atef-crown;^b
- 2) lord of the two horns, sharp of tips,^c strong of heart,^d who seizes the rebel;^e
- 3) first begotten of Geb, chief in the womb of Nut,
 living Kheprer, 4) engendering of phallus,
 upraised of arm, bearer of the flail;
- 5) mysterious ram-form, residing in Mendes, winged-one,^f chief of gods, august dignitary
- 6) who is in Heliopolis, the Official of the Mansion of the Benben,^g plentiful of provisions;
- 7) lord of cool waters, who conducts offerings to the *akh*'s, eldest, sole one
- 8) of Hidden-of-Name,^h this fourth ram-form in the sanctuary (of Sokar), the combined form (of Re and Osiris) in Mendes.

¹¹³The handcopy (pl. 38, figure A) and the following transliteration and translation are based on Metropolitan Museum of Art photograph T 1712. A portion of the text in lines 3-5 appears in the *Wb. Belegstellen*, vol. 1, offset p. 77 (to *Wb. I* 572, 12) but omitting the man-holding-basket determinative of *f3i*.

^a On *nfr-hr*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 12-4; Ph. Germond, "A propos de l'expression *hr nfr* , 'beau visage': une lecture au second degré ?," *BSEG* 4 (1980) 39-43; L. Žabkar, "A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae," *ZÄS* 108 (1981) 145; Ph. Derchain, "Un projet d'empereur," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, Sondernummer 1991; Cologne: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, 1991)* p. 118 (suggesting that *nfr hr shb mndt* = καλὸς ἀντιπρόσωπος); F. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou (OLA 51; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1992)* p. 198 n. 897.¹¹⁴ On the association of *nfr-hr* with the wearing of high double plumes, see Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel* vol. 1, p. 157 (n. 113).¹¹⁵

^b For the god and the Atef crown, compare a portion of another hymn from the same tomb:¹¹⁶

nfr-hr shm m 3tf=f
Beautiful of face, powerful in his Atef crown

¹¹⁴For the proper grammatical explanation of *nfr--hr*, see K. Jansen-Winkel, "Exozentrische Komposita als Relativphrasen im älteren Ägyptisch, zum Verständnis der Konstruktion *nfr hr* 'mit schönem Gesicht,'" *ZÄS* 121 (1994) 51-75.

¹¹⁵The epithet *nfr-hr* may be related to the designation *nfr-htp*--see W. Spiegelberg, "Der Gott Nephotes (*Nfr-htp*) und der κυβερνήτης des Nils," *ZÄS* 62 (1927) 36. On *Nfr-htp*, a common epithet of Khonsu, see C. Vandersleyen, "Aménophis III incarnant le dieu Neferhotep," *OLP* 6-7 (1975-76) 537; J.-Cl. Goyon and C. Traunecker, "Une Stèle tardive dédiée au dieu Neferhotep (CS X 1004)," *Karnak* 7 (1978-1981) 299-302.

¹¹⁶Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, pp. 123 and 124 n. e; *idem*, *Liturgische Lieder*, 172-3.

^c The combination of horns (‘*b.wy*) and the *3tf*-crown is especially well attested in hymns addressed to Osiris.¹¹⁷ A passage in P. BM 10299, 1, attests the Atef-wearing Osiris at the cusp of the eastern horizon, united with the newborn sun, as in the tomb of Ramesses IX. In P. BM 10299, 1, Osiris is addressed as *ntr wr hkr.w <m> 3tf m h.t Nw.t*, “the great god, adorned <with> the Atef crown in the belly of Nut.”¹¹⁸ The Atef crown is appropriate to the giant deity, jutting into the firmament.¹¹⁹

^d On *wsr-ib*, see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen* p. 220.

^e The Atef crown of Osiris is often associated with power over the foes of Re and Osiris--compare the stela British Museum no. 236 [1367], ll. 8-13.¹²⁰

^f ‘*pw*y is the solar deity as a ram-headed, winged scarab (here only, according to *Wb.* I 180, 3).

^g *Wb.* IV 188, 4-5; 189, 3. On the form of Re in the Benben Mansion, see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* p. 301, n. *a*; on the orthography of *bnn* as *brbr*, see J. Baines, “*Bnn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes,” *Or.* 39 (1970) 389-404. The forms of Osiris detailed here, mysterious ram, a Netherworldly form, and a solar, Heliopolitan form, are foreshadowed already in the Middle Kingdom--compare stela

¹¹⁷*ibid.* p. 207 n. *u*.

¹¹⁸R.A. Caminos, “A Prayer to Osiris,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 21 and pl. 4, l. 1.

¹¹⁹On the double feathers and the immense deity, see Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, pp. 367-71.

¹²⁰H.R. Hall, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, Etc., in the British Museum* vol. 3 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1912) pl. 28.

British Museum no. 236 [1367], ll. 8-9,¹²¹ wherein Re is said to rise in order to behold Osiris' perfection upon earth (a visible, solar manifestation), as Re sets in order to behold him "in the manifestations of the Netherworld."

^h The deity *imn-rn=f* is Amun, a *ba* of the solar deity.¹²²

This hymn from the tomb of Imiseba is a paean to the great deity in his form of the Ram of Mendes, the four-fold *ba*.¹²³ The doctrine of the Mendesian ram fits well the imagery of the union of Re and Osiris at dawn, and specifically the imagery of the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX: Osiris is water, the hand of Osiris is Nun

¹²¹*ibid.*

¹²²See Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 124, n. k.; for Amun as a *ba* of the sun, see *ibid.* p. 120 n. c; *idem*, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 568 n. to ll. 6-7; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§ 231-5, pp. 109-11. Thus Amun at the Opet temple at Karnak can be termed a *ba* of Osiris; the Osiris of the Opet temple is a solar deity, the unified Re-Osiris. J.G. Griffiths, review of C. De Wit, *Les inscriptions du Temple d'Opet a Karnak* vol. 3, in *JEA* 57 (1971) 229, concludes that Amun as the *ba* of Osiris in the Opet temple shows that "the supremacy of Osiris has involved the reduction of the greatest god of Thebes to the status of an Osirian manifestation" ignores the nature of the supreme deity Osiris as a solar deity, and Amun's much earlier status as a *ba* of the solar deity.

¹²³On whom see Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Mémoires, Collection in-8°, Deuxième série; Brussels: Palais des académies, 1965)* p. 35; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 78-81; *idem*, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 207 (n. t to text 156); *idem*, *Re und Amun*, p. 263 (this passage by Assmann closely paraphrased by H. Sternberg-el-Hotabi, "Die Götterdarstellungen der Metternichstelle," *GM* 97 [1987] 36); L. Kákosy, "Prophecies of Ram gods," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1966) 351 n. 70; *idem*, "Probleme der ägyptischen Kosmogonien der Ptolemäer und Römerzeit," *Hommages à François Daumas* vol. 2 (Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1986) p. 432 and p. 434 n. 35; J.F. Borghouts, "The Ram as a Protector and Prophet," *RdE* 32 (1980) 33-46. The tomb of Ramesses XI presents this Osirian All-Lord as having four ram heads (R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* vol. 3 [Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849-59] pl. 239a).

into which the solar disk enters; Geb is the earth, represented on the enigmatic wall by the horizon hill on which Osiris, the successor of Geb, reclines; Shu is the air, the space in which Re-Osiris supports the sky and makes the Netherworld deep; and Khepri is the light, the rising disk of the sun. In the Ramesses IX treatise, a comparison of the dead king with Geb is possible--the deceased king, like Geb, does join (*hnm*) sexually with his mother Nut.¹²⁴ In the graffito accompanying the penultimate scene on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, the king is referred to as *b3*, in *b3=k špsy*, “your august *ba*” (pl. 37, figure B, l. 4).

The epithets which the Imiseba hymn provides stress the procreative powers of Osiris, and describe him as Min, “upraised of arm, bearer of the flail.”¹²⁵ This is perhaps the intent in the representation of Osiris as Min in the tomb of Ramesses IX,¹²⁶

¹²⁴Compare Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, p. 23, §31, an inscription from the Sety temple at Abydos, mentioning the king there as, among others, Geb in *t3 pn*, “this land.” For the four-headed Min, often with four ram heads, symbolizing universal overlordship, see J. Quaegebeur, “Les quatre dieux Min,” in E. Graefe and U. Verhoeven, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten* (OLA 39; Leuven: Peeters, 1991) pp. 253-68. Note also the horizontal text above the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 40; see further above, chapter 5, pp. 536-544), which describes the four-fold nature of the deceased king. On the four ram-headed Amun-Re-Horakhti shown at the entrances to the tombs of Ramesses IX and XI, see T.A. Bács, “Amun-Re-Harakhti in the Late Ramesside Royal Tombs,” in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Stud. Aeg. 14; Budapest: La Chair d’Égyptologie de l’Université Eötvöl Loránd de Budapest, 1992) pp. 43-53.

¹²⁵For Osiris-Min, see the references cited by Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project* vol. 1, p. 87 n. 305. On the deceased as Min-*nḥh*, see W. Westendorf, “Die Lehre von den Zwei Ewigkeiten und ihre Nutzanwendung durch den Toten, Dargestellt anhand des 17. Kapitels des Totenbuches,” in W. Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien, Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel* (GOF IV vol. 3; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) pp. 183-206. For the pose of Min, see O. Keel, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament* (OBO 5; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1974) pp. 158-60.

¹²⁶A connection between the hymn in the tomb of Imiseba and the depiction of the Osiride king in the tomb of Ramesses IX is probable; the chief draughtsman Amenhotep worked in both the tomb of Ramesses IX and the tomb of Imiseba, and

and in the parallel scene on the papyrus of Heruben (see pl. 41).¹²⁷ Like Min, he grasps his erect phallus (although this is not explicitly shown, but rather implied), his other arm thrown back in an approximation of the gesture of Min (the raised arm of the Ramesses IX figure is but slightly bent at the elbow). Osiris Min appears in this pose in the Hibis Temple¹²⁸--Min, lord of Coptos, lies on his back within a Min shrine, phallus erect and presumably grasped by one hand, the visible arm thrown back with the flail. Bastet, who stands before the shrine, addresses the deity as Osiris.¹²⁹ Min is appropriate to the scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The reclining deity is the eastern horizon, and Min is attested as the eastern support of heaven, and as the morning sun itself.¹³⁰ In Pyramid Texts spell 673 (§1993b-c), the deceased king at the eastern horizon of heaven is likened to a number of deities; among others, he is Min:¹³¹

Bács in U. Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, p. 53, has suggested that he provides the connection between another scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX and hymns in the tomb of Imiseba.

¹²⁷A. Piankoff, "Les deux papyrus 'mythologiques' de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire," *ASAE* 49/2 (1949) 129-67.

¹²⁸N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 17; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953) pl. 20 (N. wall, Rm. H 2, bottom register).*

¹²⁹For Serapis-Min, see the Achmim stele of the time of Hadrian published by A. Scharff, "Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim," *ZÄS* 62 (1927) 89; A. Bernand, *Pan du désert* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977) pp. 169 and 176-7.

¹³⁰J. Spiegel, "Re und Osiris," in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel (GOF IV vol. 3; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) pp. 129-81; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen es Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn (MÄS 10; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1966) pp. 46-7, p. 71 and n. 16. For Min associated with Harpocrates as the morning sun, see F. Daumas, "Sur une terre cuite de style hellénistique provenant du Fayoum," in *Mélanges offerts a Kazimierz Michalowski* (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966) pp. 59-65.**

¹³¹Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 481.

ḥwḏ=k mdw n ḥnm.t Mnw ḥs ḥmy pr=f

You shall issue commands to the sun-folk as¹³² Min who is in his domain

Osiris as Min is the Osirian element of the unified Re-Osiris, extending his rule out of the Netherworld and into the horizon.

In Pyramid Texts Utterance 318 (PT 636 a-c)¹³³ the deceased king embraces Horus as the horizon from which Horus emerges:

a) *h3 Wsṛ N Ḥrw nw m-ḥnw ʿwy=k(y)*

b) *ḥnd=f tw*

c) *3ḥ n=f ʿn ḥr=k m rn=k n 3ḥ.t prr.t R ʿḥm=s (T)/=k (P and M)*

a) Oh Osiris N, this is Horus in your arms,

b) he protecting you.

c) It is beneficial for him again with you in your name of horizon out of which Re proceeds.

This royal Osirian horizon could be seen as having his left arm raised, as depicted in the tomb of Ramesses IX; according to PT §1532 (utterance 578), couriers and others rush about:¹³⁴

sḥw=sn tw n R ʿm ḏsr rmn ḥ3b.ty

¹³²For this use of *ḥs* for “as,” see R. Anthes, “Das Verhältnis des Königs zu Re in den Pyramidentexten,” *ZÄS* 111 (1984) 2-3. Anthes reads *R ʿḥs* as “‘als Re,’ ‘weil er Re ist,’” as opposed to *mḥ(r) R ʿ*, “‘wie Re,’ ‘im Einklang mit Re,’” and *m R ʿ*, “‘als Re,’” mythologically “‘in Re’” (*ibid.* p. 3).

¹³³K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908-1922) vol. 1, p. 345; see Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 32 (§ 54A).

¹³⁴Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 326.

in order that they might announce you to Re as one whose left arm is raised¹³⁵

The raised arm and hand of the Osiride king are an image of the hand of Osiris carrying the sun--like the hand of Osiris they are the watery Nun into which the sun sets and through which it rises. The penultimate scene in the Ramesses IX treatise parallels two depictions of the prone Osiris lifting up and righting the sun in the middle register of the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (see the discussions in chapter 3, pp. 179-180 and 182-183). The association of the embrace and the transmission of the light power foreshadows the significance of the embrace in the Coptic gnostic treatise *The Ogdoad Reveals the Ennead*.¹³⁶

The enigmatic text accompanying and describing the ithyphallic Osiris on the enigmatic wall describes the position of the raised arm as *m ḥry.t*, "in the upper region;" the text does not read *m ḥꜣy.t*, "in jubilation," as Piankoff and Drioton suggested (see chapter 5). The raised arm of the deity in that penultimate scene on the enigmatic wall does, however, iconographically suggest jubilation.¹³⁷ In section S 4 of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, to which several allusions are made in this treatise, Osiris is called the acclaimer of Re, and the soul of Re, with which Re copulates (see above, p.

¹³⁵Later in this utterance, §1535a, of the king is said: *nḥ3ḥ3 m ꜥ=k mks=k ḥ3 ꜥ=k*, "the flail in your hand, the Mekes-sceptre behind your hand," a further reference to the Min-like pose of the king. In this context, §1536c, the *iḥm.w-sk*, the Imperishable stars, kneel to the king.

¹³⁶See G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes, A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge, 1986) p. 146.

¹³⁷Compare Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 4, p. 7, ll. 14-15 and p. 9, l. 12: *m ḥꜣy r ḥr.t / ḥry*, "in rejoicing to heaven;" E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 1 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 7; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1979) p. 130.

584).¹³⁸ In the introduction to the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns, the arms of Osiris are stretched toward the disk of the sun as it enters the liminal area between the Netherworld and the eastern horizon:¹³⁹

¹³⁸Osiris as the acclamer of Re explains the 69th address to Re in the Great Litany (Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 78):

hknw n=k R' q3 shm
 i' n' htn Wnty
 Hpny m3' irw.w
 twt is (h3.t) i' n' d3.ty

Hail to you, oh Re, high of might;
 jubilating baboon, oh one of Wetjenet,
 Khepri, correct of forms;
 for you are (the corpse of) the netherworldly baboon.

See also *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 274; vol. 2, p. 120 nn. 190-1. The sun is a baboon adoring himself at dawn, the time of the union of Re and Osiris, with Osiris, king of the Netherworld, adoring the sun as it rises amongst and as one of the baboon-shaped souls of the east. For the king as a baboon adoring the sun, with the baboon-shaped souls of the east, and presenting Maat, see H. Te Velde, "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons," in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988) pp. 129-37; Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 28-9, text notes 8-10; E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: The Iconography and Theology of a Ancient Egyptian Offering Ritual* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago, 1990) pp. 60-1 with nn. 18-9 (for her n. 18: with Te Velde, *contra* Teeter, the king was conceived as being with the baboons--compare scenes such as The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6 *The Temple Proper Part 2*, pls. 421 and 430; the king as a baboon adoring the sun is the origin of the depiction of a baboon within a cartouche on an ostrakon in L. Keimer, "Sur un certain nombre d'ostraca figurés, de plaquettes sculptées, etc., provenant de la nécropole thébaine encore inédits," *Études d'Égyptologie* 3 [Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1941] pp. 21-22, fig. 11, pl. 17 [no. 57]). Re as the Netherworldly baboon is behind the writing of Re in the the prenomen of Amenhotep III--Nb-m3' .t-R'--as a seated baboon with a lunar crescent and disk atop his head on the scarab V82-1 in B. Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, K, S, A and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan* (OINE 6; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1992) fig. 15j. This passage from the Litany of Re explains in turn a section of the texts on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre, in which Osiris is said to travel as an ape in the bark with Re, at the border of the upper and lower skies, at rwd pwy n hbs bg, "that incline of covering the weary one" (C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* [Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1937] pp. 38-9). The imagery in the text on the sarcophagus of

iw itn=i 'q.n=f kkw

št3.w m hy hnw

iw itn=i 'q.n=f kkw

hnty.w imn.t m h 'wt

iw itn=i 'q.n=f kkw

Wsir di.n=f 'wy=f(y) r=i

My disk has entered the darkness,

the mysterious ones in acclamation and rejoicing;

my disk has entered the darkness,

those in the west in jubilation;

my disk has entered the darkness,

Osiris having stretched out his arms to me.

Throwing up the arms is the gesture of *h 'wt*-jubilation.¹⁴⁰ The raised arm of the Osiride figure is an iconographic allusion both to the jubilation which the sun's entry into the horizon causes amongst the horizon dwellers,¹⁴¹ and to the sun's own *h 'wt m 3h.t*,

Ankhesneferibre is that of the root of the hill of the eastern horizon, where the corpse of the Solar Osiris is left in the Netherworld, as the sun rises, with the Osirian element of the unified *ba* in the form of a baboon of the far southeast, adoring the rising Re element.

¹³⁹Following the version in the Osireion--see Frankfort, de Buck, and Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 36, ll. 4-6; the Ramesses VI version = Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 52, ll. 1-3.

¹⁴⁰According to E. Brunner-Traut, "Gesten," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977) col. 581, *h 'wt* is "eine freiere Geste des Festes.... Hochwerfen der Arme."

¹⁴¹Jubilation within an horizon is specifically associated with the entry of the solar god into that horizon, in rising in the east (*Wb.* III 40, 8). So in the Festival Song of Thoth, the god assumes the form of an Ibis, flies skyward, and finds Re "rising in jubilation (*h 'wt*) within the bark of Millions" (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 4, p. 28, l. 16). Jubilation in the horizon also coincides with the sun's entry into the mountains of the west (so in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, no. 52, ll. 27, 48-9 [=p. 71 n. h]; #74, l. 17).

“rejoicing in the horizon” (an epithet of the Aton) as an outward, even sexual, expression of *3w.t-ib-joy*.¹⁴² In the second scene of the second division of the 1st Hour of the Amduat, *Hpr* occupies a bark; on either side of the solar scarab kneels an adoring Osiris figure.¹⁴³ According to Assmann, the jubilation expressed in *hꜥꜥ m 3h.t* is “der Jubel des mit seiner Stadt vereinigten Gottes;” whether the deity rejoices over a city, the horizon, or a vessel, “eine Göttin gemeint ist deren Vereintsein mit dem Sonnengott seinen Jubel bewirkt.”¹⁴⁴ The two Osirises in the Amduat scene represent the two mountains of the horizon. Osiris as the horizon can be a female counterpart to the sun.¹⁴⁵ Through his union with these elements, the solar deity rejoices. Osiris-Re rejoices, and Osiris raises his arm in jubilation as the sun enters in glory into the world.

¹⁴²Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 325-6, especially n. 56 (p. 325).

¹⁴³See Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 26.

¹⁴⁴Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 325 n. 56 and p. 326; for the sun rejoicing at union with his temple, and the designation of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu as *3h.t hꜥꜥ.wy*, see J. C. Darnell, “Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu,” in B. Bryan and D. Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books, 1994) pp. 39-42.

¹⁴⁵Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 389-98; Assmann, in Helck and Westendorf, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3, pp. 3-7; Isis and Nephthys as the horizon adore the sun (Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, p. 89 and n. 11, pl. 38; A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* [BdE 47; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1973] p. 271; in Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, pp. 115 and 198, they are shown with the hills of the horizon; see also J. Quaegebeur, “Le nom propre Tsonesontis,” *CdE* 46 [1971] 168-9, on the two sisters as the pylons of a temple, etc.). Compare Thoth in the Book of the Dead chapter 134 as the Inundation coming forth from the two female rocks (C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou-Simbel* [Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d’Étude sur l’Ancienne Égypte, 1968] vol. 1, p. 219 n. 480; for Thoth and the Inundation, see D. Bonneau, *Le crue du Nil, Divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d’histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C)* [Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1964] pp. 294-6). Westendorf, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 394, likens the emergence of the sun between the hills of the eastern horizon to the birth of the solar disk from between the thighs of Nut. The primeval hill is also feminine (Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift (Pap. demot. Berlin 13606)* p. 316 = 4, 4--t3 qy nty iw

The raised arm also suggests the gesture of vindication, appropriate for Osiris as one *m3 ʿhrw*, “true of voice.”¹⁴⁶ In the Imiseba hymn discussed above, a text which could well be used as a description of the ithyphallic deity on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall, the epithet *f3i- ʿ* is associated with others such as *nb ʿb.wy dm hnw.ty*, which, through their bellicose nature, are suggestive of the notion of justification as a triumph over enemies.¹⁴⁷ *M3 ʿhrw*-justification is also appropriate to Re following his victory over Apep.¹⁴⁸ A portion of Pyramid Texts utterance 265 refers to the *m3 ʿhrw* state of the king in a context identical to that depicted in the Ramesses IX treatise (PT

shm.t). The important female elements of the great unified god at the eastern horizon is shown in a depiction of the “great god, lord of heaven” in the mythological papyrus of Taseshedkhonsu (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 14, scene 5); he has a hippopotamus head on the body of a lioness. Both the *h3.t*-corpse and the *d.t*-body (possibly depicted in the right portion of the lower register in the left, main portion of the wall) are feminine elements (W. Westendorf, “Zweiheit, Dreiheit und Einheit in der altägyptischen Theologie,” *ZÄS* 100 [1974] 137). The *3h.t* in the form of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys can embrace the solar deity (compare the concluding scene of the Litany of Re). So in the tomb of Ramesses IX, Osiris is the horizon in which Re rises, and the watery hand which embraces him. Compare Nun as Hapi, a male, and the land as female, both as components of the hermaphroditic Ptah in Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift*, pp. 362-4. Note also Nun as ejaculation--*ʿ3 ʿNwn*--see Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 23.

¹⁴⁶See C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35; Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976) pp. 98-101; Sourdivé, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, p. 409, commenting on the arms of the Osiride figure in R IX and Heruben.

¹⁴⁷See Ph. Derchain, “La couronne de la justification, essai d'analyse d'un rite ptolémaïque,” *CdE* 60 (1955) 232-3. On the possible bellicose implications of the ithyphallic deity with his raised arm, see J. Ogdon, “Some Notes on the Iconography of Min,” *BES* 7 (1985-86) 29-41.

¹⁴⁸*Wb.* II 16, 11.

§§ 353 a-355 c);¹⁴⁹ in Pyramid Text 265, Re is vindicated in aquatic surroundings, in the presence of lock-wearing beings:¹⁵⁰

d3 RN d3wt ĩr gs ĩ3b.ty n p.t
 ĩr bw pw mssw ntr.w ĩm
ms[.t]ĩ RN ĩm mswt=f hn ʿ=sn
 Hr ĩs 3h.t(y) ĩs
m3 ʿhrw RN pn
hn n RN pn
hn n k3 n RN pn
nĩs=sn n RN pn
 ĩn.n=sn n RN pn fdw ĩpw sw3 Hr hn.sk.tyw
 ʿh ʿy.w hr d ʿm.w=sn m gs ĩ3b.ty n p.t

That RN shall make a crossing to the eastern side of the sky,
 to that place where the gods are born,
 and that RN shall have his birth there together with them,
 as Horus, as him of the horizon.

This RN is vindicated.

Jubilation be to RN, jubilation be to the *ka* of this RN.

They summon this RN,

 having fetched for this RN these four who pass by the lock-
 wearers,
 who stand upon their staves in the eastern half of the sky.

The equation of the raised hand of the ithyphallic king with Nun suggests the notion of *m3 ʿhrw* implied by the raised arm, for there is an “ethical meaning” to the equation of

¹⁴⁹See Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 444, §639A; p. 487, §695; and p. 537, n. 439.

¹⁵⁰Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, p. 186.

the deceased with Nun.¹⁵¹ This association of vindication and Nun is similar to the association of the victory of Horus and the Inundation.¹⁵² The great floral collar which the ithyphallic Osiris wears also suggests vindication.¹⁵³ The female lock-wearers of the Pyramid Text passage are perhaps present on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX in the person of the long-haired, androgynous figures in the lower register of the left-hand portion of the wall.¹⁵⁴

The positions of the king's arms and feet further depict the Solar-Osirian deity at the eastern horizon as the solar unifier of heaven and earth:

hnm.n=k hr.t n 'ndw

To the evening glow have you brought heaven.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹See L. Kákosy, "The Primordial Birth of the King," *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977) 70.

¹⁵²See U. Luft, *Beiträge zur Historisierung der Götterwelt und der Mythenschreibung* (*Studia Aegyptiaca* 4, 1978) pp. 185-86.

¹⁵³M. Bell, "Regional Variation in Polychrome Pottery of the 19th Dynasty," *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne* 1 (1987) 49-76; *idem*, in S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988) pp. 133-4 (no. 68); *idem*, "Floral Collars, *W3h ny M3 'Hrw* in the Eighteenth Dynasty," in *Abstracts of Papers, 5th International Congress of Egyptologists* (Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Organization, 1988) p. 20. For the *wsh*-collar associated with rebirth, and the appearance of the newborn sun on the surface of Nun, see R. Beaud, "L'offrande du collier-*OUSEKH*," in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1990) pp. 46-62.

¹⁵⁴A single raised arm of vindication and greeting perhaps appears in the gesture of the deceased on certain Graeco-Roman funerary stelae--cf. A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992) pls. 19d, 26a, 26c, etc.

¹⁵⁵Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 52-3

This linking of heaven and hell can also be conveyed by the sun going into the hand of the Osiride king. So in the upper register of the 12th Hour of the Book of Gates, scene 82,¹⁵⁶ of the four beings *hry.w 3hw*, “those bearing the luminous one,” is said:

wnn=sn m shr pn
rmn=sn itn n R^ϕ
ntsn sm3 d3.t n hr.t
m sšm pn imy *ϕ.wy=sn*
s3w md.wt r sbh.t iqr.t
r htp R *ϕ m h.t Nw.t*

In this fashion are they,

carrying the disk of Re.

It is they who join the Netherworld to heaven,

by means of this image which is in their hands;

who protect affairs at the portal of Igeret,

until Re goes to rest/sets in the body of Nut.

The raised arm of the ithyphallic deity on the enigmatic wall also depicts the netherworldly counterpart to *tw3 p.t*, “supporting heaven”--the *smd d3.t*, “making the Netherworld deep.” The Osiride king of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, as the horizon, root of the West and pillar of the sky, combines *tw3 p.t* and *smd d3.t*, his feet in the “Place of Destruction” and his hands in heaven.¹⁵⁷ A text from Dendera

¹⁵⁶Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, pp. 377-9, vol. 2, p. 267

¹⁵⁷For the raised arm of a deity interpreted as supporting heaven, compare P. Brooklyn 47.218.156; 4, 4 (Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, pl. 4, p. 23)--the deity with his *hps*-arm is one who *smn t3 hr(.t) hr-tp=f*, “supports the heaven above him.” This is part of the description of a figure with an arm raised with a flail in the common pose of Min (*ibid.* frontispiece and fig. 3 [opp. p. 13]), the pose of *f3i*-*ϕ*.

provides an informative parallel for the combination of raising heaven and deepening the underworld:¹⁵⁸

dwn.n=f tw3.n=f Nw.t r s'q b3=f
smd.n=f d3.t n ip-d.t=f

In order to let his *ba* enter has he stretched out and supported Nut;
 for Ipdjetef has he made the Netherworld deep.

Although there is no cartouche accompanying the image of the figure supporting the sky at Dendera, Kurth assumes that the king is meant. To him refer the suffix pronouns in *dwn.n=f* and *tw3.n=f*. Kurth notes that the *f* in *b3=f* should refer to Osiris.¹⁵⁹ The suffix pronouns in the Dendera text have no referents other than the figure in the scene which the annotation there describes. Although the Dendera scene is a rather conventional and unelaborated scene of the king supporting heaven, the text describes a situation such as that depicted in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The king as Osiris supports the sky and makes the Netherworld deep in order to allow his own *ba*--Re--to exit through the eastern horizon.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings VI Upper Egypt: Chief Temples (Excluding Thebes)* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1939) no. 63; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen, die 'Tw3 pt' Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (*Rites égyptiens* 2; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975) pp. 11-13 (text 3), 149 discusses the Dendera passage; on *smd d3.t* in general, see *ibid.* pp. 147-9.

¹⁵⁹*ibid.*, p. 12 n. 2.

¹⁶⁰As one arm of the god is masturbating, this would be one arm supporting the heavens; for this, compare the texts on columns discussed by Kurth, *ibid.*, pp. 20 and 49-51, where the column itself is an arm. In text 20, the king as supporter of heaven is called 'n Šw, "arm of Shu." In the tomb of Ramesses IX, the arm would correspond to the eastern horizon, the other arm presumably at the western horizon. For the raised arm as signifying the separation of heaven and Netherworld, allowing the sun to pass through the cusp of the eastern horizon, compare the scene in Davies, *The Temple of*

In the text above the solar bark in the middle register of the 12th Hour of the Amduat the sun rests upon:¹⁶¹

sšmw št3 n Šw wp p.t r t3 r kkw-sm3w
the secret image of Shu, who separates heaven from earth from the uniform
darkness

This *sšmw št3*, “secret image,” is referred to elsewhere in this final hour of the Amduat as the *sšmw-šwf*, “image of ‘flesh’ (the nocturnal sun),” and the *sšmw n Wsir hnty kkw-sm3w*, “image of Osiris, foremost of the uniform darkness.”¹⁶² This is a depiction of the moment of solar triumph and rising, the unity of Re and Osiris; earth and sky did not meld during the narrowly averted cosmic disaster.¹⁶³

The themes of *tw3-p.t* and *m3 ḥrw* are combined in a scene on the sarcophagus of one Padiese from Salamieh, now exhibited in the Cairo Museum as number 25813. There the deceased stands between the goddesses of the east and west, his arms raised above his hands in the gesture of vindication after the psychostasis;¹⁶⁴ above the tips of

Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration, pl. 20, where a solar disk rides above the Min hut in which the Osiris-Min figure resides.

¹⁶¹Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 197; vol. 2, p. 188.

¹⁶²*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 205 n. *h* (no. 908), and vol. 2, p. 193; vol. 1, 203, l. 11, and vol. 2, pp. 124 and 192.

¹⁶³On the melding together of heaven and earth, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 306 n. 24. For linking the raising of heaven and the deepening of the Dat, compare P. Budapest 51.1960 column C, 8, where a cosmic disaster is described (L. Kákósy, “Fragmente eines unpublizierten magischen Textes in Budapest,” *ZÄS* 117 [1990] 146-7, 153): *š3š3 ḥm=f h3yt p.t šm n-m d3.t*, “O, Wehe, Seine Majestät! Niedergefallen ist der Himmel, er ging in die Unterwelt ...” Following the union of Re and Osiris, the raised arm can also suggest the newborn sun-god, reaching out to embrace all of creation (see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 302-6 (and n. 8 to p. 302).

¹⁶⁴See Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten*, pp. 98-101.

his fingers hover a sky sign, with a solar disk riding below. The deceased there, as perhaps the Osiride figure of Ramesses IX on his enigmatic wall, supports heaven and maintains the separation of the elements of creation through his own Osirian vindication. The feet of the great deity press down on the root of hell; his hand thrusts up towards heaven, reaffirming Shu's ancient creative act. The coals of hell become the red birth glow of the new terrestrial day.

A text in the final Hour of the Amduat brings together the imagery of the raised arm as support of the heavens and separation between heaven and the Netherworld, and the hand of Osiris as Nun. Above the reclining figure of the mummiform Osiris at the end of the third register in the 12th Hour of the Amduat, a text states:¹⁶⁵

wnn=f m šhr pn m sšmw imn.n Hr m kkw-sm3w
in sšmw pn št3 tw3 Šw hr Nw.t
pr 3gb-wr m t3 m sšmw pn

In this fashion does he exist, as the image which Horus hid in the uniform
 darkness;


it is this secret image which supports Shu bearing Nut,

It is from this image that the *3gb-wr* comes forth from the earth.

According to Hornung, *3gb-wr*, the primordial water and the Inundation, is here in the Amduat the soul of the solar deity.¹⁶⁶ The disk of the sun, emerging into the eastern horizon, is referred to as the “great flood,” called by the name of the waters into which it swims at the beginning of the dawn. The hand is Nun (see above, pp. 577-584), the *3gb-wr* which flows out from “this secret image which supports Shu bearing Nut” (see

¹⁶⁵Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 205, ll. 3-5; vol. 2, p. 193.

¹⁶⁶*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 193.

above)--the imagery of the hand of Osiris as Nun implies the *tw3 p.t*, "support of heaven," pose of Shu. The hand of Osiris as the waters through which rises the disk of the sun, in proximity to the falling lords of the Netherworld, is an image related to the imagery in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 21, ll. 2-3: *htp n=k Nt wp=k n.t (r) rmw*, "Neith is pleasant to you, for you separate the sheet of water from the swimmers."¹⁶⁷ The swimmers are the stellar blessed dead, who begin as swimmers, likened to fish, in the Netherworld (so P. Carlsberg 1); on the enigmatic wall, the *nbi*, "swimming," pose of the falling stars both serves to indicate the first element of their names, and to link them with the penultimate scene of Re entering the watery hand of Osiris. The falling, upside-down lords of the Netherworld in the upper register of the left portion of the wall, and the ithyphallic Osiris with his raised hand, together foreshadow the group  of P. Salt 825 pl. IX, 5: *h p.t shd <m> d3.t*, "who lifts up heaven and descends inverted <into> the Netherworld."¹⁶⁸

The penultimate scene in the treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX derives from the depiction of the end of the Netherworld in the 12th Hour of the Amduat. At the end of the Amduat Osiris reclines on the rising edge of the Dat, as he does in the tomb of Ramesses IX. The arm of Osiris is raised in the tomb of Ramesses IX, exultant in vindication, supporting heaven, his hand as Nun receiving the disk of the sun. In the

¹⁶⁷See *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 38 n. 53.

¹⁶⁸For the reading see M.-L. Ryhner, "A propos des trigrammes panthéistes," *RdE* 29 (1977) 129-30. These epithets are followed by *b3 b3.w šfy.t šfy.wt*, "ram-form of ram-forms, most awesome of awesome ones," further recalling the Ramesses IX treatise (see the heiratic annotation to the reclining Osiride king). For the figure emerging from the disk suggesting access to the celestial realm, compare the enigmatic writing of *dw3y.t*, "morning," in the cryptic epitheta of Darius I in the temple of Hibis as three figures emerging from three stars, atop a light-strewing *p.t*-sign (É. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 [1940] 342-3; see also above, chapter 5, n. 27).

Amduat, the arms of Shu separate heaven and the Netherworld, allow the swimming soul of Re (*3gb-wr*) to emerge, and receive the disk. In P. Cairo S.R. 655 (C 2), the figure of Osiris is large, no longer confined to the lower register.¹⁶⁹ In P. Berlin P. 3126, the Osiris, arms of Shu, and scarab are in close association, and the Osiride figure is ithyphallic.¹⁷⁰ A similar combination of the Osiride figure and the arms of Shu occurs on the papyrus of Amenhotep, Cairo Museum JdE 95648, where the arms of Shu emerge from the area of the legs of the mummiform figure.¹⁷¹ These versions of the Osiris figure at the end of the final hour of the Amduat show a series of developments which may have led to the form of the ithyphallic Osiris represented as reclining on--even within--the horizon hill in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

The incorporation of the arms of Shu as a part of the image of Osiris reclining on the root of the eastern horizon imparts to the unified Re-Osiris something of the pose and duty of Shu, supporting the sky and separating the elements of creation. In connection with the plummeting, star-like *nb.w-d3.t*, depicted in the upper left portion of the enigmatic wall, the scene of the reclining Osiride figure in the tomb of Ramesses IX finds a textual parallel in PT §2091 a-c:¹⁷²

Šw wts nw.t
wts n=k ir.t Hr ir p.t
ir šd.w p.t

¹⁶⁹A.-A. F. Sadek, *Contribution a l'étude de l'Amdouat* (OBO 65; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1985) pp. 88-94, pl. 6.

¹⁷⁰Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, pl. 39b, pp. 187 and 249 (Berlin 17).

¹⁷¹*ibid.* p. 257 (Cairo 12); Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, no. 26.

¹⁷²Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 509.

Oh Shu, who lifts up Nut,
 lift up to yourself the eye of Horus--to heaven,
 to the star-lit sky of heaven!

The raised arm of the ithyphallic Osiris may be seen as supporting the disk of the sun, as it sails in the area of the stars, those plummeting Lords of the Netherworld in the scene of near cosmic tragedy to the left.

The penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall contains an assortment of male/female pairs, emphatically stating the *perpetuum mobile* of the Egyptian cosmos. The raised hand of Osiris, into which the sun is about to enter, is Nun (so P. Carlsberg); the unseen, masturbating hand of the ithyphallic deity is feminine, like the hand of Atum as Nebet-Hetepet.¹⁷³ The *3h.t*-horizon can be the female element of a pair of which the disk of the sun is the male member.¹⁷⁴ On the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, the feminine horizon is Osiris, the corpse of Osiris--*h3.t*---yet another feminine element.¹⁷⁵ The disk which enters these feminine elements, the male disk of the sun, can also be a feminine element--the womb of the sun, from which the newly born Khepri emerges.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³For this equation, see W. Gutkunst, "Nebet-Hetepet," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982) cols. 362-363, the references in n. 4. For the hand of Atum as a goddess, see also K. Myśliwiec, "La mere, la femme, la fille et la variante féminine du dieu Atoum," *Études et travaux* 13 (1983) 300-302

¹⁷⁴Westendorf, *Studia aegyptiaca* 1 (1974) 389-98.

¹⁷⁵Barta, *JEOL* 29 (1985-86) 98-105.

¹⁷⁶Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, pp. 20-25; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 39-40.

As the Osiride king is represented as a Min-like figure, the masculine phallus is present, as well as the unseen and masturbating, feminine hand of the self-generating deity.¹⁷⁷ The hand raised in the air is masculine, the symbol of the *f3i*-^c aspect of Min. It is also feminine, the hand of Osiris corresponding to the feminine primeval waters.¹⁷⁸ In this scene, all of these aspects are brought together. Pyramid Texts 253c-254a describes a number of the elements in the closing scene to this enigmatic treatise:¹⁷⁹

zī inw=f bt sin=f
hww=sn n Dsr-rmn hr i3bt
šmt w^c pn im=k

His (a malevolent Horus') messengers go, and his express courier
 hurries;
 they proclaim to the Sanctified of Arm in the east (Re),
 that this one (Horus), who is you (the deceased king), has gone
 forth.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷For the goddess Iusaas as a personification of the masturbating fist of the primeval deity, see Derchain, in Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, pp. 31-34.

¹⁷⁸Westendorf, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien, Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 186-7.

¹⁷⁹Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, pp. 139-140.

¹⁸⁰Barta, *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 91 (ex. 13) discusses lines 253d-254a; with Sethe, *Kommentar*, vol. 1p. 240, he reads "that this one has gone into you." Such a rendering, which is possible, would refer to the rejuvenated solar deity's union with Osiris, an event depicted on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall as the solar disk passing near to, as though entering, the hand of Osiris. Allen's rendering of 254a (*The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 319 [§470]: "that this unique one, who is you, has gone"), followed here, derives some support from Utterance 578, § 1532a-c:

zy inw.w=k sin sin.w=k nt3 tpy.w-^c.w=k
sīw=sn tw n R^c m dsr-rmn i3b.ty

Your messengers go, your express couriers rush, and those before you hurry;

These messengers, who are counterparts of the malevolent beings which the graffito (see the discussion below) and the lower horizontal hieroglyphic text seek to ward off, are associated with the eastern horizon. Messengers announce to Re, “whose arm is raised in the east” (*ḏsr rmn m i3bt*), the arrival of the dead.¹⁸¹ The final line cited here refers to the union of Re and the dead king (the Osirian king of the Ramesses IX treatise). Shortly thereafter, in the same chapter, the gods behold the king arrived at the horizon (PT 255a-256a):¹⁸²

ḥꜣr 3.wy 3ḥ.t i.zn 3.wy qbḥ.w

ḥꜣ=k ḥnty=sn Gb iṣ ḥnty psḏ.t=f

q=sn iḥ=sn sḏb pr=sn f3(i)=sn ḥr=sn

m3=sn tw Min iṣ ḥnty iṣr.ty

Stand at the double doors of the horizon, open the double doors of the watery sky;

and stand before them as Geb before his ennead.

When they enter they shall strike down evil,

and when they leave they shall lift up their face(s),

that they might behold you as Min before the two shrines.¹⁸³

that they might announce you to Re, as one whose left arm is raised up.

1532a-c begins as does 253c-254a; in the former text the deceased king (*tw*) is announced to Re; in the latter, the reference to the king in the second person singular appears as *im=k*, “who is you.”

¹⁸¹See the references in K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Glückstadt and Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1935) vol. 1, p. 245 (n. to § 253d).

¹⁸²Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, pp. 140-141.

¹⁸³On this section see Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 130 §224D.

The king at the doors of the horizon, presumably having gone into Re, *dsr rmn* in the east, is seen to be like Min. He is potent and *dsr rmn*, at the eastern horizon.¹⁸⁴ Like Min at the eastern horizon as the support of heaven,¹⁸⁵ the ithyphallic Osiride king on the enigmatic wall, his arm raised, is in the horizon and *is* the horizon.

The scarab heading towards the figure of the ithyphallic Osiride king parallels the scenes of the winged scarab heading towards the soon to be revived Osiris in the sycamore tree.¹⁸⁶ As there, the scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX is an expression of

¹⁸⁴W.R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) p. 59 n. 6 notes that the *dsr rmn* in 253d suggests the Min imagery in 256a. For the arm of the king as the *rmn*-arm of Re, compare the imagery of some 21st Dynasty coffins, on which the arms of the deceased emerge, at the elbow, from lotus blossoms, as Re rises from the lotus (H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte, eine ägyptische Kosmogonie des Neuen Reiches* [Aegyptiaca Helvetica 5; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1977]).

¹⁸⁵Spiegel, in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, pp. 129-81. For the raised arm of Min as a masculine element, compare the term *shn*, "to embrace," referring to Min's sexual activity (see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 143 n. 473, citing de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 272a). For a similar combination of a "feminine" Osirian horizon corpse and an ithyphallic god of rebirth in the east, compare the combination of the corpse of Osiris as the horizon (male and female combined in the east), with an ithyphallic lionness deity representing a further male and female combination (the feminine eye of the sun and the masculine ithyphallic Min of the southeastern horizon), in a painting in the tomb of Thaty in Baharia Oasis (A. Fakhry, "Bahria and Farafra Oases, Third Preliminary Report on the New Discoveries," *ASAE* 40 [1940] pl. 126).

¹⁸⁶J.-C. Hugonot, "Une particularité de la couronne Atef d'Osiris à l'époque ramesside," *DE* 3 (1985) 25-8; K.-J. Seyfried, *Das Grab des Amonmose (Theben 4; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990)*. The tree there can show the presence of the shadow of the god, as would a fan behind the deity (L. Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," in P. Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* [BdE 97/1; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1985] pp. 31-9; H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* [RAPH 2; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931] pp. 151-5; the use of the tree as a parallel to the fan showing the presence of deity is one of the reasons for the tree spreading behind the crocodile headed deity on the stele from Dahamshah Luxor Museum J.149--see *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, Catalogue* (Cairo: American Research Center in Egypt, 1979) pp. 62-3, no. 79). The tree can also show the presence of Osiris on the cusp between the Netherworld and the

the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern edge of the Underworld. Re flying as a winged scarab towards the Osirian sycamore expresses the idea of a text written between the two sycamores of the horizon, above which floats the disk of Re, in the tomb of Irinefer at Deir el-Medīneh (TT no. 290):¹⁸⁷

R ʿpw ḥtp m Wsīr Wsīr pw ḥtp m R ʿn hrw nb

It is Re who sets in Osiris, and Osiris who sets in Re, daily.

upper world, his feet in the abyss and his head amongst the stars, as described for the reclining Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX. For the tree as a Shu-like link between the Underworld and the sky, see a text in the tomb of Senemioḥ (Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 501, ll. 14-16):

*[...] tp.w ḥr.w dm.n(=w) p.t
3bh.n(=w) ḥn ʿsb3.w*

[(The myrrh trees were planted)],
with the result that their tops have pierced heaven,
and have mingled with the stars.

On the two turquoise sycamore trees at the eastern horizon, deities atop them (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §916b), Netherworld gods beneath them (*ibid.*, §1485a-b), Re going forth between them (Book of the Dead chapter 109; S. Gabra, “Un chaton de bague à thème solaire,” *ASAE* 44 [1944] 173-8), see O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (*Stuttgarter Bibelstudien* 84-85; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977) pp. 297-303; I. Gamer-Wallert, “Baum, heiliger,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) cols. 655-60; M.-L. Buhl, “The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult,” *JNES* 6 (1947) 80-97; E. Hermesen, *Lebensbaumsymbolik im Alten Ägypten* (Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1981) pp. 88-95. The interpretation of the tree and grove of Osiris as merely fertility images (see D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole* [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie* 8, *Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes* 6; Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984] p. 166) is too simplistic. The solar aspect of the tree is likely to be behind the falcon-headed “tree-spirit” *Spy* discussed by J. Ogdon, “A New Male Personification of the Tree Spirit?,” *BES* 3 (1981) 83-6.

¹⁸⁷Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst*, p. 301, fig. 233.

That a comparison between the Ramesses IX scene and the depictions of the winged scarab approaching Osiris in the sycamore is not entirely unfounded is suggested by the presence of the fruit of the persea tree on the great collar worn by the ithyphallic Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX.¹⁸⁸ In a scene in funerary house 21 at Tuna el-Gebel, Nut sits with her legs stretched out in front, her feet pointing up, the mummy of the tomb owner stretched out on her lap. This pose of Nut mirrors that of the Nehep snake in the conclusion of the Ramesses IX treatise.¹⁸⁹ As in the Ramesside scene the scarab and disk approach the mummy, so in the scene at Tuna el-Gebel the falcon of Horus flies toward the group of Nut and the mummy. The text accompanying the goddess at Tuna el-Gebel states that she *îr s3=k*, “performs your protection.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸More likely persea fruits than mandragora, although the latter are well attested in Egyptian floral collars--see R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 14; Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1985) pp. 148 and 170-171. The disks and fruits of the Ramesses IX collar are foreshadowed already during the Amarna Period (cf. É. Chassinat, “Une statuette d’Aménôthes III,” *BIFAO* 7 [1910] 169-172; J. Samson, *Amarna, City of Akhenaton and Nefertiti* [Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1978] p. 32 [I thank Dr. W.R. Johnson for calling my attention to these objects]). Compare also the disk of the sun as it appears on the face of the lintel over the doorway into the second corridor in the tomb of Ramesses IX (Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 36).

¹⁸⁹The serpent in the company of the revived Osiris of the eastern horizon may also be intended to recall chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead. There Atum, foretelling a coming return of creation into the Nun waters, states that he will become a serpent and will remain, together with Osiris (see for instance the remarks of O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* 2nd ed. [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 78; Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1962] pp. 35-36).

¹⁹⁰S. Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d’Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna El-Gebel)* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1941) p. 48, pl. 16, 2; S. Gabra and É. Drioton, *Peintures a fresques et scenes peintes a Hermoupolis-Ouest (Touna El-Gebel)* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1954) pl. 27. On the Horus falcon here as the *ba* of the deceased, see D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris (Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 6; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990) p. 59 and n. 295 p. 23.

On the breast of the Osiride king is a disk, in which is repeated the scarab emerging from the disk, shown large above the reclining deity. This is a representation of the sun at night shining on the breast of the deceased king; so in line 10 of the text on the lid of the outermost sarcophagus of Merneptah:¹⁹¹

ḥpp ḥm=f ḥr šnb.t=k

His image passes over your breast.

The *i3ḥw* and *itn* of the sun god are said to shine *ḥr šnb.t*, “upon the breast;” this activity can occur with a reference to shining in the *qrr.t*-tomb of the deceased.¹⁹² Such imagery was not restricted to the royal dead.¹⁹³ In the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab, this shining on the breast appears in a section which describes the daily east to west journey of the blessed dead, and the nocturnal slumber until Re awakens them at the eastern horizon:¹⁹⁴

pr=k r ḥ3 tnw dw3w nw(y)=k tw tnw mšrw

st=tw n=k tk3 m grḥ r wbn šw ḥr šnb.t=k

You going outside each morning, and returning each evening;

a torch being lit for you in the night, until the sunlight rises upon your breast

¹⁹¹Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 (1972) 62 n. 22.

¹⁹²See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 286-7; *idem*, “Harfnerlied und Horussöhne,” *JEA* 65 (1979) 62 n. 76.

¹⁹³Compare The Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (*OIP* 102; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980) pl. 20, l. 16; see also M. Lichtheim, “The Songs of the Harpers,” *JNES* 4 (1945) 206, n. a to no. 10.

¹⁹⁴JJ. Tylor and F.Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab (The Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir* 11; London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894) pl. 9, ll. 17-18.

This passage suggests that the shining on the breast occurs at the eastern horizon, as depicted on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX. In a Ptolemaic text on the west side of the ceiling in the hemispeos of Smithis at Elkab, the Re calls on the “great eye of Horus” to come back to his head; she is then desired to:¹⁹⁵

hnw r=t hr šnb.t=f alight upon his breast

Along with the scene from the papyrus of Heruben, there is another parallel for the reclining, ithyphallic Osiris in a papyrus in Richmond, P. Virginia Museum 54-10 (see pl. 42).¹⁹⁶ There, the hand of the raised Osiris is a fist, a counterpart to the other, unseen hand, both hands indicating masturbation. In the space between the knuckles of the hand and the head of the snake behind the reclining divinity, there is a space free of sand. This open space suggests that the hand of Osiris is indeed the portal through the hill of the horizon. The Virginia Museum papyrus also parallels the decoration of the Ramesses IX enigmatic treatise through the presence of a sun disk, from which two scarabs emerge. Within the Richmond sun disk there is an eye of Horus, the eye of the sun.¹⁹⁷ In the Ramesses IX treatise this solar eye appears as a female figure standing

¹⁹⁵Ph. Derchain, *Elkab* vol. 1 *Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'ouady Hellal* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1971) pp. 18*-19*.

¹⁹⁶Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 148 fig. 43 = J.M. Brown, *et al.*, *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* (Richmond: Virginia Museum, 1973).

¹⁹⁷For the equivalence of the Eye of Horus and the female Eye of the Sun in Egyptian iconography, compare the *udjat*-eye, fig. 17aa in Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, K, S, A and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, p. 124 fig. 17aa (and p. 119 with n. 75): on one side the eye is normal; on the other side, in the area of the eyeball, is the small figure of a standing goddess holding a flower-topped sceptre. Compare also the *udjat*-eye with an image of the goddess, probably Bastet on the basis of provenience, in M. Bakr, “New Excavations of Zagazig University,” in *L'égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No. 595; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982)*

in the middle of a solar disk, the goddess as the eye of the sun (pl. 31, bottom right). The four gods of the east, the *b3.w i3b.tyw*, “the eastern souls,” are associated with the *sh.t i3rw*, “the field of Yaru,” and the *sh.t mfk3.tyw*, “the field of the turquoise gods.”¹⁹⁸ The souls of the east and their *sh.t i3rw* are also associated with *Kns.t*, the area to which the solar eye wandered in her flight from Egypt.¹⁹⁹ In the bottom register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall there is an association of four deities shown as engendering the fiery solar child with a depiction of the eye of the sun (pl. 31). Such a visual allusion in the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall to the place of the birth of the solar child and the rising sun, the lands of the far southeast is consistent with the Min-like pose of the Osiride king, Min being a deity of the eastern desert, associated with *Wtn.t*.²⁰⁰ Niwinski notes that the figure of the slanting Osiris parallels the scene in the

vol. 1, p. 166 (fig. 27). These amulets illustrate the wish expressed on the stele London BM 1224, l. 7:

dī=k df<d>=k m gs-dpw=i
May you set your pupil as my protection

(K. Jansen-Winkel, “Die Stele London BM 1224,” *SAK* 17 [1990] 217 l. 7 [according to Jansen-Winkel, p. 219 n. 10: “Das merkwürdige Bild kann ich nicht belegen’]). The pupil, the eye of the sun, is the goddess whom the stele owner desired to be his protectress. See also E. Feucht, “Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt,” *SAK* 11 (1984) 412 and n. 44; and compare the idea of Hathor originating as a teardrop of the solar eye (Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, p. 228 n. 14). On the idea of the pupil as the girl in the eye, see W. Vycichl, “Sur les noms des parties du corps en égyptien,” *CdE* 47 (1972) 177.

¹⁹⁸Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 127.

¹⁹⁹H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Band 59, 1. und 2. Abhandlung; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1917)* p. 79.

²⁰⁰See for example, the stele of *Sbk-iry*, Louvre C30 (K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch in akademischer Unterricht* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1924] pp. 64-5). For *Wtn.t* as the land of the rising sun see Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 2, p. 120 n. 190; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 103, no. 77. 1092 [citing stele Louvre C 30, wherein Min

tomb of Ramesses IX, and that motives from the Netherworld Books dominate the decoration of the Virginia Museum text, whereas the papyrus is labelled a *pry m hrw*, “(Book of) Going Forth by Day.”²⁰¹ This mixture is not the result of Niwinski’s alleged “nonability of the craftsmen.” The mixture of Book of the Dead and Netherworld Book passages and motifs occurs already on the 2nd Shrine of Tutankhamen (see chapter 3), and has nothing to do with any inability on the part of the ancient Egyptians.²⁰²

On the Richmond papyrus, a cloaked figure faces the reclining Osiris. This figure, as Piankoff noted, parallels an almost identical figure at the close of the mythological papyrus of Djekhonsefankh I.²⁰³ There, the following scene is not the reclining Osiris, but the ram-headed sun in the serpent boat; the deck of that solar bark is a double-headed, Aker-like creature, and before the ram-headed sun stands a human-headed bird with a disk atop his head--an image of the rising sun, as the accompanying text makes clear. If one interprets the scene on the papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh I as a variant of the scenes of the reclining Osiris in the Virginia Museum papyrus and on the

receives the solar appellation *Wtn.ty*); E. Edel, “Beiträge zu den ägyptischen Sinaiinschriften,” (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I philologisch-historische Klasse* 1983 No. 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1983) pp. 180-81. On Min and the east, see also Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, pp. 183-84.

²⁰¹Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 149. Niwinski is unaware that there is a version of Book of the Dead chapter 106 within the Ramesses IX treatise (see above, chapter 5, pp. 462-470).

²⁰²For the assumption that the influence of the Netherworld Books on the Book of the Dead was an innovation of the 21st Dynasty, see M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, “Die Totenliteratur der 21. Dynastie,” *JEOL* 24 (1975-6) 49; see also A. Niwinski, “The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *JEOL* 30 (1987-88) 89-106.

²⁰³Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, p. 162 n. 11.

enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX, the text on the papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh I may tell us something of the correctness of the interpretation of the reclining Osiris offered above. The text on the papyrus reads:

1) *dw3* 2) *R* ^c-*Hr-3h.ty* (*i*)*tmw* 3) *hft wbn=f m 3h.t i3btt* 4) *nt p.t in Wsir* ...

6) *dd=f ind-hr=k k3* 7) *nty.w^a Hpri* 8) *imy Nwn* 9) *Hr smsw hry-ib 3h.t*

10) *nby špsy* ^c*3 hdd* 11) (*i*)*tmw it ntr.w nb-r-dr k3* 12) *nb hw.t-^c3.t^b*

Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum, when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven, by the Osiris ...; he says: "Hail to you, oh lord of (all) which is, Khepri who is in the flood, Horus the elder who resides in the horizon, the august creator, plentiful of light, Atum, the father of the gods, the All Lord, the bull, the lord of the palace."

^a *k3 ntyw*: This is a variant of *nb nit*, the epithet of Amun in *Wb.* II 354, 4.²⁰⁴ The eastern deity as a "bull-lord" suggests an allusion to Min of the eastern horizon (see above).

^b The deity is Atum, showing the oft occurring association of Heliopolis and the Netherworld Books. There is even mention elsewhere of the Netherworld of Heliopolis (*d3.t n.t iwnw*), and the Heliopolis of the Netherworld (*iwnw n d3.t*).²⁰⁵ Enigmatic text

²⁰⁴For *k3* as parallel to *nb*, see Ph. Derchain, "Miettes (suite)," *RdE* 30 (1978) 26 n. 5, and the literature cited there; Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 22, text to figure no. 48; Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I* 348, p. 182 n. 447; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, p. 71 n. 23. This use of *k3* is also attested in demotic texts--cf. H.-J. Thissen, "Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten," in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, Sondernummer 1991; Cologne: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, 1991)* p. 375, citing P. Louvre E 3229 col. 6, l. 23, Re-Shu is termed *k3 h3k^c*, "bull of magic," another way of expressing *nb h3k*, "lord of magic" (*Wb.* III 176, 12).

²⁰⁵See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311 n. 47.

1 of the Book of the Day and of the Night²⁰⁶ discusses the four *b3.w i3b.tyw*, “eastern spirits,” baboon-shaped beings inhabiting the turquoise fields.²⁰⁷ The text describes their adoration of Re:²⁰⁸

d(d)-mdw

hs.t in nn n ntr.w m-ht R ^c

wbn=fm 3h.t i3bt.t nt p.t

*nb hw.t- 3.t pw*²⁰⁹

ntsn s r M3 t n R ^c

Recitation:

Singing by these deities in the entourage of Re,

when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven

(he is the lord of the palace).

It is they who raise up Maat to Re.

²⁰⁶Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, pp. 84-89.

²⁰⁷On the four deities in the east of heaven, see Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 79. As Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 127 notes, the *sh.t mfk3.tyw*, “field of the turquoise gods,” and the *sh.t i3rw*, “field of reeds,” are related. In Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 5, the *sh.t mfk3.tyw* is mentioned; the four gods in Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §§1704ff. are associated with the *sh.t i3rw*. Note that their baboon shapes are appropriate to the far south east, where the solar eye went. They represent the area *Kns.t* (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §1141, see Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, p. 79), and *Kns.t* is itself associated with the *sh.t i3rw* (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, §1244).

²⁰⁸Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 87.

²⁰⁹Drioton read *nb(.w) 3h.t p(w)*, taking *nb* as a plural--despite the lack of a plural indicator--and reading *hw.t- 3.t* as a cryptogram for *3h.t*, “horizon.” The lack of a plural indicator suggests that *nb* refers to Re, this portion of the text being a gloss further specifying Re in his relation to the spirits of the eastern sky. One need not read the clear *hw.t- 3.t* as a cryptic writing of *3h.t* to see in the term a reference to the eastern horizon, of which Re is specified as lord. Drioton’s *hw.t* as *i* from *itr.t* is unlikely; *h.t* as a value for the 3-sign, a wooden tent post, is a conceivable but unattested enigmatic value.

The *ḥw.t-ʿ3.t*-palace is a Heliopolitan location, a portion of the sun temple,²¹⁰ and mention of the *ḥw.t-ʿ3.t* in the enigmatic texts of the Book of the Day and the Night is consistent with the Heliopolitan toponymy of that work. The “lord of the palace” (*nb ḥw.t-ʿ3.t*) is Re-Atum.²¹¹ Giving a wider application to the *ḥw.t-ʿ3.t* as a reference to a portion of the cosmos,²¹² the epithet *nb ḥw.t-ʿ3.t* is an allusion to the lord of the place where Re and Osiris commingle at the eastern horizon. At dawn Re is at the front of the Dat-netherworld, an area which may be called *ḥnt*--the “forehall”²¹³ or the “interior.”²¹⁴ In Pyramid Texts Utterance 357,²¹⁵ this area is called the *ḥnw-ḥ*, “interior of the palace,” a name for Osiris himself:

²¹⁰*Wb.* III 4, 2-6.

²¹¹In The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* vol. 2, pl. 181, Re-Ḥorakhty-Atum is the *nb-ḥw.t-ʿ3.t*. In the Re-chapel in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, Atum is the *nb-ḥw.t-ʿ3.t* (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 425 C); he also bears this title in an unpublished scene on the east half of the north wall of room IV in Khonsu Temple (Nelson Key Plan KM 434 = Porter, Moss, and Burney, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II Theban Temples*, p. 238 (65) 2). The *ntr ʿ3* is the *nb ḥw.t-ʿ3.t*---J.-P. Corteggiani, “Une stèle héliopolitaine d’époque saïte,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927-1976* vol. I *Égypte pharaonique* (*BdE* 81 part 1; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979) pp. 119 *et passim* (note that in the Medinet Habu Re-chapel [The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 6, pl. 425 C-D], the *ntr ʿ3*, Re-Ḥorakhty, is on the side of a pillar adjacent to a depiction of the *nb ḥw.t-ʿ3.t*, Atum). On the *ḥw.t-ʿ3.t* and the Re-Atum temple as a single structure (not two separate temples), see W. Helck, “Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak,” *ZÄS* 82 (1957) 109-16; R.A. Caminos, “The Nitocris Adoption Stela,” *JEA* 50 (1964) 91; and P. Kaplony, “Fürstenhaus,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977) cols. 351-6.

²¹²Compare Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 154, text no. 113 b 59: *iry-k n=k ḥw.t-ʿ3.t [m ḥrt]/[dsr.ti im=s m imn]-rn=f*, “May you make for yourself a great house [in heaven]/[you being holy therein as the one] whose name [is hidden].”

²¹³On *ḥnt* in this meaning see the discussion of *ḥnt* and *ʿrry.t* below in this chapter, pp. 622-626.

²¹⁴G. Posener, “Le chapitre IV d’Aménémopé,” *ZÄS* 99 (1972) 130-133.

3h.n Hr hr=k m rn=k n 3h.t prr.t R ʿim
 m hnw ʿwy=k(y) m rn=k n hnw- ʿh
 sbh.n=k ʿwy=k(y) h3=f h3=f
 nw3w3 qs.w=f ʿ3 ib=f

It is within your arms in your name of 'Interior of the Palace' that Horus
 has become 3h before you in your name of 'horizon through which
 Re comes forth,
 you enfolded your arms all about him,
 that his bones be nw3w3²¹⁶ and that his heart expand.

Here Osiris personifies the final room of the Netherworld as hnw- ʿh, "interior of the palace."²¹⁷ In chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead, Osiris is hq3 ntr.w nb d3.t hnty hw.t- ʿ3.t, "ruler of the gods, lord of the Netherworld, preeminent in the palace."²¹⁸ The Heliopolitan Re(-Atum) as "the lord of the palace" is perhaps an allusion to Osiris as the horizon through which Re rises; by implication, the lord of the horizon is the united Re-Osiris of the eastern horizon.

The Heliopolitan lord of the palace corresponds to Osiris in the hnt-hall. The designation of Osiris as hnty d3.t, "foremost of the Netherworld," on the enigmatic wall

²¹⁵Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 1, §585a-d.

²¹⁶Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, p. 586 (§746) lists nw3w3 as "meaning unknown;" Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 3, p. 96 suggested "sich dehnen, strecken;" Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 115 read "his bones are in due order (?)." Compare the line i R ʿ mdw hr dt=k Wsir sbh hr prt-ʿim=k, "oh Re, speak for your body; Osiris, cry for what has come forth from you," discussed by J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus," *JEOL* 26 (1979-80) 19-21.


²¹⁷See below, n. 222.

²¹⁸Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum*, pl. 75, l. 13 (a portion of Book of the Dead chapter 15 g [Allen's § S 3]).

in the tomb of Ramesses IX, may tell us more than that Osiris is “foremost of the Netherworld.” Osiris is also located at the portal of the horizon, and may even be envisaged as forming the portal himself. In the 73rd address in the Litany of Re,²¹⁹ deities called *hnty.w* are mentioned:

hkn n=k R ʿ q3 shm nb b3.w imy bnb=f hry-tp ntr.w hnty.w ...

Hail to you, Re, high of might, lord of *bas*, who is in his Benben sanctuary, chief of the gods of the forehall ...



According to Hornung “das Det.  lässt für *hnty* an die Bedeutung ‘Vorhalle’ (Wb III 307, 10ff) denken, vielleicht als ein Teil des unterweltlichen Benben-Heiligtums.”²²⁰ He also notes that *hnty.w* could be a substantive--“Derer in der Vorhalle.” Rather than simply indicating Osiris’ primacy, *hnty-d3.t* may also refer to Osiris’ position. He is at the front of the Dat, the area of the dawn. The room whence the sun emerges is that in which Osiris reclines on his hill of sand. In PT Utterance 357 (see above), the birth of Re occurs through the horizon-as-Osiris, which is also the *hnw-h*, “interior of the palace.”²²¹ This passage from the Pyramid Texts combines Osiris as the horizon, embracing the rising sun, and personifying the final room of the Netherworld.²²²

²¹⁹Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, vol. 1, p. 82


²²⁰*ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 121 n. 202; for the association of the netherworld with Heliopolis, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311 n. 47. This would be the place of the *dmḏw* of Re and Osiris (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 241 ll. 17-8, p. 242 n. i).

²²¹See F. Friedman, *On the Meaning of Akh (3h) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; Brandeis University, 1981) pp. 87-9.

²²²Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 103; for the *h* of Osiris, see P. Metropolitan Museum 35.9.21, 11 (Goyon, *Kēmi* 19 [1969] 32-3), where the *h-smj.t* is protected from Seth and his henchmen; *h* there is determined by the bearded, seated god, as though it were a name for Osiris himself. Compare also Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*

For the possibility that the *Hn.t* of the Dat is the place of the rising up of the hill of the horizon, there is some support in the version of the Book of Travelling through Eternity preserved on the Hawara stela:²²³ *spr=k r hnt*  , determined by the sign of a staircase. This corresponds to the version in P. Leiden I 348:²²⁴

spr=k r hnt   *n T3-mri 3 hb(?)*

šsp=k s.t=k m sbh.t(?)  *3h.t*

May you reach the Forehall of Egypt, (called) 'great of festival'(?);
may you take your place in the portal of the horizon.

This suggests that the *hnt*-hall is indeed the portal of the horizon.²²⁵ The portals of the Netherworld appear also to have been termed *ʿrry.t*.

in the *British Museum*, pl. 75, l. 13, where the primacy of Osiris in the Netherworld is expressed as *hq3 ntr.w nb d3.t hnty hw.t- 3.t*, "ruler of the gods, lord of the Netherworld, foremost of the great house" (a portion of Book of the Dead chapter 15 g [Allen's § S 3]). In The Book of Caverns, there is "eine von der Urfinsternis erfüllte *qrr.t-Wsjr*"--see Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 131, citing Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 71, l. 1, and pl. 73, l. 1.

²²³G. Daressy, "Une stèle de Hawara," *RdT* 36 (1914) 75, l. 10.

²²⁴Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 56, line I 29.

²²⁵For the Netherworld compared to the architecture of a temple, see Kees, "*Pr-Dw3.t* und *Db3.t*," *RdT* 36 (1914) 1-16; J. Quaegebeur, "Lettres de Thot et Décrets pour Osiris," in J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988) p. 121 n. 41; L. Kákosy, "Temple and Funerary Beliefs in the Graeco-Roman Epoch," in *L'égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No. 595; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982) vol. 1, p. 127. Architectural Netherworld imagery pervades the Book of the Two Ways (see the remarks of E. Hermesen, *Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits, das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie* [OBO 112; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1991] pp. 89-93, 132-34, and 185 n. 31). Note also the several Graeco-Roman period representations of the portal of the Netherworld as the entrance to a temple (see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1966] pp. 175-7); and the evidence in Graeco-Roman magical texts for the Netherworld as a temple and shrine--W. Brashear and A. Bülow, *Magica Varia (Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 25; Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1991) pp. 46-47*

In the first hour of the Amduat, the entry of the sun into the West is described as:²²⁶

‘q ntr pn m ‘rry.t ïmn.t n.t 3h.t

(commentary to ll. 9-10 of P. Carlsberg 52). With each horizon a pylon gate, the area just beyond it, for east and west, would be a *hnty*. Compare the text of the “Hymne zur 1. Tagesstunde” (Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 150-9), wherein the sunrise is closely linked to the opening of tempels (*ibid.* p. 152 and n. 6, p. 154 [Anm. 7]). For the entrance to the temple compared to that of the horizon, see P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak* vol. 1 (Cairo: Le Service des antiquités de l’Égypte avec la collaboration de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1977) p. 143 n. (j); A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* (BdE 47; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1973) pp. 65 n. af, 271-3 n. k); G. Björkman, *Kings at Karnak* (Boreas 2; Uppsala: K&We Tryck, 1971) p. 67; P. Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak, essai d’exégèse* (RAPH 21; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1962) p. 312; Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984) 122 n. 66; Ph. Derchain, “Réflexions sur la décorations des pylônes,” *BSFE* 46 (1966) 18-19; E. Graefe, “Der >>Sonnenaufgang Zwischen den Pylonentürmen<<--Erstes Bad, Krönung und Epiphanie des Sonnengottes à propos Carter, Tut-ankh-Amen, Handlist no 181,” *OLP* 14 (1983) 55-79 (especially pp. 59-63 and the literature cited there); A. Badawy, “A Monumental Gateway for a Temple of King Sety I, an Ancient Model Restored,” in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* (Brooklyn, 1972) pp. 16-7; and Darnell, in Bryan and Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, pp. 39-44. For the reverse, the temple as the Dat, see R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* (*Studies in Oriental Religions* 10; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985) p. 65; L. Corcoran, *Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago, 1988) p. 105 and n. 26 (citing The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* vol. 3, pl. 182A and 184 A, and C. De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l’Égypte ancienne* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1951] p. 72). On the entrance to heaven and an architectural interpretation see also E. Brovarski, “The Doors of Heaven,” *Or.* 46 (1977) 107-15. For a further architectural reference to the Netherworld, compare the 1st Hour of the Amduat, where the entry of the sun into the West is described as ‘q ntr pn m ‘rry.t ïmn.t ny.t 3h.t, “the god entering into the western portal of the horizon” (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 = p. 3, l. 1). The reference to the spirits of the east in the Book of the cryptic text I in the Book of the Day and of the Night as “lord(s) of the palace” may be a further reference to the entrance to the Netherworld likened to terrestrial architecture (see there). The headrests with representations of temple portals (Ch. Boreux, “Un type rare de chevet égyptien,” *Annuaire de l’Institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales* [1935] pp. 97-105), treating the horizon as a temple entrance, also allude to this concept.

²²⁶Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 2, l. 8 - p. 3, l. 1.

This god entering into the western forecourt of the horizon²²⁷

The *ʿrry.t* in temple architecture is “the area of a temple including the gateway.”²²⁸ The text from the Amduat, by specifying the *ʿrry.t imn.t*, “the western portal,” implies that there was an eastern forecourt as well.

Just as there is a *hnty*-forehall in the eastern and western ends of the Netherworld, so there is an *ʿh*-palace at the western beginning of the Netherworld as well. In the “Decree of Osiris,” the lord of the dead instructs the deities of the infernal regions that they should set the newly arrived deceased:

r wsh.t tp.t n.t imnt.t ʿh pw n nb-r-dr

in the first hall of the west--that is the palace of the All Lord²²⁹

²²⁷See also Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 45, citing line 10 of the stele of Ipuy from Saqqara:

ind hr=k R^c nb p.t itm w m htp=f nfr
nfr.wy htp=k m ʿr<y>.t
šsp.n=k w3.t M3nw m3^c m itn

Hail to you, oh Re, lord of heaven, Atum when he sets well,
 how beautiful is your setting in the portal,
 you having taken the road of the western hills, sailing fair in the
 sun disk!

(J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side (Excavations at Saqqara 8; Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français, 1927]* pl. 9, l. 10 (correcting Assmann's reference to pl. ix, 8). Note the odd orthographies of *p.t*, with the strong arm (as though *pḏ*); and *R^c* with the *dī*-arm instead of the normal *ʿ*.

²²⁸W. Ward, “Late Egyptian *ʿr.t*: the So-Called Upper Room,” *JNES* 44 (1985) 329-35 (quotation from p. 332), referring to G.P.F. Van den Boorn, “*Wḏ ʿ-ryt* and Justice at the Gate,” *JNES* 44 (1985) 1-25.

²²⁹For the text see conveniently A.H. Zayed, “Stèle inédite, en bois peint, d'une musicienne d'Amon à la basse époque,” *ASAE* 56 (1959) 96; on the decree in general, see H. de Meulenaere, “Le décret d'Osiris,” *CdE* 63 (1988) 234-41, and the literature cited there.

Here the *wsh.t*-hall is the forecourt of the palace of the universal deity.

The god worshipped in the hymn on the mythological papyrus of Djekhonsefankh I (see above, pp. 618-622) is the rejuvenated night-sun. He is Re-Horakhty-Atum in the east, he is both Horus the elder in the horizon, and Khepri. He is Khepri in the flood, represented in the reclining Osiris by the raised fist of the god, the sun passing through the waters of Nun (the hand of Osiris) to rise in the east. The deity is called *k3*, the bull, "lord," a reference to his potency,²³⁰ shown by the ithyphallic character of the reclining Osiris. The ithyphallic Osiris reclining on the root of the eastern horizon in the tomb of Ramesses IX is the deity to whom a hymn on the ceiling of the tomb of Imiseba is addressed (see pp. 557 and 588-594), a being who manifests himself as Ptah, Re, and Amun-Min-Kamutef. With his feet in hell and his hands in the highest heights of heaven, he is the giant solar-Osiris at the root of the eastern horizon.²³¹

The qualities of the giant deity are well summarized in a hymn to Re-Horakhty in P. Berlin 3050, col. 8, ll. 1-3:²³²

²³⁰See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 80 and n. 6a.

²³¹The ithyphallic Osiris as a manifestation of the unified Solar-Osiris is supported by a number of small wooden figures in the Cairo Museum, displayed as numbers 5021, 5022, 5023, 5036, 5037, and 5038 in case "T", and number 5999 in case "R," all in Room 22. These are small, falcon-headed sarcophagi, with solar images and symbols depicted on the exterior. Some have a vertical text down the front referring to *Wsir hnty-imn.tyw ntr 3 nb b3hw*, etc., "Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, lord of the eastern mountain." Within each model sarcophagus is a figure of an ithyphallic Osiris. The small figures represent the ithyphallic, creative Osiris within the falcon-headed sarcophagi of the solar deity, together the lord of the eastern horizon.

²³²S. Sauneron, "L'Hymne au soleil levant des papyrus de Berlin 3050, 3056 et 3048," *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 89, ll. 1-3.

ḥ.n=k t(ṣ) p.t r sqṣ bṣ=k shṣp.n=k dṣ.t n ḥm.w=k

sqṣ.n=k t(ṣ) p.t r ṣw ʿ.wy=k swsh.n=k tṣ m ḥp.t=k

nhm n=k t(ṣ) p.t n wr bṣ=k snd n=k tṣ n dsr sšm=k

As you have lifted up heaven in order to exalt your ba,

so have you hidden the Netherworld for your statues.

As you have exalted heaven to the extent of your two arms,

so have you extended the earth according to your course.

As heaven shouts for you because of the greatness of your ba,

so earth trembles before you because of the sanctity of your image.

Chapter 7

Inversion in the Netherworld

When celestial objects drop below the horizon of the upper sky and enter into the Netherworld, they are seen to continue down in an attitude the inverse of that in which they rose above the opposite horizon. The sun and the stars all can be seen as going upside-down into the Netherworld. In P. Carlsberg 1, stars die and enter the Netherworld (E III 26 and III 1); they fall.¹ In the Netherworld, the stars are said to *pn*ꜥ, “turn over:”

*sw pn*ꜥ=*f hpr*=*f h*ꜥꜥ*n*

It turns over. It happens that it...and it rises again (L V 36).²

Celestial bodies must be inverted when entering into the Netherworld in order for them to turn over upon arrival in the Netherworld. This inversion suggests entry into the Netherworld as going *shd*, “upside-down;” the Book of Travelling through Eternity, which Assmann terms “die Schrift von Verbringen der Zeit (nach dem Tode),” confirms the *shd* nature of entry into the Netherworld.³

¹O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* vol. 1 (Providence: Brown University Press, London: Lund Humphries, 1960) pp. 68-9.

²*ibid.* p. 73, pl. 40; see also O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text (Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Skrifter, Bind 1, Nr. 2; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940)* p. 48, p. *23, pl. 5.

³J. Assmann, “Ewigkeit, Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977) col. 54.

The treatise says:⁴

hy=k r p.t nn dñt=tw ʿ=k

shd=k r d3.t nn šn ʿ=k

May you rise up to heaven, without you arm being held back;
may you go down into the Netherworld, without being repelled.

Shd is determined by an upside-down figure, suggesting entry “kopfüber”⁵ into the Netherworld. This motion *shd* is presented as desirable, parallel to *hy*, and the wish is that no power hinder the deceased from going *shd* into the Netherworld. According to Sethe, citing the Vatican stela version of the composition, the Netherworld is the place “in dem die Sonne und mit ihr die selige Tote kopfüber hinabsinken, im Gegensatz zu dem Emporheben zur oberirdischen Himmel.”⁶ The desire is, however, to *shd* into the Netherworld, not to continue in the state *shd* once there. For this reason, chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead describes stars inverted in the Netherworld, in the presence of Re, who should set them aright.⁷ The dangerous continued upside-down travel in the

⁴Stela Vatican Il. 6-7 (W. Wreszinski, “Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit nach einem Stela im Vatikan,” *ZÄS* 45 [1908] 117 and pl. 5); P. Leiden T 32, I ll. 11-12 (B.H. Stricker, “De Egyptische Mysteriën, Pap. Leiden T 32,” *OMRO* 31 [1950] p. 55 and pl. 2); P. Vienna 29, Il. 20-1 (E. von Bergmann, *Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit [Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Band. 86; Vienna, 1877] photo and p. 377*).




⁵So interpreted by K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne (Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Berlin, 1928)* p. 5.

⁶K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne (Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse; Berlin, 1928)* pp. 4-5 [260 -1].

⁷Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 219; P. Barget, *Le livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens* (Paris: Les Éditions du CERF, 1967) p. 136 n.1: “Le déterminatif du mot indique qu’il s’agit d’étoiles”.


Netherworld as represented by the *nb.w-d3.t* in the upper left register of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is appropriate to beings in proximity to the cosmic disaster, depicted there by the solar bark atop the back of Apep.

In the middle register on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, there are two depictions of a prone, mummiform figure, an arm raised before it and supporting a solar disk (pl. 10, figure B; pl. 11). The second (rightmost; pl. 11) of these prone, mummiform entities holds out his hand over an *ḥ*-sign, a reference to the standstill of the solar bark. Above the supporting hand is a group of three signs which (as discussed above, chapter 3, pp. 182-183) are an enigmatic group reading *R ḥ šm r t3*, “Re has gone to the earth;”⁸ the upside-down orientation of the walking legs below the disk, representing the verb, shows that this sinking down towards the horizon occurs in an inverted pose.

The motion is inverted, the *shd* entry into the Netherworld. The group parallels in appearance and significance the enigmatic sign  for *ḥ m d3.t* in P. Salt 825, v III 8. In cryptographic sections in Papyrus Salt 825, the concept of a deity having access to the Netherworld is depicted as a man upside down, below whose head is a circle.⁹ In the cryptographic portion of section VIII, 8 of this papyrus, the concepts of entry and exit from the Netherworld are expressed by a pair of enigmatic signs which ( )

⁸Cf. the phrase *šm r t3*, “to go to the earth,” in Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. 1, ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmographischer Text*, pp. 48, 50, and 23*, pl. 5; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pl. 53 (S 6 of the dramatic text = P. Carlsberg I V 35).

⁹Drioton, “La cryptographie du Papyrus Salt 825,” *ASAE* 41 (1942) 124, section IX, 5; Ph. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Mémoires, Collection in-8°, Deuxième série; Brussels: Palais des académies, 1965) p. 12*, line 7; pl. 9; M.-L. Ryhner, “A propos des trigrammes panthéistes,” *RdE* 29 (1977) pp. 129-37.

suggests a reading *pr m d3.t*, and *‘q m d3.t*.¹⁰ The group  in IX, 5 also suggests access both to the celestial and chthonic realms. As a reading of this latter group, Ryhner suggested: *‘h p.t shd <m> d3.t*, “who raises heaven and goes head down <into> the Netherworld.”¹¹ The group in IX, 5 differs from that of VIII, 8 primarily in the presence of both figures’ arms. Here they are not only entering the various realms of creation, but are acting in those realms. The second pair from P. Salt 825 is to be read *tw3 p.t smd d3.t*, “who lifts up heaven and makes the Netherworld deep.”¹² In the enigmatic signs in P. Salt 825, the upside-down figures are shown in the process of entering the Netherworld; they are at the cusp of this world and the next, and in this area an upside down motion--*shd*--is appropriate. The horror of the figures in the tomb of Ramesses IX is that they have already entered the Netherworld, but remain upside down. At the time of the impending cosmic disaster, when the bark of Re stops on the

¹⁰Drioton, *ASAE* 41 (1942) fig. 18 p. 115; Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, p. 11*, line 7; pl. 8; Drioton (pp. 117 and 120) misinterprets the first sign in VIII, 8 as the figure of a dwarf; he assumed that the second sign was a strangely done cursive writing of the upside down man alone. The circles are actually disks from which the first figure emerges, and into which the second enters. For the reading of the pair of signs, compare the annotations to the left and right of the figure of the Aker on the back wall of room F in the tomb of Ramesses IV (E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* [Theben 11; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990] pl. I b [and p. 87]): *‘q nfr* and *pr nfr*. The second sign in VIII, 8 recalls the similar figures on the second shrine of Tutankhamen (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* [Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 2; New York: Bollingen Press, 1955] fig. 42), *šm r t3*--see chapter 3, pp. 182-183 and n. 403 there.

¹¹So R.M.-L. Ryhner, “A propos des trigrammes panthéistes,” *RdE* 29 (1977) pp. 129-30 (Drioton, *ASAE* 41 (1942) p. 126, read the upside down figure as *s* in *shs d3.t*).

¹²Compare text no. 3 in D. Kurth, *Den Himmel Stutzen, die ‘Tw3 pt’ Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche* (*Rites égyptiens* 2; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975) pp. 10-3.

sandbank of Apep,¹³ they have failed to turn over (*pn* 𓂏), and are tumbling down to the places of destruction. Once in the Netherworld, only the damned remain inverted.¹⁴

On the south wall of the hypostyle hall in the temple at Philae, twice the following text occurs:

wb̄n n=f̄ītn 𓂏 =f̄r m33=f̄

For him (Osiris) does the sun disk rise; in order to see him does it sink down.


This text is parallel, as Kuentz has shown,¹⁵ to British Museum 1367, which makes clear that the sign of the inverted man in the Philae texts corresponds to *htp*.¹⁶ A portion of text on the Bab el-Amra discusses how the moon acts as the deputy of Re *sh̄t*


¹³See the discussion of the solar standstill in the discussion of *ir=f* 𓂏 𓂏w in chapter 5, pp. 426-427.

¹⁴In the text introducing the Second Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff, "Le livre des Quererets, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division," *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 25), the *sh̄d.w* are amongst the damned in the *htmy.t*. Only if they continue their inverted tumble are the *nb.w-d3.t* damned and ultimately dangerous; this is why the *d3.tyw*, "inhabitants of the Netherworld," of A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 5 (*OIP* 73; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954) p. 332a (discussed by J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960] p. 240) are malevolent.

¹⁵C. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou-Simbel* vol. 2 (Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'Étude sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1968) p. 139.

¹⁶The value *htp* for the sign of the inverted man was overlooked in the Montpellier sign-list (F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* vol. 1 [Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1988] p. 11, no. 177); note also the Ptolemaic examples listed by *Wb.* IV 266, 4.

() = *f r šn ʿ.t*, “when he descends into the Netherworld.”¹⁷ In the Book of the Fayum, the sun is described as:¹⁸

imn-R ʿ hpr.w ḥḥ ḥtp=f  *ḥḥ*

Beinlich read this as “Amun-Re (und?) (seine) unzähligen Erscheinungsformen. Sein Sich-Niederlassen ist das unzählige Versinken.” As explanation he suggests: “die Zeile bezieht sich anscheinend auf das scheinbare Eintauchen der Sonne in den Fayumsee”; in the glossary, Beinlich transliterated the hieroglyph of the inverted man as *shd*.¹⁹ In the depiction of the Birket Qarûn in the Book of the Fayum, Re enters the lake, swimming,²⁰ upside-down between Nun and Nunet to the left and Amun and Amunet to the right. Within the lake is a scene of the cyclical passage of the day and night sun through the lake. The setting sun, the star of day, also entered the Netherworld in an inverted position. Like the stellar “lords of the Netherworld” (*nb.w-d3.t*), Re himself enters the Netherworld upside-down.²¹

¹⁷P. Clère, *La porte d'Éueregète à Karnak* (MIFAO 84; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961) pl. 60 = K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch- römischer Zeit* (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums vol. 8; Leipzig: Akademie-Verlag, 1957) p. 74, ll. 14-5 (on this passage see Fairman, “Some Unrecorded Ptolemaic Words,” *ZÄS* 91 [1964] 9-11); similarly a portion of the horizontal band of text to the right of the lunar disk on pl. 18 = Sethe and Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch- römischer Zeit*, p. 41, l. 10 (§53f).

¹⁸H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum* (Äg.Ab. 51; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991) pp. 158-9, lines 204-6.

¹⁹*ibid.* p. 159 n. 1, p. 279.

²⁰The text says *R ʿ pw w3=f r nbṯ* (*ibid.* text 150, pp. 152-3); the depiction is on p. 87 Abb. 26. Beinlich notes that the legs of Re are not shown, and were probably originally intended to be hidden by water ripples, ultimately left out.

²¹In the fourth scene in section A (second register) of the Book of the Earth, the two circles at the level of the head of the central deity each contain three inverted

On the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the inverted *nb.w-d3.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld” (pl. 32), are situated above a scene of the solar bark run up on the back of Apep (pl. 31). “Upside-down stars” are a motif appropriate to a scene of the destruction of Apep, and the Book of the Dead describes such a scene. In chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead, above the defeat of the Serpent, the *shd.w*, “the inverted stars,” fall. The inverted stars are depicted on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 32); with their limbs spread wide the figures in the upper left register there take on the appearance of inverted stars. That the inverted figures in the tomb of Ramesses IX are stars is further suggested by the disks atop the upside-down heads of the beings.

The disks into which the stellar lords of the Netherworld appear to fall are actually to be seen as attributes placed atop their heads. The disks are the attributes of stars, and are the shining disks which rise atop the heads of the blessed dead in the Netherworld.²² In the third tableau in the first register of section A in the Book of the

beings. The area of the being’s head is said to be in the *d3.t hr.t* (see below), because the area of the inverted stars in the Ramesses IX treatise is the area of the *hr.t* into which the slanting Osiride king raises his arms. This association of the hand of Osiris in the *d3.t hr.t* with the plummeting lords of the Netherworld suggests that the *d3.t hr.t* may have been the place of inverted entry into the Netherworld. The swimming of stellar bodies may be behind the use of the star to write *nb*, “lord” (See the titulary of the Second Intermediate Period ruler *Nḥsy* from Tell Mokdam--E. Naville, *Ahnas El Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna), with Chapters on Mendes, the Nome of Thoth, and Leontopolis [The Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoir 11; London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894] pl. 4, B1 and 2).*

²²M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507 (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3; London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1987) pp. 121-3, especially pp. 121-2, discussing P. BM 10209 I 41-2: *iry n=k itn imy-wrtt m-‘q3-n st3t=k psd=f n=k snkty m imh.t wbn=f m šww hr tp=k*, “A sun-disk has been fashioned for you <in> the necropolis opposite your tomb, that it may illumine the darkness in the underworld for you and shine as the sun upon your head” (trans. *ibid.* p. 122). This passage reflects a portion of chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead (a version of a portion of the Book of the Two Ways in the Coffin Texts), wherein the deceased is likened to Re with his attribute of a solar disk atop his brow (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines**

Creation of the Solar Disk,²³ twelve standing goddesses with light-shedding disks atop their heads are called “hours.” They hold their hands over stars, and the accompanying texts explains:

irw=sn m db ʿ.w=sn

Their attributes are at their fingers

They have disks and stars as attributes, apparently equated here. In the parallel text from the Late Period which Piankoff²⁴ cites, the hours, rather than wearing disks atop their heads, have:

itn m hr=sn

disks as their faces

The heads are themselves disks.²⁵ The description of the hours as having disks for heads describes well the disk-headed figures in the enigmatic treatise on the ceiling of

of *Tut-Ankh-Amon*, p. 105 [with n. 23]; E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* [Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1990] pp. 495-6; corresponds to A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* vol. 7 [*OIP* 87; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961] p. 256).

²³A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (*BdE* 19; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1953) pp. 10-12.

²⁴*ibid.* p. 10 n. 1.

²⁵Compare the solar imagery associated with the head of the king, and similar solar imagery referring to the heads of non-royal dead, as though the head of the deceased were the disk of the sun (for the imagery of the headrest, see C. Boreux, “Un type rare de chevet égyptien,” *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* [1935] 97-105, R. H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1992] pp. 158-9, and C. Sourdive, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique* [Berne: Peter Lange, 1984] pp. 253-63; on the hypocephali, D. Kessler, “Kopftafel,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980] col. 693; Barguet, *Le livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens*, p. 228 n. 1 [to chapter 162]; Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, p. 123). For the head of the deceased as a disk, see also D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris (Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 6; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990) p. 65 n. 886. One may also compare the

Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI. These male deities are said to protect (s33) the hours, with:²⁶

mn tp.w=sn hr=sn (i)m=s

with the result that their heads remain upon them therein

The female deities with disks before them and glowing stars above in the bottom register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling treatise are apparently hours.²⁷ In several places in the enigmatic treatise on the the second shrine of Tutankhamun the sun disk has a star associated with it.²⁸ In the scene to the lower right of the second and concluding side of the treatise, hours enter the corpses of the goddesses; the hour as depicted within the corpse of each goddess is shown as a star

headrest showing Shu between the lions of Aker on a headrest from the tomb of Tutankhamun (see Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 59), where the head of the king would be the sun itself (on Shu in Amarna theology, see G. Fecht, "Amarna Probleme (1-2)," *ZÄS* 85 (1960) 91-117; J. Assmann, *Ägypten--Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1984); *idem*, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (OBO 51; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983); *idem*, "Die loyalistische Lehre Echnaton's," *SAK* 8 [1980] 1-32; *idem*, "Palast oder Tempel ? Überlegungen zur Architektur und Topographie von Amarna," *JNES* 31 [1972] 143-55).

²⁶Upper register, inscription 2, lines 4-7 = pl. 21.

²⁷Lower register, inscription 2, line 10, = pl. 24, if the word there is indeed to be read *wnwt* and not *itn.t*.

²⁸Compare also the star/disk pairs representing the hours in the sarcophagus hall of the tomb of Ramesses III (E. Hornung, "Auf den Spuren der Sonne: Gang durch ein ägyptisches Königsgrab," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 50 [1981] p. 466 and fig. 16 p. 467; an elaboration of scene D IV in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk), and the star/disk pairs in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (A VIII and D IV).

atop a disk.²⁹ On the stela BM 1224 (reign of Takelot I), the owner asks Re to let him fly up and join the *h3bs.w*-stars, that he might join with the stars



.³⁰ In

the lowest register of the Seventh Hour of the Amduat, the Datian Horus sets the stars upright and gives to the hours their proper positions--it is probably this Datian Horus who stands to the left of the plummeting and splayed figures. The Datian Horus wishes for the stars and hours:³¹

m3 ˁ n iwf=tn hpr n 3hw=tn htp=tn m sb3.w=tn

²⁹The text is *wnwt=sn sn ˁq.w m h3.wt=sn*, "it is their hours, they having entered into their corpses;" for stars and disks associated, compare also E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 8; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1980) pp. 256 and 268.

³⁰K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Stela London BM 1224," *SAK* 17 (1990) 217, line 8: Re should help the deceased, *p(=i) r p.t m-ˁb h3bs.w hnmy(=i)*



, "so

that I may fly up to heaven in the company of the stars, and that I may join with the stars." The group of star and disk occurs on the lintel of the doorway to "caveau No 329" at Deir el Medina (B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh* (1926) [*FIFAO* 4, part 3; Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1927] p. 77, fig. 56), where it may both label the adoring ba-birds to either side of the central sun disk as disk-wearing stars, and label the scene as *dw3 R ˁ*, "adoration of Re." The idea of the fate of the head as separate from that of the body (see the section in the chapter on the enigmatic treatise on the second shrine of Tutankhamun), for a least a portion of the Datian day, appears to be behind a portion of text T 20 in the tomb of Basa (TT 389):

sb3=k m p.t b3(=k) tp t3

Your star be in heaven, (your) *ba* upon the earth.

(J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif* vol. 2 *Das Grab des Basa* (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole [AV 6; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1973] p. 63 and n. b). This text from the tomb of Basa appears to refer to the head as a star.

³¹E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 1 (*Äg.Ab.* 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) p. 128; vol. 2, p. 136.

order be to your flesh and realization to your *3h*-power, so that you
rest³² in your stars.

The Ramesses IX treatise interprets the concept underlying the phrase *h̄tp=tn m sb3.w=tn*, “so that you rest in your stars,” as star-like, splayed figures in disks of light.³³

The stars on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall are inverted, and the figures in them are dark. The streams of light surrounding them form concentric circles, all contained within a circle. Their light covers and hides them. When the normal functions of the Netherworld and her inhabitants are upset, darkness and inversion of the dead are associated. According to PT §323a-b:³⁴

bt NN pw š3s m kkw

nj m33=f shd.w

Walking in darkness is what King NN abominates;
he will not see those who are upside down.³⁵

³²One could understand *h̄tp* as “to set” of a celestial body, stars in the Amduat passage.

³³The similarity between the Amduat passage and the depiction on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall is stronger if one reads *h̄tp=tn* not as a clause of purpose, but as one of circumstance--“order be to your flesh and realization to your *3h*-power, when you rest in your stars.” The stars and hours need order and *3h*-power when they set, in order properly to turn rightside-up in the Netherworld.

³⁴K. Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908-1922) vol. 1, p. 174.

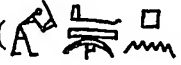
³⁵J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984) §360A, pp. 230-1; this corresponds to de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 189e-f (spell 575); according to version B3BO:

bwt(=i) pw šm m gr̄h
nj m33 N tn shd.w

Hornung's comparison of the upside-down stars to the *pg3.w* and *igy.w* may also be significant. In the introduction to the 6th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, pp. 110 n. 2 and 123), the sun god stops at the abyss of the Netherworld, called

The figures are inverted, upside-down, falling above a register depicting the destruction of Apep and his serpent cohorts by the right eye of the sun, while the barque of Re is run up on the back of Apep. In the Netherworld Books, inversion is in general the undesirable fate of the damned.³⁶ But it may also be seen as the pose assumed by all, blessed and damned, when entering the Netherworld. As we have seen, even the entry of the sun itself into the Netherworld could be seen as an inverted descent.

In P. Cologne 3547,³⁷ a magical papyrus from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, a cosmic catastrophe is described, in which the bark of the sun stands still (II, 1). The Great Ennead is in trouble (II, 2), and “one cannot see another” (II, 3).³⁸ Further (II, 3):

nn pn ꜥ=sn () n3 nb.w d3.t nty m hr.t-ntr

Nb.t-D3.tyw, “Mistress of the Netherworld,” “sie mündet in das Urgewässer Nun, das in unendlicher Erstreckung die Welt allseitig umschliesst (*ibid.* p. 123).” The inverted Lords of the Netherworld enter the Netherworld through the water called Mistress of the Netherworld.

³⁶See R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993) pp. 168-71. B.H. Stricker’s (*De Geboorte van Horus* vol. 5 [MVEOL 26; Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1989] pp. 672-85) explanation of certain bound, upside-down, headless enemies of the sun as symbolic of the embryonic sun cannot explain the fetters, nor is it consistent with the accompanying texts.

³⁷D. Kurtin, in D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri* (P. Köln ägypt.) (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* 9; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1980).

³⁸The “mythological” text on the Saft el-Henna naos gives a description of the catastrophic events accompanying the departure of Shu; there the text describes an event similar to the darkness at the time of the solar stand-still, with a storm wind (*dꜥw*) and the resulting inability of deities to see one another (specifically line 8)—see U. Verhoeven, “Eine Vergewaltigung? vom Umgang mit einer Textstelle des Naos von El Arish,” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten* (Fs. Derchain, OLA 39, 1991) p. 329.

they will not turn over the lords of the Netherworld who are in the necropolis.

Kurth renders this as “und sie wehren nicht mehr ab die Herren der Unterwelt, welche in der Nekropole sind;” according to him, this refers to the “vernachlässigung der hier den Göttern zugeschriebenen Aufgabe, gefährliche Wesen abzuwehren.”³⁹ He suggests that the “Lords of the Netherworld” here are the *mw.t.w*, “jene Toten, die als spukende Wesen aus ihrer Gräbern steigen und die Lebenden in Furcht versetzen.”⁴⁰

The *nb.w-d3.t*, the “lords of the Netherworld,” are mentioned earlier in the Cologne papyrus, in line I 2, where the papyrus calls them near to assist in its healing purpose. Kurth⁴¹ cites a number of references to the “Lords of the Netherworld:” 1) chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead; 2) chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead; 3) the papyrus of Djedkhonsuefonkh. On the basis of these three attestations Kurth concludes “‘Herren der Unterwelt’ ist ... eine Bezeichnung der gerechtfertigten Toten, die das Totengericht unbeschadet überstanden.”⁴² Other texts support this conclusion.

A further attestation of the *nb.w-d3.t*, unknown to Kurth at the time of his work on the Cologne papyrus, is in line 28 of the autobiographical inscription in the tomb of Inhermose at El-Mashayikh, in a damaged section of the wall, the deceased speaks of

³⁹Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, pp. 22 and 35 n. 51.

⁴⁰Kurth would understand *pn* here as synonymous with the more commonly used *hsf* referring to the warding off of noxious entities in the Netherworld (see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I* [MÄS 19; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1969] p. 33).

⁴¹Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, pp. 26-7, n. 17.

⁴²*ibid.*, p. 26.

acting for the benefit of both the *3h.w* and the *nb.w-d3.t*.⁴³ This parallelism suggests that the *nb.w d3.t* are not unlike the *3h.w* (see further below).⁴⁴ In the solar hymn in Theban Tomb 30,⁴⁵ the hope is expressed that Re will help the deceased:

dī=f mn rn n ... Hnsw-ms m3 <hrw hr nb.w-d3.t
 may he cause that the name of ... Khonsumes endure, justified before
 the lords of the Netherworld.

The deceased wishes to be among the blessed dead. In the addition to chapter 1 of the Book of the Dead, the dead desires to see the *nb.w-d3.t*.⁴⁶ As a justified and blessed

⁴³B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh 1 the Tomb of Anhermose--the Outer Room* (Sydney: The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, MacQuarie University, 1988) pp. 34-5, pls. 24-5.

⁴⁴The *nb.w-d3.t* parallel the *qr.tyw*, "cavern dwellers," in K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. 1: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd, 1975) p. 168, l. 9 (temple of Sety I at Abydos); in *ibid.*, p. 191, ll. 4-5 they parallel the *imn.tyw* simply (the desire expressed there, *dī=k hr n nb.w-d3.t*, "may you turn your face toward the lords of the Netherworld," is probably a desire for the attention necessary in order to turn over (*pn*) the inverted stars at the cusp of the upper and lower worlds).

⁴⁵J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (*Theben 1*; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983) p. 40, ll. 26-27.

⁴⁶And note the text on the south edge of the Anubis niche on the south end of the east wall in J. Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawiyet Sulṭan* (AV 88; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1992) p. 76 n. d, pl. 44 (far right, bottom of the rightmost vertical column):

dī=k bs.tw(=i) <hr> nb.w-d3.t
 May you cause that I be ushered in <amongst> the lords of the
 Netherworld.

For *bsi hr*, as Osing, *ibid.*, p. 76, n. d, restores, compare J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak* [OLA 32; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1989] pp. 165 and 177).

inhabitant of the Netherworld, Osiris himself is a *nb-d3.t*.⁴⁷ In the first and second scenes in the second register of the third division of the Book of Caverns, the Lords of the Netherworld are said to have come from Khentamenti, and one of the four figures depicting these blessed dead is labelled “Osiris-Khentamenti.”⁴⁸ In the demotic P. Berlin 8351 IV, 6, the awakening of the blessed dead is likened to the awakening of the *nb.w-d3.t*.⁴⁹

According to Zandee,⁵⁰ the *nb.w-d3.t* of chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead are demons, whom the Osirian deceased avoids. In the portion of chapter 168 which Zandee cites from P. BM 10478,⁵¹ the statement is made:

... *Wsîr wstnw îb hr nb.w-d3.t*

... Osiris, dauntless, because of the lords of the Netherworld

⁴⁷P. BM 10554 (P. Greenfield), E.A.W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Oxford University Press, 1912) pl. 75: I 3 (= H.M. Stewart, “Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns of the New Kingdom,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 6 [1967] 68-70, G; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 77 ff.); already PT 8d (E. Hornung, “Dat,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 1 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975] p. 995).

⁴⁸Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1944) pl. 30, 2 and 3.

⁴⁹G. Vittmann, review of D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri* 1 (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* 9), in *Enchoria* 11 (1982) 122 (I thank R. Jasnow for this reference), citing W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient, 1902) p. 27 and pl. 85 (see also W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* [Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954] p. 212).

⁵⁰*Death as an Enemy* p. 204.

⁵¹E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Dead* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd, 1898) p. 431, l. 7; p. 432, l. 12 (this is T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day, Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms* [SAOC 37; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974] chapter 168 A, §d, S 5 [p. 166]).

Zandee read the last portion of this passage as “Osiris N.N. is undaunted with the lords of the Netherworld.” Zandee’s “undaunted” directly renders the “unverzagt” of *Wb. I* 368, 1, and is unproblematic.⁵² His rendering of the preposition *hr* as “with,” understanding the lords of the Netherworld as potentially daunting entities, is not supported by subsequent lines of chapter 168, which Zandee does not cite. In section 13 of this chapter, the deceased is *wstn* “like the lords of the Netherworld:”⁵³

imy.w dsr-tp dī=sn ‘q pr.t n Wsīr
wstn=fmī nb.w-d3.t

Those amongst whom *dsr-tp* (“sanctified of head”) is, grant entry and egress to
 Osiris,
 that he may go unhindered like the lords of the Netherworld.

In chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead the deceased is desired to proceed unhindered in the Netherworld, like the *nb.w-d3.t*; from this one can assume that free movement was a characteristic of the *nb.w-d3.t*. Similarly, the earlier passage should be parallel, and Allen’s reading:

“A portion has been offered to them on earth by Osiris (N.), bold of heart, on
 behalf of the lords of the nether world”⁵⁴

is preferable to Zandee’s rendering. Rather than being malevolent demons, the *nb.w-d3.t* in chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead are beings who move unhindered through

⁵²A. Piankoff, *Le <<coeur>> dans les textes égyptiens depuis l’ancien jusqu’à la fin du nouvel empire* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930) pp. 37 and 110, reads *h3ty wstn* and *wstn ib* as “sans peur;” for the Book of the Dead 168 IV, he reads “celui dont le coeur marche librement.”

⁵³Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 432, l. 12.

⁵⁴Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 166.

the Netherworld, like whom the blessed dead wishes to move, and on behalf of whom he makes offerings on earth.

Thus far, the *nb.w-d3.t* are not beings which we should expect to find “warded off,” as Kurth understands to be the case in col. II, l. 3 of the Cologne magical papyrus. Kurth does interpret the *nb.w-d3.t* in Djedhor as dangerous.⁵⁵ Line 103 of the text of Djedhor addresses the dangerous *sbi*?; in line 104, the text states:⁵⁶

R' hr ts r wī3=f r m33 psd.t ntr.w nw Hr- 'h3
n3y nb.w-d3.t 'h' hr bhn=k

Even as Re is mounting to his bark, in order to behold the ennead of the
 gods of Kheraha,
 the lords of the Netherworld are engaged in slaughtering
 you.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, p. 48 n. 104 (already Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 204 [§ B.14.l] interpreted the *nb.w-d3.t* as demons).

⁵⁶E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-Her-le-Sauveur* (*BdE* 23; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1956) p. 53; parallel lines 40-1 of the Metternich Stela (C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela* [*Analecta Aegyptiaca* 7; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956] p. 31 [p. 34 for discussion of parallels]), and lines 6-7 of the back of cippus UC 16547 (H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection Part 3 The Late Period* [Warminster: Aris and Phillips, Ltd, 1983] pl. 20).

⁵⁷For the translation of *'h'* (Old Perfective) + *hr* + infinitive, see A. Gardiner, “A Protest Against Unjustified Tax-Demands,” *RdE* 6 (1951) 121; and J.-M. Kruchten, *Études de syntaxe néo-égyptienne (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves Supplément 1; Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1982)* pp. 34 and 36, p. 82 n. 83: “le sujet et déjà ‘installé’ dans une action qui se répète au dure; il est ‘occupé à, en train de’ faire telle chose.” For the related *'h'.n=f* + old perfective, see now also M. Broze, “‘Entretiens, ce vaincu du nom de Teti-an était arrivé...’ a propos de la forme *'h'.n.f* + pseudoparticipe dans une narration,” in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Alten Ägypten (Fs. Derchain, OLA 39, 1991)* pp. 65-77.

In the Djedhor passage the “lords of the Netherworld” do kill, but they kill an enemy of the sun. In the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II⁵⁸ the *nb.w-d3.t* are depicted as serpent-holding, knife-wielding, animal-headed entities. On the Djedkhonsefankh II papyrus the lords of the Netherworld are punishing beings. Yet they sit and stand atop and appear to punish evil snakes; one of the *nb.w-d3.t* stands behind the kneeling deceased as he adores the sun; in a pose that appears to be more protective than menacing. Kurth concludes that, in the Cologne papyrus, the “Lords of the Netherworld” are beneficent in col. I, l. 2 of the Cologne papyrus, but bad in col. II, l. 3. This does not accord with the attestations of the term which Kurth himself cites. In no source are the “Lords of the Netherworld” clearly described as dangerous or ambivalent. Each writing of the term in the Cologne papyrus concludes with the sign of a falcon on a standard; there is no enemy determinative in col. II, l. 3 of the Cologne papyrus, where Kurth suggests that the *nb.w-d3.t* are unpleasant beings. The Great Ennead should be well disposed towards the *nb.w-d3.t*; the reference to the Great Ennead’s inability to “turn over” (*pn ʿ*) the *nb.w-d3.t* appears to describe the failure of a desired action to occur.⁵⁹ The “Lords of the Netherworld,” as stars entering the Netherworld, should be turned over and allowed to rise again in the night sky. As an outcome of the cosmic tragedy so narrowly averted when Re stops and threatens to run aground on the back of Apep, the *nb.w-d3.t*, “lords of the Netherworld,” as the *shd.w*,

⁵⁸A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 3*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1957) pl. 22, 3rd vignette.

⁵⁹The *nb.w-d3.t* are probably the *shd.w* of the Book of the Dead. The deceased says that he will not look on them (PT §323a-b; Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, §360A [pp. 230-1]; note also de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 189e-f and Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944] pl. 25), but this does not indicate that they are evil, but is rather connected with the deceased’s general abhorrence of the chaotic and upside-down.

“upside-down stars,” from whom the deceased averts his gaze in Book of the Dead chapter 99,⁶⁰ are in danger of plummeting into the Lower Netherworld.⁶¹ As the sky is in danger of dropping onto the earth, so the stars below the horizon at the entrance to the Netherworld, and the undersky itself, are in danger of plummeting towards the lowest realms of the Netherworld.⁶² The parallelism of the *shd.w* and the *nb.w-d3.t* rests on the Egyptian concept of the stellar destiny of the deceased.⁶³

The “lords of the Netherworld” could be viewed as deities of the Netherworld, the “lords of the Netherworld” forming an ennead.⁶⁴ In a broken text in the tomb of

⁶⁰Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 219.

⁶¹As the dangerous situation in which Re finds himself threatens the stars with inversion, so their inversions further threatens the well being of the sun--for the *ihm.w-sk* and *ihm.w-wrd* stars helping to carry the sun, see F.-R. Herbin, “Une nouvelle page de livre des respirations,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984) 290-1 n. (53).

⁶²The cosmos was in danger of returning to its undifferentiated state (H. Te Velde, “The Theme of the Separation of Heaven and Earth in Egyptian Mythology,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 [1977] 161-70; E. Hornung, “Verfall und Regeneration der Schöpfung,” *Eranos Jahrbuch* 46 [1977] pp. 411-49).

⁶³W. Barta, “Funktion und Lokalisierung der Zirkumpolarsterne in den Pyramidentexten,” *ZÄS* 107 (1980) 1-4. On aspects of the stellar destiny of the dead in the later phases of the ancient Egyptian religion, see L. Kákossy, “Elemente ägyptischen Totenglaubens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit,” in Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) pp. 59-68; *idem*, “Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion,” *ZÄS* 97 (1971) 100-106; I. Nagy, “Remarques sur quelques formules stellaires des textes religieux d’époque saïte,” *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977) 99-117.

⁶⁴Ch. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou, une necropole de Thebes-Ouest et son histoire* vol. 1 (Cairo: Nubar Printing House, 1989) pl. 104 (Valley of the Queens no. 44, tomb of Prince Khaemwaset): *d-mdw in psd.t nb.w-d3.t*; pl. 120 (Valley of the Queens no. 52, tomb of Queen Tyti): *im3hy hr psd.t nb.w-d3.t*. The *ntr*-signs are determinatives, not part of **ntr.w nb.w-d3.t*, *“(all the gods of the Netherworld)” (parallel to *ntr.w nb.w imntt*, “the gods, lords of the West”--see E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* [SAOC 33; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1967] pp. 34-5 n. a, followed by J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* [Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 6; London: the Trustees of the British Museum, 1991] p. 13 n. 4).

Mutirdis, the tomb owner appears to have referred to the fifteen entities, brandishing knives and standing in shrines, representing the gatekeepers of the accompanying chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead, as *nb.w-d3.t*.⁶⁵ On the exterior right door panel of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, Re-Horakhty addresses the deceased king:⁶⁶

iry=i s.t=k m hr.t-ntr m w' m nn n ntr.w nb.w-d3.t

I shall make your place in the necropolis as one among these gods, the
lords of the Netherworld.

⁶⁵J. Assmann, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970* vol. 6 *Das Grab der Mutirdis* (AV 13; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977) pl. 23 A (and as a handcopy on p. 59, where the quail chick of *nb.w*, present in the drawing and clear in the photo, is omitted). A text in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49--N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes [Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 9]*; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933] pl. 59, col. o) referring to the *sb3.w nb.w n d3.t* perhaps refers to the "gates of the lords of the Netherworld," although the presence of the indirect genitive speaks somewhat against this interpretation. In the mythological papyrus of Djedkhonsefankh II (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 22), the deceased is shown kneeling, adoring Re as an accompanying text says. Behind him stands a crocodile headed, snake and knife wielding being; seated behind the standing creature are three snake and lizard wielding, animal headed beings atop serpents. They are labelled *nb.w-d3.t*, "lords of the Netherworld," a label which may include the being behind the deceased. Later in the papyrus the deceased prays to the "gods of heaven" (*ntr.w-p.t*), and asks: *n s'r=tn bin=f n ntr pw nty ht=f*. "you should not present his bad to that god who is behind him," referring to the formidable, probably *nb-d3.t* standing behind the deceased earlier in the papyrus. This is another example of a *nb-d3.t* who punishes evil and keeps wrongdoers out of the realm of the blessed in the Netherworld.

⁶⁶A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amen* (MIFAO 72; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1951-2) vol. 1, p. 27.

In the categories of beings which it encompasses, the term *nb-d3.t* appears to be similar to the term *3h*,⁶⁷ including deities and the blessed dead. And as the *nb.w-d3.t* may be the doorkeepers of the Netherworld, so may the *3hw* act as gatekeepers and judges.⁶⁸

Similarly, in chapter 101 of the Book of the Dead, the sun should set the deceased on his feet in the Netherworld. The third address to Re in this chapter reads:⁶⁹

î R^c m rn=k pwy n R^c
îr sw3=k hr nty.w-îm m shd
k3=k s^ch^c=k NN hr rd.wy=fy
w^d3=k w^d3=f

Oh Re, in that your name of Re;

If you pass by those-who-are-there/the dead, they being inverted,
 please make NN stand up upon his two feet.

As you are well, so is he well.

According to Hornung, “die dritte [Strophe bezieht sich] auf bestrafte Wesen des Jenseits, die auf dem Kopf gestellt sind.”⁷⁰ The inverted beings are, however, the

⁶⁷The *3h.w* and the *nb.w-d3.t* are associated in the inscription in Ockinga and al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh*, vol. 1, pp. 34-5, pls. 24-5.

⁶⁸R.J. Demarée, *The 3h îkr n R^c Stelae, On Ancestor Worship* (Leiden: Terra B.V., 1983) pp. 219-22; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, pp. 180-3. There may have been a certain antipathy and wariness towards them if they, like the *3h.w*, “might take part in the judgment of the newly arrived dead” (*ibid.* p. 221 with nn. 131 and 135, and p. 257). Their judgments of the dead may also have been envisaged as at times an expression of personal vengeance (note the passage from the Dispute of a Man with his Ba, lines 142-143).

⁶⁹Based on E. Naville, *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouija* (Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: *Bibân el Molûk*; London: Archibald and Constable and Co., Ltd., 1908) pl. 13, lines 25-6.

⁷⁰E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zurich and Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1990) p. 478.


ntyw-îm, the dead, without further specification that they are evil (disregarding for the moment the *m shd* in question). The text even suggests that the deceased person for whom the chapter is inscribed is amongst those *m shd*. The Egyptians themselves appear to have been somewhat uncertain of the nature of these beings. The determinative for *nty.w-îm* in the XVIIIth Dynasty papyrus of Yuia is that given as a determinative after the names of the blessed dead; in the papyrus of Nu, also from the XVIIIth Dynasty, the *nty.w-îm* were given as a determinative the less genteel sign of the man with an axe in his forehead.⁷¹ Such a determinative is attested elsewhere when the *nty.w-îm* in question are specified as malevolent.⁷² In one papyrus they are blessed, in another they might appear to be “bestrafte Wesen.” In the Nu example, the determinative of the dying enemy may refer only to the danger in which the *nty.w-îm* find themselves—they are the “ill” *nty.w-îm*.⁷³

⁷¹E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead, Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Ânhai, Kerasher and Netchemet with Supplementary Text from the Papyrus of Nu* (London: British Museum, 1899) pl. 57. Chapter 101 in the XXth Dynasty papyrus of Neferrenpet is damaged, and *nty.w-îm* and its determinative are missing (L. Speleers, *Le papyrus de Nefer Renpet, un livre des morts de la XVIIIme Dynastie* [Brussels: Vramant et Co, Imprimeurs et Éditeurs, 1917] pl. 19). The later papyrus of Nedjmet is noncomittal, and the *nty.w-îm* are given no determinative (*ibid.* pl. 10, col. 12). For the sign of the person bleeding from the head determining the name of the deceased, see H.G. Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley: J.J. Augustin, 1968) p. 133.

⁷²*Wb.* II 355, 9-10. Compare the use of this determinative with the *b3*-birds annotating the upside-down, human-headed souls of the damned at the end of the bottom register of the IIIrd Division of the Book of Caverns (A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI [Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 1]*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954] fig. 12 [opposite p. 66]).

⁷³Compare the use of the dying enemy as a determinative of “eye” (*îr.t*) to mean “ill eye” in P. London-Leiden verso column 20, l. 1 (see H.-J. Thissen, “Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten,” in D. Mendel and U. Claudi, eds., *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext, Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes, Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens* [Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere,

In the version of chapter 15 B 2 variant⁷⁴ of the Book of the Dead on the XVIIIth Dynasty stela of one Panehesy, Berlin 7317,⁷⁵ line 11, the *ntyw-îm* are determined by the fallen enemy, but are found in parallel with the *îmy.w qr.wt*, the *nb.w-d3.t*, and the *nty(.w) m db3.t*. The other Datians do not receive such a determinative, and the *ntyw-îm* and the *nb.w-d3.t* find themselves in the company of Netherworld denizens whose designations show them to be properly buried--possessors of tomb shafts (*nb.w qr.wt*) and possessors of sarcophagi (*nty[.w] m db3.t*).

The stela says of the sun *dî=k sšp n nty.w-îm* , "may you give light to those who are there;" they are among the blessed dead, for they receive the life giving light of the nocturnal sun.⁷⁶ Rather than being an indication that the dead

Sondernummer 1991; Cologne: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln, 1991] p. 371).

⁷⁴The designation of Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, p. 21.

⁷⁵See Berlin, Staatliche Museen, *Aegyptische Inschriften* vol. 2 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924) pp. 139-142.

⁷⁶In general, the blessed dead receive the light of the sun, and are illumined by it (compare the passage in the so-called *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI, where the *îrw*-forms of the blessed dead light up [*hd*]), whereas the damned are deprived of the life-giving solar rays (see above, pp. 364-367). The blessed dead are, however, at times clothed in the light of the sun, hidden rather than lit (see the section on the *hbs* quality of light in the chapter on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, above, pp. 186-194). In the mythological papyrus of Padiamun (Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 10), in ll. 2-3 of the second text section, the deceased addresses *n3 nb.w îmnt.t psd.t '3.t îmy hr.t-ntr htpy.w nty m d3.t s' h.w nty m î3.t b3.w 'nh.w m in.t sdr.w ntry.w*, "lords of the west, great ennead which is in the necropolis, resting ones who are in the Netherworld, mummies who are in the mound, living *bas* in the valley, divine sleepers." The *nb.w-d3.t* are a group among others signifying the blessed dead. In l. 11 this address is shortened to *psd.t '3.t nb.w-d3.t*, "great ennead, lords of the Netherworld;" and again in l. 23 *psd.t '3.t nb.w-d3.t htp m hr.t-ntr*, "great ennead, lords of the Netherworld, who rest in the necropolis." These later lines appear to reduce the many appellations of the blessed dead in ll. 2-3 down to *nb.w-d3.t*, "lords of the Netherworld," treated as a general term for the blessed dead.

were amongst the damned, the determinative of the blood-spurting enemy may derive from the use of this sign in determining the word *mt*, “death,” and related terms;⁷⁷ even the *ba* which is not damned can have this determinative.⁷⁸

⁷⁷The words related to *mt* often carry a derogatory connotation in religious literature, designating the damned, the twice dead (Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 45-8 [§A.1.c], 198-9 [§B.13.b]). The *nty.w-îm* are not to be related to the malevolent *nty.w-îwty.w* (*ibid.*, p. 199 [§B.13.c]).

⁷⁸H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute between a Man and his Ba*, Papyrus Berlin 3024 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970) pp. 5 and 31. According to Goedicke (p. 31) “The determinative [of the ‘fallen enemy’] clearly indicates that death is the prerequisite of the independent existence of the *ba*.” Note the use of the “pellet,” employed from the Old Kingdom as a determinative of the word *mt*, “death,” as a determinative of *îmy.w* in *îmy.w-ît Wsîr* in Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 45, n. d (tomb of Ramesses IX--3rd Hour). For the dead and blood-spurting figure as a determinative of names of dead people who are being execrated, see G. Posener, “Les empreintes magiques de Gizeh et les morts dangereux,” *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 252-70. For the dead determined by a hostile determinative, but who are not evil, see Demarée, *The 3h îkr n R^c Stelae*, pp. 215-6 n. 105; A. Piankoff and J.J. Clère, “A Letter to the Dead on a Bowl in the Louvre,” *JEA* 20 (1934) 159 and 162 n. *t*; see also W.K. Simpson, “A Letter to the Dead from Nag^c Ed-Deir N 3500,” *JEA* 56 (1970) 60 n. *h*, with references to further literature in n. 2. On this determinative in demotic, which “confère un sens péjoratif à un mot,” see P.W. Pestman, “Jeux de déterminatifs en démotique,” *RdE* 5 (1973) 28 (nos. 16-7). The powers of even the blessed dead appear eventually to have lead to the demonization of the term *3hw* (see Y. Koenig, “Un revenant inconvenant,” *BIFAO* 79 [1979] pp. 114-5; R.K. Ritner, “O. Gardiner 363: a Spell Against Night Terrors,” *JARCE* 27 [1990] 26 n. A and the references cited there). As Posener recognized, these potentially aggressive *3h.w* are the blessed dead themselves (G. Posener, “Les ‘afarit dans l’ancienne Égypte,” *MDAIK* 37 [1981] 393-401, specifically pp. 399-400; on early manifestations of the *3h.w*, see K. Koch, “Erwägungen zu den Vorstellungen über Seelen und Geister in den Pyramidentexten,” *SAK* 11 [1984] 427-30). The *3hw* may also be potential enemies of the solar deity (Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 205 n. *a* to ll. 51-2 of text no. 156). The spirit components of the individual were capable of a certain amount of aggression; compare the epithet of Ptolemy VI as “bellicose *ba*,” *b3 tkk* (see A. Farid, “New Ptolemaic Blocks from Rub^c-el-Maganin-Armant,” *MDAIK* 35 [1979] pp. 66-8 [inscription 9, a block from Armant reused in a Roman fortification at Rub^c-el-Maganin]; on *tkk*, see J.F. Borghouts, “The Victorious Eyes: a Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom,” in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern 2 Religion* [Göttingen: Hubert and Co., 1984] p. 705 n. 13; on the bellicosity at times associated with the *m3^c-hrw* state,

The *nty.w-îm m shd* could be the blessed dead who happen to be upside-down when Re encounters them, they just entering into the realm of the dead. On the sarcophagus Medelhavsmuseet NME6 is a text which described the dead at the point of entering into the Netherworld as being *m shd*.⁷⁹

R ʿ wd3=f n Mw.t=f

hb.n=f M3nw m îtm

sw3=f hr nty.w-îm m shd

Re journeys to his mother,

having made festive the western mountains as Atum,

and passes by those who are there, they being upside-down

Here again are the “inverted dead” (*nty.w-îm m shd*), by whom Re passes at the time of his setting; they are the dead at the cusp between the upper and lower skies, at the beginning of the nightly journey.⁸⁰ Even Wennefer, the model of the blessed dead, can be said to be inverted in the Netherworld. In chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased says:⁸¹

mk îrw=î shd

înk Wnn-nfr

see Ph. Derchain, “La couronne de la justification, essai d’analyse d’un rite ptolémaïque,” *CdE* 30 [1955] 232-3). See also above, n. 68 (on the *3h.w* and revenge).

⁷⁹B. George, “Ein Text der Ptolemäerzeit über das Dasein in Unterwelt und Grab,” *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979) 16-23, with parallels (cited by George) in G. Daressy, “Sarcophage ptolémaïque d’Assiout,” *ASAE* 17 (1917) 95-6; and G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* (CGC; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1939) vol. 1, p. 11.

⁸⁰So also George, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979) 18-20; these may be the *shd.w* of de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 6, p. 162r (chapter 563): *n shdd=î mm shd.w*.

⁸¹Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 118.

but my form is inverted.

I am Wennefer.

These figures in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 32) wear stellar disks atop their heads, an indication that though inverted, they are the blessed dead.⁸²

The uncertainty of the Egyptians as to the appropriate determinative for these inverted dead⁸³ is due to the fact that perpetual inversion in the Netherworld is undesirable,⁸⁴ and is the permanent fate of some opponents of Re.⁸⁵ In chapter 101 of the Book of the Dead (discussed above, pp. 648-649) the individual deceased, who finds himself amongst the *nty.w-îm m shd* at the time of his descent into the Netherworld, asks that Re right him and set him on his feet. Just as Re in chapter 101 of the Book of the Dead is asked *k3=k s 'h' =k NN hr rd.wy=fy*, “please make NN stand up upon his two feet,” so the Great Ennead should *pn'*, “turn over,” the lords of the Netherworld in section II, l. 3 of the Cologne magical text (see above, pp. 639-646). The Great Ennead should properly orient the blessed dead in the Netherworld.⁸⁶

⁸²See below, and note 25 above.

⁸³This uncertainty appears also in the use of the enemy determinative to describe the drowned dead in the middle register of the 9th Hour of the Book of Gates (scene 58; see Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 216 n. 7); these are blessed dead, to be restored by Re. Only their drowned and at times inverted situation called forth the evil determinative.

⁸⁴See conveniently the references in G.E. Kadish, “The Scatophagous Egyptian,” *JSSEA* 9 (1979) 203-17.

⁸⁵For example, the *shd.w* in the sixth *h3d* pit in the lower register of the 11th Hour of the Amduat (Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 191, l. 1 [no. 816]; vol. 2, p. 182), in the *în.t-shd.w*, the “wadi of the inverted ones” (*ibid.* vol. 1, p. 188, 9; vol. 2, p. 182). Compare also the *shd.w* demons in P. Salt 825 XI, 3 (Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825*, p. 13*, 9 [trans. p. 141 as “adversaires”]).

⁸⁶In the vignette to chapter 47 of the P. Leiden 16 Book of the Dead text, the large figure of the deceased (the dead as *rm̃t' 3*) stands in front of three small, inverted

The stars which actually enter the Netherworld are the *ihm.w-wrḏ*, the Unwearying Stars. The Undying Stars (*ihm.w-sk*) accompany the bark of Re across the sky of day, but leave the sun in the west, whereas the Unwearying Stars (*ihm.w-wrḏ*) travel with the sun below the horizon and into the Netherworld. P. Leiden I 348, vs. II 5-6 mentions weariness of the Unwearying Stars; vs. II 4-5 of the same text threatens a similar catastrophe:⁸⁷

hpr b3g3 m p.t rsy

there shall be weariness in the southern sky...

As Borghouts notes, "the stars of the southern heaven are the *ihmw wrḏ*, ... who may just be threatened here with *b3gw*, 'weariness,' i.e. an interruption of their functions."⁸⁸

figures, the dead condemned to being upside-down eternally, perhaps even the damned falling into hell (see P. Le Page Renouf, "Book of the Dead," *PSBA* 15 [1893] pl. 14 [following p. 276]). This vignette appears to emphasize the statement of the chapter that the deceased has his proper place in the Netherworld, pointed up in contrast to the state of the damned.

⁸⁷J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 51; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971) 172 n. 415, translation p. 31, spell #34.

⁸⁸*ibid.* p. 172 n. 415. On the verb *b3gḏ*, see *Wb.* I 482, 11; J. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (*Bibliotheca Aegyptia* 2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984) p. 581 (§743) and p. 62 (§100); E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 1 (*Analecta Orientalia* 34; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955) p. 199 (§448); J. J. Zandee, "Sargtexte um über Wasser zu Verfügen (Coffin Texts V 8-22; Sprüche 356-362)," *JEOL* 24 (1975-6) 25; J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) p. 120 n. 257 = *idem*, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 172 n. 415. This use of *b3g3* may actually threaten the stars with death and perpetual residence in the Netherworld--for *imy.w b3g3w* as the dead, see E.A.E. Reymond, "Two Versions of the Book of the Dead in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh," *ZÄS* 98 (1972) pp. 128-9 = P. Edinburgh 212.113.(2), l. 7. The specification of the *b3g3* as being *m p.t rsy* may play on the *bgw/b3g* '3, the "great cry," in the eastern sky (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 219f = Spell 49; note also Meeks, *Anée lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.1381 [de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 364a and p. 379b, a plaintive voice at the eastern horizon]), indicative of the recreation of the dawn and the world (see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris Ei*, *Zwei Ägyptologische*

Borghouts also cites lines 35-8 of the statue of Djed-hor:⁸⁹

ỉ 3ḥ R<

qm3 nn ḥr spr.t n p.t ...

Oh akh-power of Re;

weariness has been formed on the cusp of heaven...

Studien zu Diodorus Siculus I 27, 4-5 [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, *Historia Religionum* 4; Uppsala, 1970] pp. 76-87; R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* [Studies in Oriental Religions 10; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985] p. 31 n [43]; *bg/bgg* as the sound of creation may be related to the creative *ngg* cackle of the *smn*-goose of Amun [W. Ward, "Lexicographical Miscellenies II," SAK 9 (1981) 367-9, and the references cited there]). The noise of rebirth is heard in the egg of Sokar in the fifth division of the Amduat, and at the rebirth of Osiris (A. Szczudlowska, "Liturgical Text Preserved on Sekowski Papyrus," ZÄS 98 [1970] 61 l. 21, 5). On the mythological papyrus London 30 (Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, p. 146 fig. 39, bib. p. 328), a ram stands over the "great cackler" to the left of Geb and Nut, opposite the backside of Nut. This portion of the image should be the east, and the opposite end of the pair is indeed labelled west. The great cackler signifies the moment of recreation of the day at the east of heaven (on the egg and the goose, cackling and creation, see J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris Ei, Zwei Agyptologische Studien zu Diodorus Siculus I 27, 4-5* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, *Historia Religionum* 4; Uppsala, 1970) pp. 76-87; note that de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 219f = Spell 49, where there is *bgw/b3g* '3 in the eastern horizon, "a great cry," suggests a connection between *bg* "to cry" and the creation of the new day; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.1381 [=de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 4, p. 364a and p. 379b, a plaintive voice at the eastern horizon]; J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt, the Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts* [YES 2; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988] p. 94, note to text 16, §C, l. 18; the "roaring" of *Akephalos* is the noise of creation in the eastern horizon, not "the sun god as a lion"--A. Klasens, "An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty," OMRO 56 [1975] 26). For the association of south and east, see C. Loeben, "Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu," BSEG 14 (1990) p. 67.

⁸⁹Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-Ḥer-le-Sauveur*, pp. 25-6.

This weariness at the cusp of the upper and lower skies refers to the time of the entry of stars into the Netherworld. This is the area to which PT §1167 (utterance 512) refers as the *īdb.w p.t*, “the banks of heaven”.⁹⁰

*ī*_t=*k* *gs.t=k* *hn=k* *hn.t=k*
mī R *ḥr īdb.w nw p.t*⁹¹
 Start your run, travel your canal,
 like Re upon the banks of heaven.

Stellar weariness would result in the stars being inverted, unable to turn themselves over (*pn* 𐎢), the ennead unable to turn them over.⁹² The inverted stars in the Ramesses IX treatise may be the *īhm.w-sk*, “those who do not know destruction,” catastrophically continuing to descend into the west.

The movement of the *īhm.w-sk* about the polar star could also be interpreted as *pn* 𐎢, involving a going upside down, a continual turning over and rising, but in the sky, never dipping below the horizon into Nun. In PT § 1760 b,⁹³ the deceased king falls with the Circumpolar stars (*hr=i m-m=sn*).⁹⁴ Within the sky the king can turn about,

⁹⁰Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 153.

⁹¹On the *īdb.w(y) p.t*, “the (two) banks of heaven,” see B. Van De Walle, “Une base de statue guerisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet,” *JNES* 31 (1972) 76 n. i.

⁹²For the inability of the entities to turn over (*pn* 𐎢) as a result of weariness, compare the desire that the funerary bier turn over (*pn* 𐎢) the weary but waking Osiris (see J. Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawiyet Sulṭān* [AV 88; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1992] p. 57 n. q); for the inability of the ennead to turn over the imperilled lords of the Netherworld, cf. Kurth, in Kurth, Thissen, and Weber, *Kölner ägyptische Papyri*, col. 2, l. 3.

⁹³Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, p. 423.

⁹⁴See also Utterance 217, PT §154a-b. Note also that the *īhm.w-wrḏ* may be referred to as the *īhr.w-m-p.t*, “those who fall in the sky” (see P. Barguet, “Le rituel

rise and fall around the polar star. The king can also be desired to fall in the east of the sky, like the stars which fall below the horizon.⁹⁵ The dead entering the Netherworld can be said to go upside down in order to enter the Netherworld; once there, however,

archaïque de fondation des temples de Medinet-Habou et de Louxor,” *RdE* 9 [1952] 6 and 16 n.2; note also the wish that the deceased king “fall in the eastern half of heaven” (*īhr m gs ī3bt.y n p.t*), probably in imitation of the *īhm.w wrd*: PT §1541b). On the lid of the Abū Yāsīn bull sarcophagus, the constellation *msht* is said to *pn ‘n* (Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3 p. 191 [no. 37], pl. 24):



Parker reads this section as “but they travel, going upside down in the night as in the day.” This is a somewhat nonsensical description of the motion of the *msht* around the polar star. *Pn ‘n* means “to go/turn around and around” in the Sphinx stela of Amenophis II (P. Lacau, *Études d'égyptologie* vol. 2 *morphologie* [BdE 60; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1972] p. 261 [§82] n. 3; C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* [BdE 70; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1976] pp. 87-8; H. Goedicke, “Readings,” VA 3 [1987] 241 and 243), apparently emphasizing repeated circular motion as opposed to the verb *pn*, and this meaning of *pn ‘n* fits perfectly the description of the revolutions of the never setting *msht* and its constituent “Imperishables” around the pole star. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 1, p. 129, no. 77.1397, understands *pn ‘n* on the Abū Yāsīn sarcophagus as meaning “faire des mouvements circulaires en revenant sur son point de départ.” *Pn ‘n* here is thus not an example of stars going upside down into destruction, but is parallel to the king falling (*hr*) at certain times in the company of the circumpolar stars. *Pn* parallels *hr*, and refers to a temporary inverted movement (for *pn* parallel to *shd*, note *pn ‘ib*, apparently synonymous with *shd h3.tw*--see Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I* 348, p. 175 n. 429). *Pn* is found in another astronomical/astrological context, but in a broken passage, in P. Vienna Omina A, col. III l. 24 (R. Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus* [Providence: Brown University Press, 1959] p. 17, pl. 2). For stellar entities going *shd*, compare Bab el-Amra, pl. 16 (vertical column behind Hathor) = Sethe and Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit*, p. 47, l. 17 (= §58 h): *īw sr* (𓆎) *m shd* (𓆎) *m ‘nht* (see Ph. Derchain, “Mythes et dieux lunaires en Égypte,” in *La lune, mythes et rites* [Sources orientales 5; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1962] p. 41).

⁹⁵In PT 579 (§1539-43) the desire is expressed (Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, pp. 328-329):

īhr=k m gs ī3b.ty n p.t

May you fall in the eastern side of heaven!

they orient themselves relative to the Netherworld.⁹⁶ In chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead, falling in the necropolis is parallel to going to rest at death, and the dead hopes to be raised after this falling:⁹⁷

ts wi hr.t(y)=fy
iw.ty=fy m s3=i
hr.n=i hn '=f m in.t 3bdw
h'p.n=i

May he who shall fall raise me,
 he who shall come as my protection.
 In the valley of Abydos did I fall with him,
 I having gone to rest.

Continued descent, however, leads only to the bowels of the Underworld, the places of damnation and destruction. The deceased in chapter 80 of the Book of the Dead (see immediately above) admits of falling (*hr*) amongst the *ihm.w-sk*, but the

⁹⁶Only going upside-down into the Netherworld in an astronomically correct fashion would be depicted as natural or desirable. The deceased king can “fall” with the circumpolar stars as they go around the pole star, and the dead can *shd* as do stars into the Netherworld. This is not related to a dangerous cosmic reversal, such as the sun going back down and falling in the east (Introduction to chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead).

⁹⁷Following Pa on the whole, except for the *f* of *hn '=f*, added from other versions (Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, p. 175). For *hr*, “to fall” with the meaning “to die,” see G. Andreu and S. Cauville, “Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (II),” *RdE* 30 (1978) 17, citing W.R. Faulkner, “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III,” *JEA* 23 (1937) 182 = *hr r w3b.w*, “to fall into the reeds” (P. Bremner Rhind 27, 4, and the parallel in 29, 4). For *hr m*, “to die of” something, see R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (*Brown Egyptological Studies* 8; Providence: Brown University Press; London: Lund Humphries, 1979) p. 71, pl. 27, 11 (in the morning hymn to Amun; cited by Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, vol. 3, no. 79.2256).

dead does not desire to continue this motion within the Netherworld. According to Book of the Dead chapter 130:⁹⁸

n hr Wsir ... m h3q.t-b3=s/b3.w

Osiris shall not fall ... into “She Who Captures her *Ba/Bas*.”

Within the Netherworld, going upside down leads only to the infernal realms of torture and slaughter. So in a portion of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:⁹⁹

nn shm ds.w=sn im=i

nn h3=i r wh3.wt=sn

hr-ntt wi rh.kwi st

rh.kwi rn.w i ry

Their knives shall not have power over me;

I shall not go down into their cauldrons,

for I know them,

and I know their names.

The heads emerging from disks, above the arms of deities performing *s33*, “protection” on the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI (pl. 16, middle register, right side), find a parallel depiction in the second scene of the second register, section C of the Creation of the Solar Disk.¹⁰⁰ On the left of that scene stands the serpent-headed Apep, on the right the ram-headed nocturnal solar deity. Those gods stand facing one another, their arms extended before them, palms down in a gesture of

⁹⁸Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, pp. 338-9 (§§10-11); this text is quoted in a retrograde and corrupt fashion within the enigmatic Netherworld Book on the second shrine of Tutankhamun (Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 45, ll. 10 and 11 of the vertical inscription).

⁹⁹Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 62 (§§70-71).

¹⁰⁰Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. C.

protection over a solar disk. From this disk emerges the falcon head of Horus-Daty; this head protruding from the top of a solar disk is the deity *pr=f m št3.t=f imy d3.t*, “emerging from his mystery which is in the Netherworld.”¹⁰¹ In the third scene in the second register of the 6th Division of the Book of Caverns, two goddesses protect two ovals containing the corpse of Osiris and the Ram head and scarab of the nocturnal rejuvenation. Above their protective arms hovers a disk, the disk of Khepri, which they are said to lift up. In the first scene of the second register of section D,¹⁰² a deity bends protectively over a prone body, from the middle of which another figure emerges; presumably this depicts the more elaborately described second scene in the same register, wherein Horus emerges from the body of Osiris.¹⁰³ This scene appears to show the ascension of the human-headed solar-disk, with a stellar female deity, perhaps the same as those in the lowest register, turning over in the Netherworld. The reference to the *d3.t št3.t* suggests an allusion to the region *Pn-št3y(.t)* of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,¹⁰⁴ and the scene of the ithyphallic deity in the “funnel,” occurring in the tombs of Tawosret and Ramesses IX.¹⁰⁵ This scene of the god in the funnel-like

¹⁰¹Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 33 and text 11, pl. 17 (the text which describes this scene is in the upper register, switched with that of the first register, no. 12, which is in the second register).

¹⁰²*ibid.*, pl. D.

¹⁰³*ibid.* pp. 47-8, and text 8, pls. 25-6.

¹⁰⁴The *Št3y.t* of the Book of Caverns (so Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, p. 65, n. 4).

¹⁰⁵*ibid.*, pp. 62-6. P. Barguet, “Remarques sur quelques scènes de la salle du sarcophage de Ramsès VI,” *RdE* 30 (1978) 51-6, has proposed that the “funnel” represents a clepsydra, the entire scene referring to the passage of time in the Netherworld, required to rejuvenate the solar deity, the nocturnal water clock filled with the divine seed of the standing deity.

area is similar to the fourth scene in the second register of section A of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk,¹⁰⁶ both depicting the figure of *imn-wnw.t=f*, the same as shown in the large standing figure in the middle of the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 6, fig. A).

This chapter began with a discussion of two similar images of a prone, mummiform figure in the middle register of the second side of the enigmatic composition on the second shrine of Tutankhamun (pl. 10, fig. B, and pl. 11). The raised arms are supporting disks, and an accompanying enigmatic group, incorporating the supported disk, shows that the arm of the second (rightmost) figure is righting the inverted Re upon his inverted entry into the Netherworld (see above, pp. 632-633). The form of the prone figures there is that of Osiris in the scene of the awakening of Osiris known from the tombs of Ramesses VI and IX, and the Cenotaph of Sety I.¹⁰⁷

These figures are also similar to depictions of the deity *Tkmy*, present twice on the solar bark in the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition (pl. 15, middle register; pl. 27, lower register). *Tkm/tkmy* (Wb. V 333, 8) appears as the name of the lower watchman at the gate of the fourth hour of the Book of Gates and is present in the Coffin Texts and in the Book of the Dead as a manifestation of the solar deity.¹⁰⁸ In an

¹⁰⁶Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. A.

¹⁰⁷Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pls. 183-5; Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 93; H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos* 2 vols. (*Egypt Exploration Society Memoir* 39; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933) pl. 74. On these scenes, see also É. Drioton, "Inscriptions énigmatiques du tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis," *Kêmi* 12 (1952) 24-33.

¹⁰⁸Book of Gates: Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 142; vol. 2, p. 121 (*tkmy* there, as on the dropped portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition [pl. 27, lower register], is jackal-headed); Coffin Texts: de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 197c-f (chapter 404). The occurrences in the Book of the Dead (E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben* [Berlin: A.A. Asher and

amuletic text of the 25th Dynasty, *Tkm* (for *Tkm*) appears, along with *Akephalos*, as a manifestation of the giant deity at the eastern horizon.¹⁰⁹ He is, like the giant deity discussed in chapter 6 above, omnipresent in the eastern horizon--according to chapter 404 of the Coffin Texts:¹¹⁰

tkm rn=f iw=f wb3=f 3h.t imnt.t iw=f rh 3h.t i3bt.t tkm rn=f

Tekem is his name; he opens the western horizon and knows the eastern horizon; Tekem is his name

On the basis of the nature of the deity Tekemy, and the annotation accompanying the second prone figure on the Tutankhamun shrine, Tekem there is the Osiris of the unified Re-Osiris setting the sun aright in the Netherworld after his inverted passage below the horizon. The figures of Tekem in two of the three treatises studied here, two on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, and two in the Corridor G composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI, combine two themes which the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity emphasizes--the inverted entry of celestial beings into the Netherworld, and the need to right them there; and the existence of an omnipresent, giant deity, the unified Re-Osiris at the eastern horizon, filling heaven, earth, and hell.

Co., 1886] p. 155=chapter 72, 6; p. 230=chapter 99, 39 and 40) derive from this Coffin Texts passage (see also Meeks *Année lexicographique*, vol. 2, no. 78.4611). On Tekem see also the references in P. Piacentini, "The Anthropoid Stone Coffin in the Estense Collection of Modena," *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 11 (1992) 9 n. 18.

¹⁰⁹A. Klasens, "An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty," *OMRO* 56 (1975) 27, and U. Köhler, *Das Imiut* (GOF IV vol. 4; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) pp. 427-8 n. 2.

¹¹⁰de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 5, p. 197c-f.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE ENIGMATIC NETHERWORLD BOOKS OF THE SOLAR-OSIRIAN
UNITY: CRYPTOGRAPHIC COMPOSITIONS IN THE TOMBS OF
TUTANKHAMUN, RAMESSES VI, AND RAMESSES IX

VOLUME FOUR

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES
AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

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Chapter 8

Conclusion

This study has examined three religious treatises of the New Kingdom: a composition on the exterior of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, a treatise on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX. Following an overview of Egyptian cryptography, a characterization of the various forms of cryptography, and a classification of the various cryptographic texts of the New Kingdom, each of the three treatises was examined in detail. As a result, the three enigmatic compositions are seen to be related, three versions based on a common template. That template is a treatise composed of enigmatic annotations and representations related to the Netherworld Books of the royal tombs, with Book of the Dead excerpts interspersed, emphasizing the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon and the turning over of the blessed dead at the cusps of the Netherworld.

The Original Template

The original template for the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was apparently composed of a large, three register section (both sides of the Tutankhamun shrine; the longer, left-hand sections of the Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX compositions); stellar imagery and descriptions abounded in those three registers (present in all three registers in the Tutankhamun and Ramesses VI treatises, but essentially confined to the upper register on the enigmatic wall of Ramesses IX). A large figure of the unified Re-Osiris

dominated the compositions, filling the vertical space occupied by the three horizontal registers of the main portion of the template (so the giant figure on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and the ithyphallic Osiride figure in the penultimate scene on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall).¹ Texts referring to the protection of the king from baleful messengers may have appeared in the central horizontal register in front of the giant figure in the original template (present in the Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX compositions, but absent on the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling²). The texts of the template appear to have consisted of enigmatic annotations, for the most part beginning with the introductory formula *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* (or a variant), with excerpts from the Book of the Dead interspersed (most in evidence on both sides of the Tutankhamun shrine, and in the lower register of the main section of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX; although Book of the Dead passages are absent in the Ramesses VI Corridor G treatise, portions of the Book of the Dead do appear on the side walls of Corridor G). The cryptography of the original template, as reflected in the cryptography of the three surviving versions, was essentially alphabetic, composed for the most part of signs with enigmatic uniliteral values.

¹Although the image of the giant deity in the tomb of Ramesses IX is in the penultimate scene of the enigmatic wall treatise, the figure is the central element of the composition (the scenes and texts to the left of the giant figure read towards the right, towards the Osiride giant; the scenes and the texts to the right of the giant read to the left, also towards the image of the Osiride king). The figure of the giant Re-Osiris is also the final element of the netherworldly portion of the treatise.

²The description of inimical guardians in the upper register of the dropped portion of the Corridor G Ceiling may, however, be an elaboration of the area on the template referring to malevolent messengers.

The Textual and Iconographic Content of the Treatises:

These texts have as a central theme the Solar-Osirian unity, expressed most openly by the figures of the giant deity of the eastern horizon. In the Tutankhamun composition he is a standing, mummiform figure, ringed by the serpents of the outer darkness, occupying all of ordered space and jutting into the realms beyond. In the Ramesses IX text he fills the eastern horizon, is himself the eastern hill of the horizon, feet in hell and raised hand³ in heaven. In the tomb of Ramesses VI he is the serpent-legged, disk-headed Abrasax, the giant as a flame stretching across the eastern sky, uniting the netherworld in which his serpent legs slither with the heaven in which his solar head travels.

The enigmatic treatises also provide textual and iconographic evidence for the inverted entry of stellar souls into the Netherworld, and the necessity of righting these arriving beings and orienting them correctly in the *Dat*. The second shrine of Tutankhamun provides further information on yet another obscure point of Egyptian eschatology, and depicts the return of the heads of the headless blessed dead after their journey through the Netherworld in the entourage of the sun.

These three treatises are different versions based on a common template, although each recension may emphasize certain features absent in the others. As S. Quirke has noted, of the Netherworld Books found in the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, only the *Amduat* and the *Litany of Re* preserve ancient titles, the other compositions of the royal tombs, such as the *Book of Gates* and the *Book of Caverns*, “may rather constitute extracts from a pool of imagery both textual and pictorial that was available to the royal craftsmen and archivists responsible for planning the scheme of

³The other hand of the deity is to be envisaged as masturbating (see above, chapter 5, pp. 498-501; chapter 6, pp. 581-583, 608-609, and 615).

decoration for each tomb.”⁴ Certain of these extracts, such as the Book of Gates, attained a higher level of standardization. The Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity never achieved such standardization, although in each of the three recognizable occurrences of this cryptographic treatise, the composition is presented as a complete work. As a parallel to the state of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity one may compare the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, which appears as isolated scenes here and there, and occurs in any apparent completeness only in the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Ramesses VI. One should perhaps conclude that both the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk are known only as excerpts from larger compositions.

Textually and pictorially the three surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity provide a number of unique descriptions which provide new and specific details for the interpretation of basic elements of Egyptian religion. The goddesses Isis and Nephthys are described as being the arms of the solar deity and are so depicted in the dropped portion of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The goddess-limbs of the sun are elsewhere associated with the legs, and they are also associated with the twin uraei which may be shown pendant on either side of the disk of the sun. As goddesses they protect the solar deity; as arms they punish his enemies; as legs they support him and link him to the earth. The right-hand annotation and depiction in the so-called *Schutzbild*, and the scene in the dropped portion of the ceiling, tie together and explain sources for Egyptian religious thought as diverse as the depiction of Isis and Nephthys worshipping the unified Re-Osiris in the tomb of Nefertari, a mutilated scene in a Ramesside tomb at El-Mashayekh, and a passage in Apuleius’ *The Golden Ass*.

⁴S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London: British Museum Press, 1992) p. 165.

They provide information essential for understanding the deities *tkmy* and *Akephalos*. The use of the term ꜥ, “footpath,” on the shrine of Tutankhamun, and the depiction of a stele at the beginning of the middle register of the main portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition, emphasize the Netherworld as a subterranean continuation of the Western Desert. The scene of the ithyphallic Re-Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses IX illustrates passages from the Pyramid Texts and combines and expands elements present at the end of the bottom register in the 12th Hour of the Book of Amduat. The rising figure grasping a snake in the lower register of the main portion of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX is a unique depiction of Neheb-kau as the *n ꜥw*-serpent drawing the deceased up to heaven. These treatises contain much of importance in interpreting other Netherworld Books occurring in the New Kingdom royal tombs and contribute to an understanding of the supreme mystery of the union of Re and Osiris at the eastern horizon.

Within the historical framework of Egyptian religion and religious compositions, these texts connect the so-called mythological papyri, eclectic compositions of the Third Intermediate Period, with the Ramesside Period and the Late Eighteenth Dynasty. The closest parallels for much of the iconography of the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, such as the reclining Osiride king in the tomb of Ramesses IX and the anguipedal sun in the tomb of Ramesses VI, occur in later works. The rightmost scenes of the lower register of the left portion of the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX have their closest parallels in mythological papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, specifically the papyrus of Heruben in Cairo, and a papyrus in Richmond, Virginia. The Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX compositions examined also resemble certain of these later papyri textually, in the combination of Netherworld Book

allusions and Book of the Dead excerpts. This feature has important implications for the place of the later mythological papyri within the ancient Egyptian religious corpus.

The late mythological papyri are known to have drawn on the Book of the Dead and the Netherworld Books for their inspiration. According to Niwinski,⁵ a number of the not infrequent mixtures of Book of the Dead texts and Netherworld Book iconography on Third Intermediate Period papyri result from ignorance and inability on the part of the Egyptian scribes of the time. The enigmatic Netherworld books of the Solar-Osirian Unity show this to be a mistaken opinion. The second shrine of Tutankhamun, together with the enigmatic treatise in the tomb of Ramesses IX,⁶ demonstrate that the mixture of Netherworld texts and iconography with Book of the Dead passages is at least as old as the Amarna Period, appearing first--so far as one now can say--in the decoration of royal tombs during the New Kingdom. The late mythological papyri are not a degenerate fusion of divergent and little comprehended corpora; they are rather continuations and elaborations of a basic template from which the three New Kingdom versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity also derived. Providing a pedigree for the form and content of the Late Period mythological papyri is one of the most important contributions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

The mythological papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, with their motives often identical to those of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, represent a slight shift in

⁵A. Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (OBO 81; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989) p. 149.

⁶E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (Theben 11; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1990) p. 89 notes that the decoration of the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Ramesses IX mixes scenes of various Underworld Books, "wie viele Papyri der Dritten Zwischenzeit."

emphasis in the view of the Osirian future of the dead over what prevails in earlier mortuary literature. The Osiris of the compositions studied here is the god of the Netherworld at the time of his union with Re, the omnipresent giant deity at the eastern horizon. In the later mythological papyri the deceased is associated not with the mourned god of Isis' and Nephthys' nocturnal vigil, not the deity passing into his Netherworldly realm; rather the dead associates with the victorious Osiris at the end of the nocturnal journey, already joined with Re in the east. A later outcome of this emphasis on the Osiris of the morning glow rather than the Osiris of darkest night is the epithet "Hathor" applied at times to deceased women. They are the female aspect of the unified Re and Osiris, easily identified with Hathor, the eye of the rising sun, as well as the womb in the east from which the sun rises (parallel to Osiris as the hills).⁷ This emphasis on the solar Osiris of the eastern horizon is then a continuation of a trend visible in mortuary hymnology since the Amarna Period, after which time a parallelism of Re and Osiris in the solar hymns of tomb entrances becomes widespread.⁸

⁷On the epithet Hathor, see the references in D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse Band 53 Heft 1*; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961) p. 36 and n. 2; S. Morenz, "Das Problem des Werdens zu Osiris in der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens," in Ph. Derchain, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969) p. 81 n. 3; A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992) p. 112. The epithet has nothing to do with "die Grenze des Geschlechts," as Morenz (*ibid.* pp. 81-2) suggested, but rather takes advantage of the identification of the deceased with the Osiris of the time of the mystic union with Re to derive a new and perhaps more descriptive title for a woman amongst the blessed dead.

⁸See J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (*Theben 1*; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983) p. xv.

Cryptography and Grammar


In the study of Late Egyptian cryptography, the theories of acrophony and the consonantal principle have dominated the discussion of enigmatic sign value derivations; and Late Egyptian cryptography has dominated the study of Egyptian cryptography. Recently there has been increasing acceptance of acrophony, the most nebulous and uncertain of the principles. The texts examined here, the longest enigmatic texts from before the Graeco-Roman Period, and some of the longest of the corpus, show no certain example of acrophony. The most common source of the enigmatic sign values which these treatises exhibit is substitution: signs of similar appearance substitute; *pars pro toto* substitutions, and the reverse, abound; signs of a particular category, such as birds, interchange; hieratic confusions are exploited.⁹ Writings based on a recognition of phonetic shifts and changes in pronunciation also occur. Uniliteral signs predominate in these texts, as do alphabetic spellings of words.¹⁰ Although these texts differ orthographically from the other enigmatic texts of the period (see chapter 2), the absence of any true acrophony speaks against the existence of this principle in earlier cryptography. The consonantal principle is employed, but substitution is the backbone of early Egyptian cryptography. The origins of certain common values remain obscure, such as the mouth for *p* and the grasshopper for *r*; for these values acrophony is,

⁹Substitution of signs continued to be a central element of cryptography, and became increasingly common in texts written in *Normalschrift*; and is found in normal Kushite hieroglyphic texts as well—see F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* (London: Griffith Institute, 1949) vol. 1, p. 52 n. 1, p. 60 n. 98, and p. 61 n. 111; D. Meeks, “Une fondation memphite de Taharqa (stèle du Caire JE 36861),” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron: 1927-1976 1 Égypte pharaonique* (BdÉ 81/1; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1979) pp. 221-59 (particularly pp. 233-4, text note 5).

¹⁰Individual words all have separate orthographies; that is to say, no cryptographic sign appears to write parts of two or more words (compare the *w3s*-sign writing -wy and sw, in S. Sauneron, “Remarques de philologie et d’étymologie (§§26-35) *BIFAO* 62 [1964] 19).

however, not necessarily the last possible explanation. The mouth for *p* may represent a term for open mouth, based on the same root as *wpl*, “to open,” or have originated through onomatopoeia through the plosive sound which the lips make when spitting. The origin of the use of the grasshopper for *r* is as yet inexplicable.

On the basis of the cryptographic principles and derivations present in the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, one may say that the most extensive examples of New Kingdom cryptography preserve evidence for the functioning of the cryptographic principles that Fairman recognized in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts. Were one to accept Drioton’s acrophonic principle as a feature of later Egyptian cryptography, it would be necessary to see that principle as a late development, for it can find no pedigree in the longest examples of New Kingdom cryptography.

These texts provide previously unrecognized orthographic evidence. The writing of *shr* as , *shy*, in the Corridor G treatise of Ramesses VI supports the interpretation of a similarly written word *shy* at Medinet Habu as *shr*. A writing of *ltn* in the lower left section on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun, along with other thus far neglected evidence from religious texts, including an enigmatic annotation to a now destroyed scene in the tomb of Ramesses III, provides yet further support for the reconstruction of the pronunciation of *ltn* as *iati*, with the weakening and loss of the final *n*. An orthography of the word *nh3-hr* on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX makes purposeful, cryptographic use of an hieratic sign confusion attested in several documents from that king’s reign.

Grammatically the enigmatic annotations of the three treatises are unremarkable from the standpoint of Middle Egyptian. A brief and somewhat selective inventory of the grammatical forms present in the compositions examined above may be appropriate, in order to demonstrate their Middle Egyptian character. The following overview does

not consider texts in *Normalschrift* accompanying the treatises, as these often mention the name of the ruler for whom the composition was copied, and thus may not themselves belong to texts copied from an original version. The Book of the Dead passages are also not considered here, as they may have been taken from a contemporary recension of the Book of the Dead.

The enigmatic texts of the three surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity essentially consist of a series of annotations beginning with the introductory formula, *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* and variants.¹¹ The introductory formula, a label to the scene it accompanies, is at times followed by a prepositional phrase further qualifying the *m shr pn* portion of the introduction;¹² in some instances this is the only adjunct following the introductory formula:

pl. 5, figure B:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

m qr(r).wt=sn imy.wt Hry(t)

wnn h3.t (?)=sn m kkw

¹¹*nn n ntr.w/ntry.t m shr pn*: Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5, figure B; pl. 5, figure C; pl. 7, figure A; pl. 7, figure B; pl. 8; pl. 9, figure A; pl. 9, figure B; pl. 10, figure A; pl. 10, figure B; pl. 11; pl. 12; pl. 13, figure A; pl. 13, figure B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 1; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 2-3; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 12-16; pl. 23, ll. 60-64; pl. 24, l. 1; pl. 25, ll. 45-47; *nn m shr pn*: Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4, figure B; *imy.w shr pn*: Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 14; *nti pn m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure A; pl. 19, figure B; pl. 19, figure C; pl. 20, figure A; pl. 20, figure B; pl. 20, figure C; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 1; *ir nti pn m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, ll. 2-3; *wnn nn n ntr.w m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 28-29; pl. 27; *wnn.hr nn n ntr.w*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 20-21; *wnn=f nti pn m shr pn*: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 1; *wnn=sn m shr pn*: Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33; pl. 35, figure A, l. 1.

¹²Other examples are Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5, figure B; pl. 5, figure C; pl. 7, figure A; pl. 8; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure A; pl. 19, figure B; pl. 20, figure B; pl. 21, l. 2; pl. 21, ll. 20-21; pl. 24, ll. 1-2; pl. 25, figure A, l. 47; Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX: pl. 34, figure A, ll. 1-4.

These gods in this fashion
 in their caverns which are in the Upper Region:
 It is in the darkness that their corpses exist.¹³

Assuming that nothing is missing from this annotation, the introductory formula and the two following prepositional phrases are best analyzed as a circumstantial clause, a label to the accompanying scene. The other forms which appear as the single adjunct to the introductory formula are Noun + Old Perfective,¹⁴ circumstantial *sdm=f*,¹⁵ and *sn sdm=sn*.¹⁶

The annotation beginning with *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* is, however, at times followed by several adverbial forms:

¹³So also Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5, figure C; pl. 8; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 20-21; pl. 24, ll. 1-2; pl. 25, figure A, l. 47; Enigmatic Wall of Ramesses IX: pl. 34, figure A, ll. 1-4. In the Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling, there appears the variant *nn n ntry.t m hḏw.t itn.w ỉry.w=sn*, "these goddesses are in the light of the disks which appertain to them." In that variant form of the introductory formula, *m shr pn* and a following prepositional phrase have collapsed, the prepositional phrase eclipsing *m shr pn*. On the second shrine of Tutankhamun, a prepositional phrase detailing the location of the deities follows the introductory formula on the first side of the shrine only.

¹⁴Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 9, figure A; pl. 10, figure B; pl. 11; pl. 13, figure B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 22, figure C, ll. 2-5; for the N + Old Perfective as circumstantial when not preceded by *ỉw*, see E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System in Old and Middle Egyptian* (*Cahiers d'Orientalisme* 12; Geneva: Patrick Kramer, 1986) p. 36.

¹⁵Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 60-67.

¹⁶Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 27; for this form, see W. Barta, "Das Personalpronomen der *wj*-Reihe als Proklitikon im adverbialen Nominalsatz," in *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 94-104.

pl. 7, figure A:

nn n ntry.t m shr pn

m db3.wt=sn

sn m33=sn hd.wt itn=f

b3.w=sn pp=sn htw=f

h3.w<t=sn mn m s.t=sn>

These goddesses are in this fashion

in their sarcophagi,

they beholding the light of his disk,

Their *ba*'s enter after him,

<their> corp<s>es <remaining in their places.>¹⁷

The elements of these multiple adverbial adjuncts are prepositional phrases,¹⁸ *m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f*,¹⁹ circumstantial *sdm=f*s,²⁰ Nouns + prepositional phrases.²¹ The *sw*

¹⁷For a similar string of adverbial adjuncts following an introductory formula (*wnn=sn m shr pn*), see A. Piankoff, "Le livre des Quererets, sixième division," *BIFAO* 43 (1945) pl. 135, l. 2 (4 circumstantial clauses preceded by *iwty*).

¹⁸Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: Pl. 7, figure A; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure B; pl. 20, figure B; pl. 21, l. 2.

¹⁹Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure B; pl. 20, figure B. The verb in these two examples is *dwi*; the statement that the form is nominal is based on occurrences of *m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f* elsewhere in the three treatises: Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 8 (*ht pp nti pn '3*); pl. 23, ll. 55-56 (*ir m-ht pp=f*); pl. 24, l. 23 (*m-ht pp nti pn '3*); pl. 24, ll. 25-26 (*ir m-ht pp=f*); pl. 24, ll. 35-36 (*m-ht pp nti pn '3*); pl. 25, figure A, ll. 38-39 (*ir m-ht pp=f*); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34, figure A, ll. 17-19 (*ir m-ht pp nti pn*); and *m-ht is* + prospective nominal *sdm=f* on pl. 33 (Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall).

²⁰Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: Pl. 4, figure B; pl. 7, figure B (twice); pl. 13, figure A (twice); Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure B; pl. 20, figure B; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 12-27 (twice); pl. 23, ll. 28-34.

²¹Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: Pl. 14; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 22, figure C, l. 12 - pl. 23, l. 27; pl. 30, l. 1 (twice); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 1.

sdm=f form which Barta has described,²² occurs several times as an adjunct following the introductory formula *nn n ntr.w m shr pn*:

pl. 13, figure A:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

hh=sn hr sst3.w 3(.w)

sn m33=s(n) nswt-bity nb-t3.wy Nb-hprw-R 3 di 3nh mi R 3 d.t

These gods are in this fashion,

they seeking the great mysteries,

and they seeing the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkheperure,

given life like Re forever.²³

As in the example from pl. 13, figure A, a number of sections consist of the introductory formula and a series of adverbial adjuncts, with no following initial form:

²²Barta, ZÄS 112 (1985) 94-104.

²³Also Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 7, figure A; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 2-3; pl. 21, l. 47 (partially destroyed); pl. 22, ll. 30-32; pl. 27; pl. 23, ll. 28-34. Phrases beginning with the *sw sdm=f* form occur also as the emphasized adjunct of a nominal verb form:

pl. 7, figure B:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

šp=sn m3.wt 3h.t=f

šp=f h3.wt Dw3.tyw

3pp=f

sn 3n=sn <h>.tw 3q b3.w

These gods are in this fashion:

They receiving the light of his *3h.t* -eye

when he illumines the bodies of the Datians.

When he passes (nom.),

they turn back <af>ter the bas enter.

Also pl. 9, figure A (in the form *sn r=sn 3p=sn*); pl. 10, figure A (in the form *sn r=sn 3p=sn*); pl. 12 (in the form *sn r=sn 3p=sn*), and dependent upon a nominal or other initial form, as in pl. 13, figure B (So also Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 44-45; pl. 25, figure A, ll. 37-38).

pl. 18, figure B; pl. 20, figure B:

nṯr pn m shr pn
m nm.t
ḥd=f m ḥmyt r3=f
m-ḥt ḏwī R ʿ r=f ḥm=s

This god is in this fashion
 in the *nm.t*,
 he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
 when Re calls out to him therein.

nn n ntryt m shr pn
ḥkn=sn ntyw m ʿp m ḥtm.t
b3w=s<n> ḥtw=f <m> snkyt

These goddesses are in this fashion,
 praising those who are traveling in the Place of Destruction,
 their *bas* being after him <in> darkness.

The introductory form at times has no adverbial adjunct, but stands alone. It may be followed directly by a nominal *sdm=f*:

pl. 20, figure C:

nṯi pn m shr pn
prṛ sd.t ḥmyt r3=f
m-ḥt ḏwī R ʿ r=f
ḥd=f m ḥmyt r3=f

This god is in this fashion:
 When Re calls out to him,
 there comes forth the flame which is in his mouth,
 he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth.²⁴

²⁴So also Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure C; pl. 21, ll. 20-27.

On the second shrine of Tutankhamun, two segments of the cryptography have *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* followed by a noun label, qualified by an active participle. In the first example, the label *hd.wt R^c* is followed by the participle *hbs.t*:

pl. 12:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

hd.wt R^c hbs.t h3.wt=sn

dwı=f b3.w=sn

sn (haplography) *r=sn* *p=sn m-htw*

These gods are in this fashion:

It is the light of Re, which clothes their corpses.

When he calls their *ba*'s,²⁵

they travel behind.

In the second example, the noun (*mhn.w=sn*) + active participle (*s3w*) is followed by another noun in apposition (*hrr.wt*), the whole forming an A, B Ø²⁶ sentence:

pl. 10, figure A:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

mhn.w=sn s3w h3.wt=sn hrr.wt nt itm/R^c-(ı)tm

dwı=f n b3.w=sn

sn r=sn p=sn

These gods are in this fashion:

Their Mehen snakes which guard their corpses are the Hereret snakes of
Atum/Re-Atum.

When he calls to their bas,
they approach.

²⁵On the verb *dwı* in the Netherworld Books see above, chapter 3, pp. 127-129.

²⁶M. Gilula, "An Unusual Nominal Pattern in Middle Egyptian," *JEA* 62 (1976) 170 n. 58.

The negative aorist *nj sdm.n=f*²⁷ appears only once in the corpus, immediately following the introductory formula on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun. The context there is uncertain, the introductory formula appearing in an uncommon manner:

Pl. 14:

imy.w šhr pn m-ḥnt ḥbs sn
n m33.n=w ḥd.wt=f
ntryt m s3

Those who are in this manner in the presence of the one who conceals them.
 They are unable to see his light,
 the goddesses being as protection.

Perhaps, as Myśliwiec suggested, the opening is but partially preserved.²⁸ The circumstantialized negative aorist *iwty sdm.n=f*,²⁹ not uncommon in the Amduat and the Book of Gates, though quite rare outside of those two Netherworld treatises, does not appear in this group of texts, nor is there an occurrence of circumstantial *njj sdm.n=f*. The form *m33.n=w* is an occurrence of the “*sdm.ny*-form,” described by Edel.³⁰ This

²⁷W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter* 8; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962) p. 172, n. 1.

²⁸K. Myśliwiec, “La renaissance solaire du mort,” *Bulletin du Centenaire (BIFAO 81 Supplement, 1981)* 98, proposed reading “[nn n ntr]w m šhr pn...”

²⁹Cf. E. Hornung, *Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* vol. 1 (Äg.Ab. 7; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963) p. 183, ll. 10-12, *et passim*; on the form see W. Barta, “Subjunktivische Konjunktionen als Einleitung von Umstandssätzen,” *GM* 90 (1986) 7-10. This is a use of *iwty* to introduce a circumstantial phrase, not *iwty* as the negative relative (E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* vol. 2 [*Analecta Orientalia* 34 and 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964] p. 522; H.J. Polotsky, “Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 [1976] §2.3.4).

³⁰E. Edel, “Die Herkunft des neuägyptisch-koptischen Personalsuffixes der 3. Person Plural-w,” *ZÄS* 84 (1959) 17-38.

single appearance of a form attested in the Middle Kingdom need not suggest the influence of the Late Egyptian third person plural suffix pronoun *-w* in this grammatical context.

The bare *nn n ntr.w* (and variants) introducing most of the statements in the enigmatic annotations are labels to the scene, with following circumstantial forms, all circumstantial to the scene which they accompany.³¹ This is the most reasonable explanation for annotations such as pl. 4, figure B (second shrine of Tutankhamun);³² pl. 19, figure B (Ramesses VI);³³ pl. 20, figure B (Ramesses VI);³⁴ pl. 22, figure C, ll.

³¹Cf. H.J. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 2/5; Jerusalem, 1965) §11 n. 6; E.F. Wente, review of W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak*, in *JNES* 30 (1974) 316-317; Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, p. 26.

³²*nn m shr pn*

šp tp

sn m-ḥ3=f

They are in this fashion,
the head lighting up,
they being around him (as protection).

³³*nt(ỉ) pn m shr pn*

m nm.t

ḥd=f m imyt r3=f m-ḥt dwỉ.R ʿ r=f

This god is like this,
in the *nm.t*,
he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
when Re calls out to him.

³⁴*nt pn m shr pn*

m nm.t

ḥd=f m imyt r3=f m-ḥt dwỉ R ʿ r=f im=s

So is this deity
in the *nm.t*,
he lighting up by means of that which is in his mouth
when Re calls out to him therein.

12-21 (Ramesses VI),³⁵ wherein the introductory *nn n ntr.w*, etc., is followed only by one or more adverbial adjuncts. In the other annotations, wherein an initial form follows the introductory formula directly, or after one or more intervening adverbial adjuncts, the initial form breaks with the label, and begins a separate, though related, narrative. These circumstantial *nn n ntr.w* statements with following initial forms may be seen to function in a manner similar to sentences with a protasis introduced by *ir*. Such sentences need not have anaphoric pronouns in the apodosis, which can stand alone from the protasis,³⁶ and an adjunct to the protasis may stand between the protasis and the apodosis.³⁷ In the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* of the Corridor G ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses VI, a form of the introductory formula beginning with *ir* occurs:

pl. 30, ll. 2-3:

ir nri pn m shr pn

stt=f ir nty-dwy

As for this god in this fashion:

It is against the one who is evil that he shoots.

³⁵*nn n ntryt m shr pn*

hkn=sn ntyw m p m htm.t

b3w=s<n> htw=f

These goddesses are in this fashion,
praising those who are traveling in the Place of Destruction,
their *bas* being after him.

³⁶F. Junge, *Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1978) p. 66.

³⁷For this exceptional form see *ibid.*, p. 67 for an example with “Attributsatz” between the protasis and apodosis.

This sentence shows well the “in der Regel grössen Selbständigkeit der ‘Apodosis’” in such sentences,³⁸ and supports the suggestion that in those annotations consisting of the introductory formula followed immediately by a nominal *sdm=f* or other initial form, the *nn n ntr.w* statement, a label to the scene, may also serve to introduce the subject of the annotation in extraposition, similar to a protasis introduced by *ir*.

A number of initial forms may follow the introductory *nn n ntr.w*, etc., at times in close succession:

pl. 8:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
m qrr.t im(y).t htmy.t
iw b3 R < dwi=f h3wt=f im
‘q=f m qrr(.)t tn
h3y tpy im
shd R < imyw=s m hrw=f
srq=sn m-ht dwi

These gods are in this fashion

in the cavern which is in the place of destruction:

The *b3* of Re summons his corpses therein,

when he enters into this cavern,

the light of the (human-)headed one therein.

It is by his voice that Re illumines those who are in it.

It is after being called that they breathe.

The enigmatic texts accompanying the left portion of the Ramesses VI Corridor G composition are the longest texts in the corpus examined here, and many of these

³⁸F. Junge, *Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1978) pp. 66-70; for the possible apodoses of such a sentence, see Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texten*, §§421-424.

annotations consist of series of emphatic verb forms and following adverbial adjuncts; one may compare pl. 21, ll. 27-34:

'pp wnw.wt
 $\text{'r/ 'p itn ht wnw.t}$
 mdw=sn m ht w R'
 h<3=sn m> hprw=f
 $\text{'pp itn htm.t-wsr.wt}$
 $\text{'q h3.wt m kkw<=sn>}$

When the hours pass,

a disk ascends/passes in the following of an hour.

When they speak in the following of Re,

they descend by means of his realization.

When the disk travels *Hetemet-Weserewt* ("She-Who-Destroys-Throats"),

the corpses enter into <their> darkness.

In the three surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity examined in the preceding chapters, the initial forms that occur after the introductory label *nn n ntr.w m shr pn* + possible adverbial adjunct are *iw* + Noun + *sdm=f*,³⁹ *iw=f sdm=f*,⁴⁰ *iw sdm=f*,⁴¹ Noun + *sdm=f*,⁴² *hr* + Noun + *sdm=f*,⁴³ nominal *sdm=f*,⁴⁴ *in* + Noun +

³⁹Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 8 (*iw b3 R' dwt=f*); pl. 11.

⁴⁰Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 3.

⁴¹Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 36, l. 5.

⁴²Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 7, figure A; pl. 13, figure B (twice: *b3 R' dwt=f* and *b3.w=s<n> 'p=sn*); Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, l. 4; pl. 21, ll. 15-17; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 5-7; pl. 24, ll. 2-4; pl. 24, ll. 20-23; pl. 24, l. 25; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33; pl. 35, figure A, l. 1; pl. 36, l. 3.

⁴³Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 10-15.

⁴⁴Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5, figure B; pl. 5, figure C (twice: *wnn* and <'>*pp*); pl. 7, figure B; pl. 8 (twice: *shd R'* and *srq=sn*); pl. 9, figure A; pl. 10, figure A;

sdmw=f,⁴⁵ *sdm.in=f*,⁴⁶ and infinitive + *in* + Noun.⁴⁷ *ir m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f* with an apodosis beginning with a *sdm.hr=f* form appears in the Ramesses Corridor G treatise,⁴⁸ and on the Ramesses IX enigmatic wall.⁴⁹ Also in the Ramesses VI treatise, two balanced *ir m-ht* + nominal *sdm=f* protases share an apodosis beginning with a *sdm.hr=f* form:

pl. 21, ll. 52-59:

ir m-ht dwti nti pn ʿ3 r=sn

ir m-ht ʿpp=f hr=sn

imn.hr=sn h3.wt

Now when this great god calls to them
and when he passes by them,
they hide the corpses.

The phrase *ir nti pn m shr pn* occurs as the protasis to a sentence with a nominal *sdm=f* introducing the apodosis in pl. 30, ll. 2-3 (discussed above, chapter 4, pp. 356-358). In

pl. 10, figure B; pl. 11; pl. 12; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure A; pl. 19, figure C; pl. 20, figure A (twice: *prr sd.t* and *d(w)i R ʿ*); pl. 20, figure C; pl. 21, ll. 21-22; pl. 21, l. 27; pl. 21, l. 31; pl. 21, ll. 32-33; pl. 21, ll. 39-40; pl. 21, ll. 44-45; pl. 23, ll. 35-38; pl. 23, ll. 67-70; pl. 24, l. 5; pl. 24, l. 10; pl. 24, l. 19; pl. 24, l. 32; pl. 24, ll. 34-35; pl. 30, l. 2; pl. 27 (three times: *prr imy.t r3.w*, *srq nti*, and *rh nti*); pl. 30, l. 5; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33 (three times: *sqdd nti pn*, *ʿpp=f*, and *nhp n=f imy.w-ʿ3.wt=sn*); pl. 35, figure A, l. 12; pl. 36, l. 1; pl. 36, ll. 3-4.

⁴⁵Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 4 (On *in* + noun + *sdmw=f* form, see now P. Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* [YES 4; New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1990] pp. 55-60).

⁴⁶Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34, figure A, ll. 22-24.

⁴⁷Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 36-38.

⁴⁸Pl. 24, ll. 13-26; pl. 25, figure A, ll. 38-40.

⁴⁹Pl. 35, figure A, ll. 17-22.

what little one may read of the badly damaged left-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild*, there is another example of *ir* + protasis, with nominal *sdm=f* beginning the apodosis:

pl. 30, left, l. 4:

ir ntr.w 7 n(i)ky.w

stt=s[n ...]

As for the seven (Apep) punishing deities,
th[ey] shoot [...]

In several annotations a nominal *sdm=f* follows the introductory formula + prepositional phrase, beginning a new section of the annotation. In pl. 7, figure B, a nominal *sdm=f* begins the second part of the annotation. In pl. 7, figure A, Noun + nominal *sdm=f* begins the second section.⁵⁰ This latter construction may appear on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, in pl. 13, figure B:

pl. 13, figure B:

nn n ntryt m shr pn

wnw.t=sn 'q.w m h3w.t=sn

b3 R ' dwt=f r=sn

sn m33=sn hdw.t itn=f

b3.w=s<n> 'p=sn m htw=f m hry

sn mnw m s.t=sn n b3/3h

These goddesses are in this fashion:

their hours having entered into their corpses.

The *ba* of Re calls to them,

and they see the light of his disk.

Their *ba*'s travel after him above,

they remaining in their place of the *ba/akh*.

⁵⁰The construction Noun + nominal *sdm=f*, specifically *b3.w* followed by *'pp=sn*, occurs several times in the Book of Gates (as in the lower register of the 6th Hour, Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, p. 398: *b3.w=sn 'pp=sn m-ht=f/htw=f*, "their *ba*'s enter after him").

The pl. 13, figure B example is composed of the introductory formula qualified by a Noun + Old Perfective adverbial adjunct, with the second section beginning immediately afterwards with an initial form (Noun + nominal *sdm=f*). The similarity of several other annotations on the shrine to the pl. 13, figure B annotation strongly suggests that they have second sections beginning with nominal *sdm=f* forms:

pl. 9, figure A:

nn n nt<r.w> m shr pn
hd.wt R^c 'q.w m h3.wt=sn
dwi=f b3.w=sn
sn r=sn 'p=sn htw b3.w

These g<ods> are in this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered their corpses.
 When he calls their *ba*'s,
 they set out after the (other?) *ba*'s.

pl. 10, figure B:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn
hd.wt R^c 'q.w m h3.wt=sn
hkn=sn
m33=sn b3=f
tf dwi=f r b3.w=sn
sn m htw i 'r.t
sšm=sn sw m š[t3yt]
 these gods are in this fashion,
 the light of Re having entered into their corpses.
 When they see his *Ba* they rejoice,
 he calling to their *ba*'s
 They are in the following of the uraeus,
 they conducting him in Sh[etayet].

pl. 11:

nn n ntr.w m s_{hr} pn

hd.wt R < q.w m h3.wt=sn

hkn=sn

m33=sn b3=f

st3=sn sw m <š>t3yt

<.wy=sn hr št3.w=sn sšm.w št3 im(yw) D3.t

iw b3 R < d(w)ī=f n=sn b3.w=sn sš

These gods are in this fashion,

the light of Re having entered into their corpses.

When they see (nom.) his *Ba*, they rejoice,

they pulling him in <She>tayet,

their arms bearing their mysteries, the secret images which are in the

Netherworld.

The *Ba* of Re calls to them, and their *ba*'s pass by.

The dependent clauses occurring in the three treatises are circumstantial

*sdm=f*s,⁵¹ *sdm.hr=f*,⁵² passive *sdm=f*,⁵³ Noun + prepositional phrase,⁵⁴ pronoun +

⁵¹Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4, figure B; pl. 5, figure C; pl. 7, figure B (twice); pl. 8; pl. 10, figure B; pl. 11; pl. 13, figure A; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure A; pl. 19, figure B; pl. 19, figure C; pl. 21, ll. 4-7; pl. 21, l. 9; pl. 21, l. 10; pl. 21, ll. 18-20; pl. 21, l. 22; pl. 21, ll. 28-30; pl. 21, ll. 31-32; pl. 21, ll. 33-35; pl. 21, ll. 40-42; pl. 21, ll. 43-44; pl. 21, ll. 46-47; pl. 21, l. 50; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 7-8; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 9-11; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 17-19; pl. 23, ll. 33-34; pl. 23, ll. 64-67; pl. 23, ll. 71-72; pl. 20, figure A (twice); pl. 20, figure B (twice); pl. 20, figure C; pl. 24, ll. 6-9; pl. 24, ll. 11-12 (twice); pl. 24, ll. 19-20; pl. 24, l. 24; pl. 24, ll. 28-29; pl. 24, ll. 30-32; pl. 24, ll. 32-33; pl. 25, figure A, ll. 41-42; pl. 27 (twice); pl. 28 (twice); pl. 30, l. 4; pl. 30, l. 5; pl. 30, l. 6 (twice); Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33 (three times); pl. 34, figure A, l. 12.

⁵²Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 23, ll. 57-59; pl. 24, l. 9; pl. 24, ll. 15-16; pl. 24, ll. 26-27; pl. 25, figure A, ll. 39-40; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 24, figure A, l. 17.

⁵³Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 5.

⁵⁴Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 11; pl. 14; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 42-43; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 20-22; pl. 24, l. 30; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 38, figure A, l. 1 (twice).

prepositional phrase,⁵⁵ Noun + Old Perfective,⁵⁶ pronoun + Old Perfective,⁵⁷ bare Old Perfective,⁵⁸ *sn* (*r=sn*) *sdm=sn*,⁵⁹ *tf sdm=f*,⁶⁰ (*m-*)*ht* + nominal *sdm=f*,⁶¹ *m-ht* *is* + prospective nominal *sdm=f*,⁶² prospective nominal *sdm=f*,⁶³ *m-ht* + infinitive,⁶⁴ *hr* + infinitive,⁶⁵ *r* + infinitive,⁶⁶ *sn n=sn* + Noun.⁶⁷

⁵⁵Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 4, figure B; pl. 10, figure B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 1.

⁵⁶Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 5, figure C; pl. 7, figure A; pl. 11; pl. 13, figure B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 48-49; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 4-5; pl. 23, ll. 41-43; pl. 27; pl. 30, l. 1; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34, figure A, l. 12.

⁵⁷Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 13, figure B.

⁵⁸Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 22, figure C-pl. 23, ll. 26-27; Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33; pl. 34, figure A, l. 9.

⁵⁹Second Shrine of Tutankhamun: pl. 7, figure A; pl. 7, figure B; pl. 9, figure A; pl. 10, figure A; pl. 12; pl. 13, figure A; pl. 13, figure B; Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 2-3; pl. 21, l. 47 (partially destroyed); pl. 23, ll. 30-32; pl. 23, ll. 44-45.

⁶⁰On the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun only, pl. 10, figure B.

⁶¹Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 19, figure A; pl. 19, figure B; pl. 19, figure B; pl. 19, figure C; pl. 21, l. 8; pl. 23, ll. 45-48; pl. 20, figure C; pl. 24, ll. 23-24; pl. 24, l. 35-pl. 25, figure A, l. 37.

⁶²Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 33.

⁶³Ramesses IX Enigmatic Wall: pl. 34, figure A, l. 8.

⁶⁴Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 30, l. 2.

⁶⁵Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 21, ll. 26-27; pl. 22, figure C, ll. 9-11; pl. 23, ll. 39-41.

⁶⁶Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 27; pl. 30, l. 3; pl. 30, l. 4.

⁶⁷Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling: pl. 24, ll. 12-13.

A probable *Wechselsatz* occurs in the right-hand annotation to the Corridor G *Schutzbild*.⁶⁸ The imperfective relative form appears as *‘pp.t nṯi pn ʿ3* in pl. 21, ll. 23-25 (Ramesses VI Corridor G Ceiling).

Infinitives and circumstantial *sdm=f* forms occur as free-standing labels in each of the three treatises examined here. So on the second shrine of Tutankhamun:

pl. 5, figure A:

- 1) *‘q pr.t <m> ṯmn.t*, “Entering and Exiting the Netherworld”
- 2) *‘q ṯmn.t*, “Entering the Netherworld”
- 2A) *‘q Ṣw*, “Shu entering”
- 2B) *iw Ṣw*, “Shu coming”
- 3A and B) “Shu coming”
- 4A and B) *Ṣw*, “Shu,” but without motion, perhaps to be read *<ḥ <> Ṣw*, “Shu <standing still>”
- 5 A and B) *iw ḥprw Ṣw*, “the manifestation of Shu coming”
- 6A and B; and 7A and B) *iw ṯtn Ṣw*, “the disk of Shu coming.”

pl. 6, figure A:

dw3 wnwn R‘pw wnwn

“Adoration of the circling one--the circling one is Re.”

A very abbreviated annotation occurs on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, and may consist of the introductory formula and a one-member nominal sentence:

pl. 9, figure B

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

tp.w=sn

These gods are in this fashion;
and their heads/it is their heads.

⁶⁸Pl. 30, l. 6.

Two one-member nominal sentences follow the introductory formula *wnn=sn m shr pn* in the tomb of Ramesses IX:

pl. 33:

wnn=sn m shr pn

nh3-hr.w sm3w.n R^c

ir=f h^cw hr nm.t =sn nt š^c

imn št3w dw3y h^c.w im=f

In this fashion do they exist:

the Nehaher snakes which Re slaughtered,

he making a pause at their slaughtering pit of sand;

'he who hides the mystery, who praises the members

which are in it (the *št3w*).'

These two one-member nominal sentences are labels to two of the main features of the scene over which that annotation is placed--the serpents and the figures atop the mounds of sand.

Labels composed of Noun + Participle also occur, on the second side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun:

pl. 12:

nn n ntr.w m shr pn

hd.wt R^c hbs(.t) h3.wt=sn

dwī=f b3.w=sn (sn haplography) r=sn-^cp=sn m-htw

These gods are in this fashion:

it is the light of Re, which clothes their corpses.

When he calls their bas, they travel behind.

and in the right-hand annotation to the *Schutzbild* in the tomb of Ramesses VI:

pl. 30, l. 5:

nī pn ir b3y.w(t)

this god, who has made the burial pits.

In the tomb of Ramesses VI such statements also occur as free-standing labels:

pl. 22, figure A

Hprî 'q m-ḥnt d3.t

Khepri, who enters within the Netherworld

sb3 'q pr (m) d3.t

The (solar) star, who enters and who goes out (from) the Netherworld

sb3 phr d3.t

The (solar) star, who goes around/enchants the Netherworld

R 'q pr (m) d3.t

Re, who enters and goes forth (from) the Netherworld

Nsw.t-bity nb-t3.wy Nb-m3 't-R '—Mry-ḥmn 'q m ḥmy.w ḥtmy.t

ḥ3=f d3.t

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands,
Nebmaatre-Meryamun, who enters amongst those who are in the Place
of Destruction,
he uncovering the Netherworld.

Noun + relative form occurs as a label to the scene in the right-hand annotation accompanying the *Schutzbild* in Corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI:

pl. 30, l. 2

sn.ty wd nṯ pn r 'wy=f(y)

r ḥd ḥrw.w ḥmy.w

It is the Two Sisters whom this god determines to be his two arms,
in order that the forms of those who are there (the dead) may shine.

Noun + relative form also appears in the tomb of Ramesses IX, within an annotation beginning with *wnn=sn m šhr pn*:

pl. 35, figure A, ll. 8-11:

hpr.w 33.w ir=sn n=f

mtnw m hpr.w=sn

it is the numerous *hprw*-manifestations which they assume for him,
they being endowed with their *hprw*-manifestations

An A *pw* B nominal sentence occurs once, on the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun:⁶⁹

pl. 6, figure A, lower annotation:

R'pw wwnw

the circling one is Re

Date of the Treatises:

The dates which one should assign to the various compositions belonging to the Netherworld Books associated with royal burials remain uncertain. The Amduat appears on blocks from the tomb of Thutmosis I, and the Litany of Re first occurs on the shroud of Thutmosis III. These two compositions may be considered the oldest of the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom royal tombs.⁷⁰ The Book of Gates is found first in the tomb of Horemheb, while the Book of Caverns, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the Nut Book, and the Book of the Day and the Night all appear first in the tombs of the Ramesside rulers. Altenmüller has suggested that the Amduat is a Middle Kingdom composition, a cosmography based on a Heliopolitan tradition.⁷¹

⁶⁹In his study of the grammar of the Netherworld Books, A. Baumann has concluded that in all but one example, the A B nominal sentence pattern has the Subject-Predicate order in the Netherworld Books; according to Mr. Baumann, the A *pw* B pattern appears in his corpus only in the Amduat.

⁷⁰So A. Piankoff, "Les grandes compositions religieuses du Nouvel Empire et la réform d'Amarna," *BIFAO* 62 (1964) 207.

⁷¹H. Altenmüller, "Zur Überlieferung der Amduat," *JEOL* 20 (1967-1968) 27-42.

Wente has observed that "certain passages in Amduat ... suggest that Amduat had a broader usage than the New Kingdom royal tomb, and the offering formulas in the Book of Gates ... imply non-royal-participation;" he suggests that some of the royal Netherworld Books may date from the Middle Kingdom or First Intermediate Period.⁷² Assmann recognizes a pre-New Kingdom tradition as the basis of the Amduat, but sees reflections of Eighteenth Dynasty and Nineteenth Dynasty theological trends in the Book of Caverns, the Book of Gates, and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk.⁷³ Hornung would date the Amduat to the Second Intermediate Period, the Book of Gates to the time of Amenhotep III;⁷⁴ he would date the Book of Caverns to the early Nineteenth Dynasty.⁷⁵ Schott has dated the Amduat to the early New Kingdom, essentially the time when it first appears on blocks from the tomb of Thutmosis I.⁷⁶ Grapow suggested that the Amduat was composed of several elements of differing

⁷²E.F. Wente, review of H.A. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*, in *JNES* 42 (1983) 156.

⁷³J. Assmann, *Re und Amun, die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (OBO 51; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983) pp. 13-14.

⁷⁴E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1972) pp. 17-18 and 21; see also M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, "Pfortenbuch," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980) cols. 1015-1016.

⁷⁵E. Hornung, "Höhlenbuch," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977) col. 1230.

⁷⁶S. Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I philologisch-historische Klasse* 1958 No. 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958).

dates; he took the 4th and 5th Hours of the Amduat to be the oldest portions of the composition.⁷⁷

The origins of the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity remain obscure. They have affinities with the other, better known Netherworld treatises, and already the version on the second shrine of Tutankhamun appears to draw on imagery, divine names, and texts appearing in the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, although copies of these treatises are known only from later royal tombs. The parallels to those so-called later Netherworld Books on the Tutankhamun shrine suggest that the view of the Book of Caverns, the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, and the Book of the Day and the Night, as later compositions, products of the Ramesside Period, may be incorrect. It is also possible that the similarities between those compositions and the Tutankhamun shrine treatise derive from common ancestors. As Hornung has indicated, precise dates for these compositions will remain elusive until detailed examinations of the grammar(s) and contents of these texts appear.⁷⁸ Given the prevailing uncertainty regarding the dates of the better attested Netherworld Books, it is difficult to be precise regarding the date of the original template for the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. One may, however, make a few observations of a relative nature.

Grammatically, the enigmatic texts accompanying the various recensions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity are in Middle Egyptian.⁷⁹ Grammatically there is no

⁷⁷H. Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," ZÄS 72 (1936) 34-35.

⁷⁸Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 17. Even when such studies appear, the archaizing tendencies of the texts may defeat attempts at firm dating.

⁷⁹A number of the texts in *Normalschrift* refer to the ruler for whom the particular version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was made, and may thus be

clear indication of Late Egyptian or Ramesside monumental grammar or vocabulary. The vocabulary of the enigmatic annotations in the three compositions is consistent with that of the other Netherworld Books; for example, along with *m-ht*, the form *htw*, “after,” which the *Wörterbuch* (*Wb.* III 344, 8) characterizes as “Königsgr., D. 19,” occurs on the Tutankhamun shrine,⁸⁰ and on the Ramesses VI Corridor G ceiling.⁸¹

The treatise on the second shrine of Tutankhamun shows that the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity is at least as old as the later Amarna Period,⁸² and the paucity of Late Egyptian intrusions allows for an earlier date for the original template on which the three surviving New Kingdom versions of the book are based. Based on considerations of grammar, vocabulary, and theology, there is no reason why the enigmatic annotations accompanying the various versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity should not go back even to a Middle Kingdom original.

Although the allusions and parallels to the Litany of Re and the Amduat are not unexpected in texts first appearing during the reign of Tutankhamun, textual and

contemporary with the surviving copies of the book (although as Prof. Johnson has pointed out, these name could also be insertions into “blanks” provided for them in the original template, a practice well attested for the Book of the Dead). The graffito accompanying the penultimate scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX (pl. 38, figure B) is likely to be a composition contemporary with the tomb. The horizontal band of text running above the enigmatic wall (pl. 40) is also most likely a contemporary text, and in its expression of the four-fold nature of the deity, recalls the hymn to Osiris in the contemporary tomb of Imiseba (pl. 39).

⁸⁰Pl. 7, figure A; pl. 7, figure B (partially written as <h>tw); pl. 9, figure A; pl. 10, figure B (*m-htw*); pl. 12 (*m-htw*); pl. 13, figure B (*m-htw*).

⁸¹Pl. 20, figure A (*m-htw*); pl. 21, l. 42 (*m-htw*); pl. 22, figure C, ll. 7 and 21.

⁸²On the second shrine of Tutankhamun, the ruler’s name may have replaced an earlier name, a feature that might date the carving of the Tutankhamun version of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity rather earlier in the Amarna period (see the discussion in chapter 3, n. 574).

iconographic parallels to the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk are perhaps more significant. References to the “later” Netherworld Books indicate that those Netherworld Books--or their precursors--are themselves at least as old as the Amarna Period. According to Barguet,⁸³ the funnel-shaped area in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in which the large figure of an ejaculating figure stands is a likeness of a cutaway view of a clepsydra. There, divine seed instead of water fills the netherworldly clock, ensuring through the passage of the night hours the coming rebirth of the rejuvenated sun. The clepsydra appears in Egypt at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and may have entered Egypt as one of the many innovations of the Hyksos Period.⁸⁴ The enigmatic composition on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, and the related cryptographic texts from the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, appear to allude to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. This connection might then show that the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk originated before the close of the Amarna Period. If Barguet is correct that a clepsydra figures in a scene from that composition, and if that scene with the clepsydra is an original element of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, then the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk was composed at some point between about the middle of the Second Intermediate Period and the end of the reign of Akhenaton. Allusions to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk within the surviving versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity could place the original template for the enigmatic Netherworld Book within the same period

⁸³P. Barguet, “Remarques sur quelques scènes de la salle du sarcophage de Ramsès VI,” *RdE* 30 (1978) 51-6.

⁸⁴See D. Devauchelle, “Wasseruhr,” in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986) cols. 1156-1157.

of time, but subsequent to the original composition of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The prominence of cryptography suggests a time in the latter half of this period.⁸⁵

Independent of their relationship to the other royal Netherworld Books, there are a few internal indications that suggest a time for the composition of the original template for the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. The Tutankhamun and Ramesses IX versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity have Book of the Dead excerpts as integral parts of the composition (even the Ramesses IX graffito contains a quotation from the Book of the Dead). The closest parallels to the three treatises examined here are mythological papyri of the Twenty-First Dynasty, on which there are also mixtures of Netherworld Book and Book of the Dead excerpts. If the template upon which the Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX treatises are based itself contained Book of the Dead quotations, then the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity must not be dated earlier than the first recension of the Book of the Dead. The Book of the Dead appears to have originated in the period of transition between the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, and the move of the seat of power from Itj-Tawy to Thebes.⁸⁶

The enigmatic annotations and scenes find parallels in other Netherworld Books, and may perhaps themselves be taken from a composition or compositions of far earlier date. The grammar of the enigmatic annotations is Middle Egyptian. During the New Kingdom, cryptography appears to have attained its height of popularity during the reign

⁸⁵One must recognize, however, that the apparent citations of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity may indicate no more than that the two compositions share a common ancestor.

⁸⁶See R.B. Parkinson and S. Quirke, "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer and the Early History of the *Book of the Dead*," in A.B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1992) pp. 47-48.

of Amenhotep III.⁸⁷ One might perhaps connect the solar emphasis on the second shrine of Tutankhamun not merely with Atonist influence, but with growing Heliopolitan influence on the Theban pantheon beginning already during the reign of Hatshepsut.⁸⁸ All of these considerations indicate that the original template of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was put together sometime between the beginning of the Seventeenth Dynasty and the end of the Amarna Period, the prominence of cryptography suggesting more precisely a date during the reign of Amenhotep III. The texts and annotations--including those in cryptography--are in Middle Egyptian, with a lack of Late Egyptianisms, a fact that would support an Eighteenth Dynasty or even Middle Kingdom date for the originals of those texts. One may thus propose that the original of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity was a Theban combination of excerpts from earlier Netherworld treatises and the contemporary Book of the Dead. The original template could be as early as the middle Seventeenth Dynasty, and the solar emphasis is consistent with an early to middle Eighteenth Dynasty date. The prominence of cryptography suggests that the composition attained its final form during the reign of Amenhotep III. Parkinson and Quirke have suggested that "the move to Thebes might provide a reason for a new redaction of funerary literature above all for the king and his court."⁸⁹ The Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity may also ultimately be a product of the

⁸⁷See the remarks of E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (*Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz* 1; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1976) pp. 173-80.

⁸⁸K. Myśliwiec, "Amon, Atum and Aton: the Evolution of Heliopolitan Influences in Thebes," in *L'égyptologie en 1979, axes prioritaires de recherches* (*Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* No. 595; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982) vol. 2, pp. 283-289.

⁸⁹Parkinson and Quirke, in Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, p. 48.

late Second Intermediate Period, reaching its final, cryptographic form during the reign of Amenhotep III.⁹⁰

Purpose of the Treatises

These texts contain no overt statements as to their use or the reason for their enigmatic orthography. Based on the tortuous acrophonic paths with which he worked, Drioton believed that an Egyptian religious text written in cryptography “était cryptographique au sens le plus fort du terme.”⁹¹ He suggested that religious cryptography sought to hide the text from profane minds, whereas “normal” or secular cryptography was enigmatic--that is, it sought to entice the passer-by to spend time reading the text. The fact that some cryptic texts in the royal tombs are accompanied by “Klarschrift” transcriptions suggests caution. Thematic cryptography abounds in the private tomb texts at Dra Abu-en-Naga, but is virtually absent in many religious texts written in cryptography, including the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Many of the more elusive and tantalizing readings, with numerous secondary interpretations and implications, are private texts. The cryptic texts at Dra Abu-en-Naga are also commonly written in the exterior areas of the tomb, suggesting that they were intended to be pondered by passers by. The locations of the Dra Abu-en-Naga enigmatic texts in

⁹⁰The cryptographic portions of the treatise may also owe something to developments during the Second Intermediate Period, to judge from the precursor of cryptography of a Dra Abu-n-Naga sort on the statue of a vizier from the Thirteenth Dynasty--see H. Ranke, “Ein Wesir der 13. Dynastie,” in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien* (MIFAO 66; Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1935-1938) p. 362 (l. 1 of the inscription). For the Second Intermediate Period as the time when many aspects of New Kingdom culture developed, note the comments of E. Otto, “Bedeutungsnuancen der Verben *mrj* ‘lieben’ und *msdj* ‘hassen’,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969) 100.

⁹¹É. Drioton, “La cryptographie de la chapelle de Toutânkhamoun,” *JEA* 35 (1949) 122.

easily accessible areas support J. Baines' assertion that the purpose of Egyptian cryptography was "mostly to add meaning to short texts or interest to stereotyped formulae."⁹²

Religious cryptography appears to have been more restrained than private and royal monumental cryptography, not what one might expect were ancient Egyptian religious cryptography a secretive priestly writing system. The writing system itself does not impart esoteric knowledge in the three known versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.⁹³ Rather than being a means to conceal a text, religious cryptography may rather have served to test the reader's knowledge of parallel texts and religious concepts, by means of which he could hope to make his way through the difficult orthographies. The Egyptians may have intended religious cryptography to be a means of testing a reader's knowledge of the intricacies of the Netherworld.

The texts of private Eighteenth Dynasty cryptography were not of a special nature, and Drioton characterized most of them as banal. Few texts are genuinely banal, however, and anyone who has searched for an exact parallel to the seemingly

⁹²J. Baines, "Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society," *Man* 18 (1983) 572-599.

⁹³The view of hieroglyphs expressed in the work of Horapollon (F. Sbordone, ed., *Hori Apollonis hieroglyphica* [Naples: Topografia Raffaele Contessa et Fratelli, 1940]) is found already in the demotic Myth of the Solar Eye (M. Smith, "Sonnenauge, Demotischer Mythos vom," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 5 [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984] cols. 1082-87). Although not all early cryptography made the most of its thematic potential, cryptography did ultimately influence religious imagery. By the Graeco-Roman period, certain cryptic values had become so commonplace that they were used for imagery in non-cryptographic religious texts. In a demotic mortuary text, a mention of the "hair" of the god Shu refers to the solar disk atop the head of the deceased, through a pun on the use of the hair sign for *hry-tp*, "that which is upon the head"--the "hair" of Shu is the object atop the head of Shu, that object being the solar disk (see M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* [Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3; London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1987] pp. 121-2).

stereotyped pronouncements of monumental ritual scenes would acknowledge that there is considerable variation in “banal” texts. Drioton is correct, however, in his observation that the texts by nature of their content would neither defy comprehension nor call for a cloaking, secret script. Drioton suggested that the cryptography was rather meant to provide interest to standardized texts apt to be ignored by indifferent visitors, enticing a reader with a challenging but not impossible decipherment.⁹⁴ As Hornung notes, Goodwin in 1873 already suggested that cryptography was meant to heighten the interest of a text rather than hide its content.⁹⁵ Of the Coptic texts from the monastery of Phoibamon, near the Darb el-Baiyrat in the southern area of western Thebes, Till noted:⁹⁶

Among the inscriptions there are some in cryptographic writing according to the usual system. These cryptograms were not written in order to conceal anything, but, apparently, only as an exercise in cryptographic writing.

This accords with Iversen’s conclusion that the enigmatic hieroglyphic texts were not meant to conceal information.⁹⁷

⁹⁴É. Drioton, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIII^e Dynastie,” *RdE* 1 (1933) 49-50; *idem*, “Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire,” *RdE* 1 (1933) 228-9.

⁹⁵Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, p. 145; C.W. Goodwin, “On the Enigmatic Writing on the Coffin of Seti I,” *ZÄS* 11 (1873) 139.

⁹⁶W. Till, in R. Reemondson, *et al.*, *Le monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébàide II graffiti, inscriptions et ostraca* (Cairo: Société d’Archéologie Copte, 1965) p. 23.

⁹⁷E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad Publishers, 1961) pp. 36-7.

It is possible that the inscriptions may in some cases have served special magical purposes, but above all it was probably quite simply considered a learned accomplishment to be able to invent new writings, and much erudition and profound mythological knowledge were undoubtedly displayed in the subtle and speculative choice of the enigmatic signs and symbols.

These remarks are appropriate to monumental cryptography, and to private enigmatic texts, texts not concealed but actually meant to be seen and read; the enigmatic religious texts of the royal tombs are perhaps another matter. It is unlikely that their cryptography was necessary to protect them from profane perusal, for their locations suggest that few “commoners” should ever have seen them. The nature of cryptography, as it is based on certain understandable principles, might slow down a reader, but could not guarantee complete incomprehension except on the part of poor readers.

One cryptic text which one might at first understand as remarking on the secretive nature of religious cryptography is a section of the Book of the Day and of the Night. Following a description of the nature and cosmography of the souls of the east there occurs the statement:⁹⁸

iw=i rh.kwī sn m mdw-ntr

ts.w fdw pw n rh^a

n ‘q=k m-hnw=s<n>^b

imī=k dd r sdm rhy.t nb.t

I know them in hieroglyphs;

they are four statements of knowledge,

within which you have entered (i.e., to which you are initiated);


do not speak (this) so that just anyone can hear !

⁹⁸Drioton, in A. Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit* (BdE 13; Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1942) p. 86.

^a Following *pw*, Drioton read *sšt3*, taking the first bird as *s*, the second as *š*, a value he derived acrophonically from *šd*, “celui qui capture.”⁹⁹ He takes the horizontal line at the top of the vertical column continuing this text as the *t3* of *sšt3*. The value *š* for the sign Drioton copies as the sign of the bird-eating-a-fish is otherwise unattested, and the derivation of *š* for that sign through a description of that sign as *šd* is unlikely.¹⁰⁰ As the sign in question is actually that of a bird holding the top of a *h3*-plant in its beak, these desperate derivations are unnecessary. The separate position of the horizontal sign which Drioton reads as *t3* suggests that it does not belong to the same word or words as the preceding signs. Reading the horizontal sign as *n* in *n q=k m-hnw=s*, there remain but two signs to be explained following *pw*.

The second sign following *pw* is not, as Drioton copies it, the bird-eating-a-fish, but rather the sign of a bird holding the top of a *h3*-plant in its mouth.¹⁰¹ This composite sign is attested with the value *rh* (the bird as *r < r3*-goose; the plant as *h < h3*).¹⁰² A reading *sh3* (the bird as *s < s3*; the plant as *h* from *h3*) would theoretically be possible,

⁹⁹Drioton, in Piankoff, *Le livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁰In desperation one might read the bird as *š < s < s3*, with the fish as *šd*, derived from the rare term *šdy* , “coup de filet” (G. Andreu and S. Cauville, “Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (II),” *RdE* 30 [1978] 19); or one could take the group as a variant of a bird, a value *šd* deriving from *šdw*, “waterfowl (?)” (W.R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1962] p. 274).

¹⁰¹The badly damaged signs in question are visible in A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI (Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations 1*; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954) pl. 151, upper horizontal text division, 13th vertical column from the left; this area of the wall was already damaged when Champollion copied the texts (see J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, notices descriptives* 2 vols. [Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, Librairies-Éditeurs, 1844] p. 641).

¹⁰²H. de Meulenaere, “Notes ptolémaïques,” *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 101-105.

allowing a translation “they are four statements for memorization;” this interesting interpretation would remain speculative, however, for there appear to be no direct parallels for *ts.w n sh3*.¹⁰³ Furthermore, the bird holding the *h3*-plant in its mouth appears thus far not to be attested with a value *sh3*,¹⁰⁴ whereas *rh* is a well attested reading for the composite sign. For *ts.w fdw pw n rh*, “they are four statements of knowledge,” there are references to a *ts rhw*, “discours emplī de savoir,”¹⁰⁵ occurring in a similar context to the *ts.w fdw n rh* of the Book of the Day and the Night. In two Saite tombs at Saqqara, the text of chapter 67 of the Book of the Dead is followed by a statement concerning the revealing of that text to the profane:¹⁰⁶

i d3d3,t-ntr.w tw wr.t nt p.t
iw in.n=tn wi hn '=tn m w 'im=tn
nn rdī(.t) ts pw rhw n ihm.w ntr.w
 Oh you great heavenly council of the gods:
 You have fetched me away with you as one among you,

¹⁰³For the possible of place of cryptography in testing memorized religious knowledge, see below, pp. 710-711.

¹⁰⁴F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétique des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romain* vol. 2 (Montpellier: Publications de Recherche, Université de Montpellier, 1989) p. 328 cites A. Scharff, “Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927) 99 for the bird-with-*h3*-plant as *sh3*. The word there is, however, to be read *rh.w*, in the epithet of the stele owner as *nb rh.w wr*, “a great possessor of *rh*-knowledge” (on which see below).

¹⁰⁵D. Meeks, *Anée lexicographique* vol. 1 (Paris: D. Meeks, 1980) no. 77.4977. One could also read *n rh*, “for the knowledgeable one.”

¹⁰⁶E. Bresciani, S. Pernigotti, M.P. Giangeri Silvio, *La tomba di Ciennehebu, capo della flotta del Re (Serie Egittologia, Tomb d'eta saïtica a Saqqara I; Pisa: Giardini Editico e Stampatori, 1977) pl. 7, upper vertical columns, 7th and 8th cols. from the left; G. Maspero, in A. Barsanti and G. Maspero, “Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900) IV.II les inscriptions du tombeau de Péténisis,” *ASAE* 1 (1900) 255.*

without giving that statement of knowledge to those ignorant of the gods.

The Saqqara references to a *ts rhw* to be kept from the ignorant supports the reading of the *ts.w fdw n rh* in the Book of the Day and the Night. The enigmatic texts of the Book of the Day and the Night describe the spirits of the four cardinal points; thus the text speaks of "four statements."

The *rhw*-knowledge of this passage is a knowledge of cosmography.¹⁰⁷ For the king and the *rh*-knowledge of cosmography, one may cite the main Year 3 text on the East wall of the Luxor Temple pylon, in which text Ramesses II relates the cosmographic knowledge he derived from reading certain books in the library of the *pr-nh*. Ramesses applies this knowledge to his constructions at Luxor Temple.¹⁰⁸ It was in fact in preparation for that work that he appears to have consulted the texts. The association of esoteric, cosmographic knowledge with practical construction matters, evident in the Luxor Temple text, is similar to that in the demotic text P. Vienna D.6319.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷For the association of *rh*-knowledge and solar cosmography, see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970) pp. 56-57.

¹⁰⁸K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Vol. 2: Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd., 1979) p. 348, ll. 4-8 (consultations in the library); ll. 9ff. (instructions on the work to be carried out). For this text, see D. Redford, "The Earliest Years of Ramesses II, and the Building of the Ramesside Court at Luxor," *JEA* 57 (1971) 110-119.

¹⁰⁹E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum Part II From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* (*Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* XI. Folge; Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinck, 1977).

^b The horizontal line at the top of the final, vertical portion of this text, is here read as *n*, not the *t3* of Drioton's proposed *sšt3*. The verb 'q appears here in the infinitive, following *n*; the final *s* is for *sn*, referring back to the *ts.w fdw*, "four statements."

This text is but mildly cryptographic, with a portion written retrograde. There is nothing here which one could not imagine that any ancient reader with a reasonable reading knowledge of the hieroglyphs would be able quickly to understand. The concern is only with pronouncing the texts so as to be heard by a *rhy.t* who, in the sacral context, was someone unable to enter very far into a temple.¹¹⁰ An injunction against revealing temple secrets recorded in the Temple of Edfu is written in the *Normalschrift* of the period,¹¹¹ emphasizing the fact that but a small percentage of "secret" material appears ever to have been set down in some form of cryptography.

¹¹⁰On areas of access, see the references in L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal K3," *JNES* 44 (1985) 271 n. 96. This prohibition in the Book of the Day and the Night recalls the statement in certain mortuary texts that they are to be read aloud before those *nty-îw šw îr=w m-b3h=w*, "before whom it is fitting to recite them" (see M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pl. 4, col. 4, ll. 2-3; *idem*, "Papyrus Harkness," *Enchoria* 18 [1991] 98). The use and study of the text on earth, and at the same time a desire to maintain a certain secrecy for the text, may at first seem contradictory. This echoes, however, the attitudes attested in the later *Hermetica*: "although the ultimate revelation of divine knowledge can occur only in the personal intercourse of master and pupil, there is a parallel and supplementary literary tradition which, since it records what passes between Hermes and his adepts, has a sanctity of its own" (G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes, a Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986] p. 158). For the restriction of certain religious knowledge to a particular class, one may note the probable reference to a "Book of the *Rhy.t*" in P. Cairo Museum 58035, l. 26 (I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* vol. 2 [*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* 4th series; London: the Trustees of the British Museum, 1960] pl. 37, l. 26; the proper reading of the passage is given by H. Jacquet-Gordon, review of I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, in *Bi.Or.* 20 [1963] 32-33).

¹¹¹É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* vol. 3 (*MMAF* 20; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1928) pp. 360, l. 12-361, l. 5--see H.W. Fairman, "A Scene of the Offering of Truth in the Temple of Edfu," *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 86-92.

The scenes of deities rising from the coils of serpents on the Tutankhamun shrine and on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX may hint at a secret nature for these compositions. The snakes have various names, *imy-t3*, *nḥ3-ḥr*, *3pp* in the Ramesses IX treatise, but on the second shrine of Tutankhamun each is labeled *Mḥn*. The scenes thus depict resurrection from the coils of Mehen, and the full understanding of these scenes requires on the part of the reader a knowledge of the esoteric mysteries of Mehen.¹¹² The cryptography present in the treatise contributes little, however, to an added level of meaning. The three recognized versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity do not show the range of thematic double meaning occurring even in the cosmographic texts (the Nut Book, the Book of the Day and the Night), only partially cryptographic, and in the Dra Abu-en-Naga texts, in general formulaic and otherwise well known texts. This relative absence of thematic cryptography in the versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity indicates that originally there was no intent to impart a special, second, deeper religious doctrine through the signs.

The temple inscriptions of the Late Period, with their proliferation of thematic cryptography, and the explosion in the number of signs employed, might have been used to conceal the learning of the priests. Yet the difficult hieroglyphic texts of late Egypt appear rather to have been the repositories of all sorts of texts. They were meant to preserve from oblivion the endangered learning of the priests and the age-old religious texts of the country. Not a desire for secrecy, but an “Angst vor Vergessen” motivated the scribes who composed the complicated and often cryptographic inscriptions of Esna

¹¹²See P. Piccione, “Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent,” *JARCE* 27 (1990) 43-52; on the Egyptian uroboros, and the Orphic mysteries, see L. Motte, “Orphica aegyptiaca I,” *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 2 (1989) 266-67.

and the other late temples of Egypt.¹¹³ In the closing “address to the living” on the stele of a priest from Akhmim in the time of Hadrian, in a text composed in the standard hieroglyphic cryptography of the time, the erudite priest asks of those passing by his monument:

imy ib=tn m wn im=f

tm hm nh.t

ir drf.w=f

dd=tn r3=f r mnḥ

Set your hearts on what is therein (the texts of the stele);

do not forget the text collection;¹¹⁴

make copies of it;

adhere perfectly to the text.¹¹⁵

¹¹³See J. Assmann, “Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung kultureller Identität,” in J. Osing and E.K. Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt, Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen* (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 13; Copenhagen, 1992) pp. 9-25, specifically p. 12 n. 15 and p. 24; “Angst vor Vergessen” is the terminology of H. Kees (*ibid.*, p. 12 n. 15).

¹¹⁴For the vetitive use of the infinitive of *tm*, see E.F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (SAOC 33; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1967) p. 19; J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (*Studia Pohl: Series Maior. Dissertationes scientificae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui* 4, 3rd updated edition; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984) p. 188 (ex. 529); compare also the examples listed in F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger, les enseignements moraux d'un scribe égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C.* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1926) p. 132, no. 157, §1.c; R.J. Williams, *The Morphology and Syntax of Papyrus Insinger* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago, 1948) pp. 61-62, §§128-129. For the passage on the Akhmim stela, one might also read “in order that the text collection nor be forgotten”--compare H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* (MÄS 12; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling 1968) p. 49, §76--although so classical a form as the jussive use of the negation of the passive prospective *sdm=f* with suffix =w on a stele from the time of Hadrian is perhaps unlikely. According to R. Jasnow, a parallel injunction *nn hm nhy* appears in a portion of the Book of Thoth, specifically P. Berlin P15531, col. 10, l. 1.

¹¹⁵A. Scharff, “Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Achmim,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927) 104-105 (l. 11 of the stele); for the understanding of this portion of the text, see

The priest of Akhmim is more concerned with the death of the Egyptian religion and the hieroglyphic tradition than with the maintenance of his own soul in the afterlife. The cryptography on his stele would not be intended to conceal the writings whose coming oblivion he foresaw. The priest's cryptography augments the texts, and may have enticed a passing scribe to stop and ponder the texts, but it is not there to conceal a language and cloak a script whose obscurity the stele's owner mourned.¹¹⁶

The statement quoted above from the partially enigmatic portion of the Book of the Day and the Night is more interesting in that it refers to reading the text aloud, actual use of the writings by living people. Along with other texts of the Netherworld Books, such as the Amduat,¹¹⁷ the Book of the Day and the Night was meant for study and use in this world.¹¹⁸ That a funerary spell might have an application on earth is attested

Ph. Derchain, *Le dernier obélisque* (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1987) p. 59.

¹¹⁶A certain amount of secretive cryptography may have existed, however, in the Late Period. If it is a genuine piece of about the fourth century, a small figure of Osiris shows a marriage of hieroglyphs and alchemical symbols which are all Kircher could have desired of an hieroglyphic inscription (see S. Ratié, "Un Osiris alchimique au Musée de Chambéry," *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 30 [1980] 219-21; *idem*, "Un Osiris alchimique au musée de Chambéry," *Oikumene* 4 [1983] 191-9).

¹¹⁷S. Schott, *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I philologisch-historische Klasse* 1958 No. 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958) pp. 362-66.

¹¹⁸For the evidence from other treatises, see E. Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?," *JNES* 41 (1982) 161-79; on the connections between Egyptian theology as embodied in the mythological papyri of the Third Intermediate Period, and the Orphic mysteries, see Motte, *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 2 (1989) 253-272.

elsewhere.¹¹⁹ Hornung takes issue with Morenz¹²⁰ and Assmann¹²¹ regarding the teaching of Egyptian eschatology, and claims that the Netherworld Books seldom refer to their use on earth, and otherwise opposes the conclusion that they are part of the "Wissenslehren."¹²² The passages from the Netherworld Books which Wente has collected, along with the passage from the Book of the Day and the Night, support in general the conclusions of Morenz and Assmann. With the enigmatic and partially enigmatic Netherworld Books having a role in earthly religion, the boundary separating them from the enticing Dra Abu-en-Naga texts becomes more ephemeral.

Beyond forcing a prospective reader to stop and ponder a text more intensely and for a longer time, an enigmatic religious text could perhaps be used to test the knowledge of an acolyte, providing a memnotechnic device which would help him read a text only if he possessed the prerequisite understanding of a number of eschatological concepts. On a late New Kingdom stele from Coptos, the owner of the monument states:¹²³

¹¹⁹Compare the water spell of the *Hirtengeschichte*, found also in the Coffin Texts--see M. Gilula, "*Hirtengeschichte* 17-22 = CT VII 36 m-r," *GM* 29 (1978) 21-2.

¹²⁰S. Morenz, review of A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, in *Bi.Or.* 25 (1968) 182, *et cetera*.

¹²¹J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1970) p. 57.

¹²²E. Hornung, "Lehren über das Jenseits?," in E. Hornung and O. Keel, eds., *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (OBO 28; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1979) pp. 217-24; in *idem*, "L'Égypte, la philosophie avant les Grecs," *Les Études Philosophiques* (April-September, 1987) 120-21, Hornung denies anything but pragmatism in Egyptian ontology, and states that "il n'existe aucune preuve d'initiation pour les vivants, même si les cultes helléniques des mystères ont emprunté des représentations et des formes égyptiennes."

¹²³Aly O.A. Abdallah, "An Unusual Private Stela of the Twenty-First Dynasty from Coptos," *JEA* 69 (1983) 69 and 71 n. k, p. 70 (text) l. 7.

dw3.n=i ntr nb hr rn=f nn sh3.t w' im=sn

without having to think about one of them, I praised every deity by his name.

As Abdallah suggested,¹²⁴ the owner of the stele “presumably means that he knew all these names by heart.” In the late copy of the Amduat in the tomb of Pedamenope, most of the earlier cryptographic portions occur in *Klarschrift*.¹²⁵ Although enigmatic inscriptions became more prevalent in the later periods of the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, something may have suggested that cryptography was becoming inappropriate for the Amduat by the time of Pedamenope. One can speculate that priests may have felt such a writing system to be unnecessarily obscuring an increasingly aged and disused religious composition.

The cryptography of the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity did not conceal the texts, nor did it augment the content of the enigmatic texts with added layers of deeper, thematic cryptographic meaning. Cryptography may have added interest to texts, and it may have served as a device for testing the knowledge and memory of religious adepts, yet it is unlikely that these possible uses of cryptography applied to all uses of enigmatic writing, such as royal monumental titularies, and inscriptions on scarabs. There is, however, a solar aspect to cryptography that can explain all of the various uses of cryptography during the New Kingdom.

¹²⁴*ibid.*, p. 71 n. k.

¹²⁵See A. Piankoff, “Le livre de l’Am-Īuat et les variantes tardives,” in O. Firchow, ed., *Ägyptologische Studien (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 29; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955)* p. 245.

During the New Kingdom cryptography appears in texts dealing with solar regeneration, and with the crossing of cosmic boundaries. Hornung has noted the predominance of cryptography in the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat,¹²⁶ the time of the solar regeneration in the chamber of Sokar. Cryptography is common on scarabs,¹²⁷ symbols of solar regeneration, and is the script chosen for the three books discussed here (chapters 3-5), which deal primarily with the Solar-Osirian unity and have as their central and giant figures the combined Re-Osiris of the eastern horizon (chapter 6). The cryptographic texts are also particularly associated with the liminal area of the tomb, the area of crossing the boundary between this world and the next. For this reason they proliferate in the tomb texts at Dra Abu-n-Naga and in the royal tombs. The liminal, boundary-crossing aspect of cryptography also applies to the appearance of enigmatic annotations to the scene of the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, in the depiction of the subterranean hall where the momentous decisions concerning the fates of souls are made. The Ramesses II Nubian temple cryptography¹²⁸ refers to commerce with Punt, a land of the far southeast, area of the rising sun, land of the incense necessary for Egyptian temple ritual. From Punt, as from the areas described in the cryptic Nut Book, come divine birds,¹²⁹ covered with the

¹²⁶See chapter 2, p. 44 and n. 73.

¹²⁷See the comments in E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1976) pp. 173-180.

¹²⁸See chapter 2, n. 44.

¹²⁹A. Egberts, "The Chronology of *The Report of Wenamun*," *JEA* 77 (1991) 62-7; a demotic reflection of the birds from the *qbhw*-waters in the Nut Book appear in W. Spiegelberg, "Der demotische Papyrus Heidelberg 736," *ZÄS* 53 (1917) 31, A. x + 7 (the statement that *qbh(?) p3y=w dmi* strongly recalls the terminology of the earlier cosmographic texts). It is also possible that the stories of the birds in W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothek Nationale zu Paris*

divinizing incense.¹³⁰ Min is also associated with Punt and the far southeast, the area of the rising sun;¹³¹ because of Min's solar associations, and his position as a deity of

(*Demotische Studien* 7; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1914) pls. 9 and 9a (I thank Richard Jasnow for bringing this text to my attention), may be related to earlier cosmographic texts (cf. the reference to the Papyrus swamp [l. 5], and the statement concerning the other birds that "Egypt is their area" [l. 13: *Km.t(?) p3y=w tš*], which reads like passages from the cryptographic cosmography in the Book of the Day and the Night.

¹³⁰Poem no. 9 of Group B of the P. Harris 500 love poems (Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) pp. 16-9; the phoenix came from the spice lands of the southeast (R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix, According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* [EPRO 80; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972] pp. 305-34), and was at times thought to eat of aromatics (*ibid.* pp. 335-6).

¹³¹See H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Band 59, 1. und 2. Abhandlung; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1917) p. 100, for *iwnty.w* Nubians performing for Min, a reference to the solar aspect of Min (Min is attested as the eastern support of heaven, and as the morning sun itself; see J. Spiegel, "Re und Osiris," in Westendorf, ed., *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel* (GOF IV vol. 3; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) pp. 129-81; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (MÄS 10; Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling 1966) pp. 46-7, p. 71 and n. 16). The pole-climbing Nubians wear ostrich feathers, symbols of the goddess of the eye of the sun (compare a portion of the Mut Ritual--P. Berlin 3014 + 3053 XVI 6-XVII 1 = Elkab 33-6 [see U. Verhoeven and Ph. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque, ein Text aus der <<Miutritual>> des Pap. Berlin 3653* (Rites Égyptiens 5; Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1985) §§ L3-M2, pp. 22-3 with nn. *bs*, *bt*, and *bu*, pp. 46-7] ; they are associated with dances for Bastet--J. Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters, "le Pyramidion d'un <<danseur en chef>> de Bastet," in Quaegebeur, ed., *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata II Orientalia Antiqua* [OLA 13; Leuven: Éditions Peeters, 1982] pp. 191, 192-3 n. *d*. On the ostrich and its significance in Egypt, see P. Behrens, "Strauss," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vol. 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986) cols. 72-75. The ostrich itself danced in honor of the sun-like pharaoh (*ib3*--see L. Dautheville, "Danse d'autriche en l'honneur du pharaon," *BIFAO* 20 [1922] 225-9), so its feather in the hair of the Libyan dancers would be appropriate for Rat-Tawy as Hathor. The ostrich and its feathers are associated with Min as a deity of *Wtn.t* and the far southeast (for example the stele of *Sbk-iry*, Louvre C30 (K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch in akademischer Unterricht* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924] pp. 64-5; for *Wtn.t* as the land of the rising sun see E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* vol. 2 [Aegyptiaca Helvetica 3; Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1976] p. 120

the far southeast, the land of the sunrise,¹³² certain texts in the Min chapel near the solar altar in the Abydene temple of Ramesses II are written in cryptography.¹³³ The god Min and the land of Punt are associated with the liminal area of the far southeast, the area wherein the sun passes from the Netherworld into the sky of day. Cryptography may thus be said to have associations with the sun, as well as with the areas of passing between the upper and lower worlds. As the greatest visible bridge between the two worlds is the disk of the sun, Egyptian cryptography may be said ultimately to have solar implications in all of its uses. The solar associations of cryptography are strongly supported by the fact that the three versions of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity--the royal predecessors of the Late Period mythological papyri--are associated with the correct entry of the sun and stellar souls into the Netherworld, and the solar-Osirian unification in the bowels of the eastern horizon.¹³⁴

n. 190; D. Meeks, *Anée lexicographique* vol. 1 [Paris: D. Meeks, 1980] p. 103 no. 77. 1092). For the association of Min with the far southeast, the area of the sojourn of the solar eye, and for Min as the morning sun and the eastern horizon, see the discussion of the ithyphallic, Osiride king in chapter 5, and n. 317 there; chapter 6 and n. 130 there. See the further comments in J. C. Darnell, "Hathor Returns to Medamûd," *SAK* 22 (1995) forthcoming.

¹³²Compare also the association of the offering of the products of Punt, the morning toilet, and appearance in the eastern horizon--see A. Gutbub, "Un Emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse," in *Mélanges Maspero I orient ancien*, 4th fascicle (*MIFAO* 66; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961) p. 34.

¹³³See the references in chapter 2, n. 45.

¹³⁴Solar associations may also be found in the proliferation of amuletic cryptography during the time of Amenhotep III (Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, pp. 173-80; Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 146), pressaging the coming Atonist heresy of his successor.

Coptic cryptography, though often apparently a learned exercise (a plausible explanation for the number of Coptic graffiti written in cryptography),¹³⁵ may also have been deemed appropriate for Christian texts due to the theme of life after death. Like the ancient solar mystery of Osiris and Re becoming one, the prototype of human resurrection, the Christian concepts of the Incarnation and the Resurrection were appropriate to the liminal nature of cryptography.¹³⁶

The enigmatic texts of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity did not conceal a wholly obscure, restricted, and esoteric wisdom. The three known, New Kingdom versions of this treatise emphasize the union of the sun and the corpse of Re at the eastern horizon, the liminal area between day and night, this world and the next. The corpse of the sun is *št3*, “mysterious;”¹³⁷ these texts dealing with the solar corpse and his nightly reanimation are themselves written in cryptography, mirroring the hidden nature of the deity. Like the corpse of the sun the signs which describe him are *št3*, “mysterious;” like him they are difficult to comprehend. As the sun eventually emerged from the outer darkness through the veiling red hue of his Hathoric mother, so these texts were meant ultimately to reveal their content to the persistent reader.

¹³⁵Although religious significance may have influenced the use of cryptography for graffiti at monastic sites (such as the Topos of Apa Tyrannos in the hills behind Armant), the use of cryptography by John and Pamin the sons of Kharis in their graffiti on the ‘Alamat-Tal road behind Ezbet Ababda is less easily explained by religious considerations (publications of these graffiti by this author are forthcoming).

¹³⁶F. Wisse, “Language Mysticism in the Nag Hammadi Texts and in Early Coptic Monasticism, I, Cryptography,” *Enchoria* 9 (1979) 101-120.

¹³⁷See above, chapter 5, pp. 428-435, text n. *e*.

APPENDIX A. PLATES

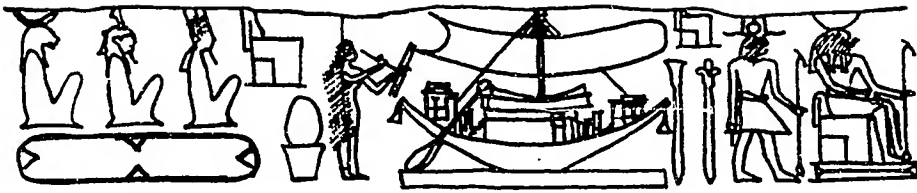
PLATE 1.

Figure A. Portion of the Enigmatic Titulary of Ramesses II, West Architraves of his Court at Luxor Temple.

Figure B. Detail of Enigmatic Text, South Thickness, Entrance to the Tomb of Parennefer, Dra Abu-n-Naga.

Figure C. Detail of Enigmatic Text, North Thickness, Entrance to the Tomb of Parennefer, Dra Abu-n Naga.

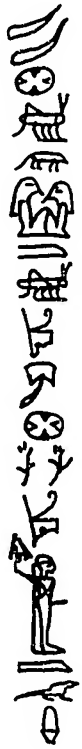
Figure D. Detail of Enigmatic Text, Dra Abu-n-Naga, Drioton's Text B.



A



B



D



E



C

Plate 2.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side One. (From A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* [*Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 2; New York: Bollingen Press, 1955] fig. 41)

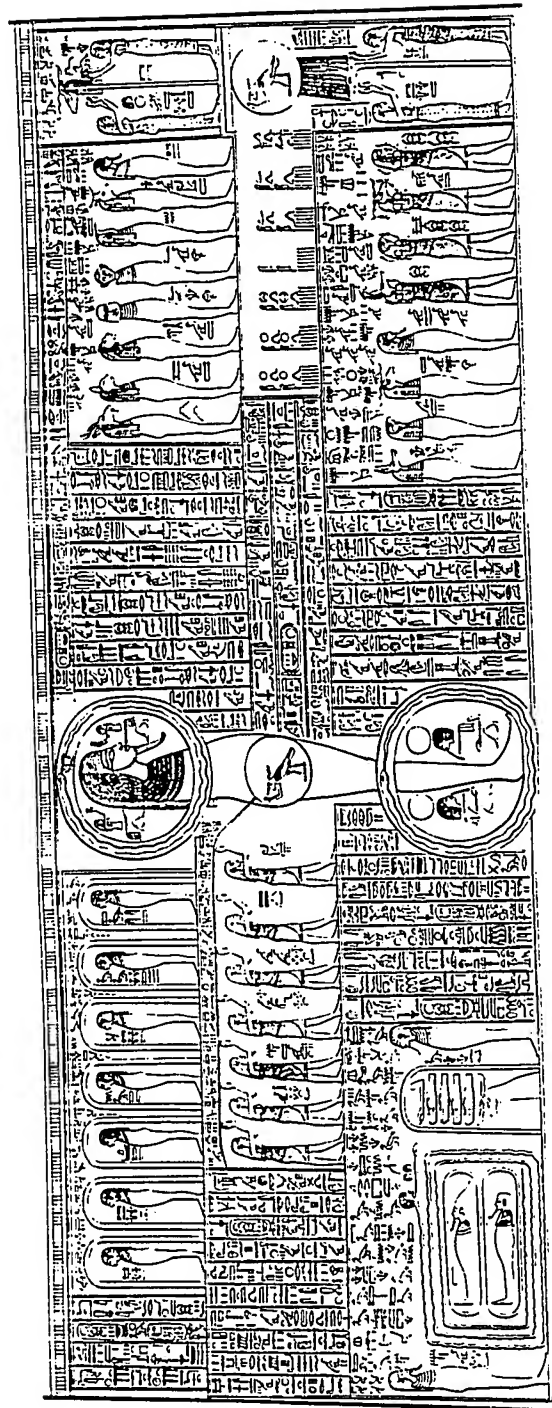


Plate 3.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 42)

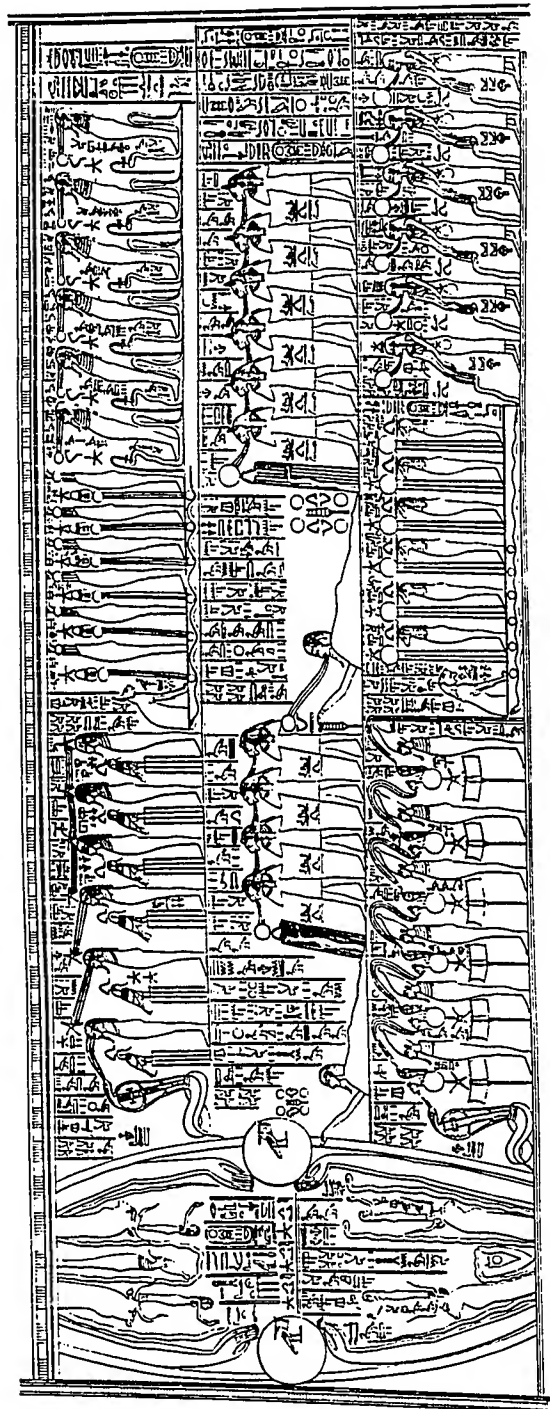


Plate 4.

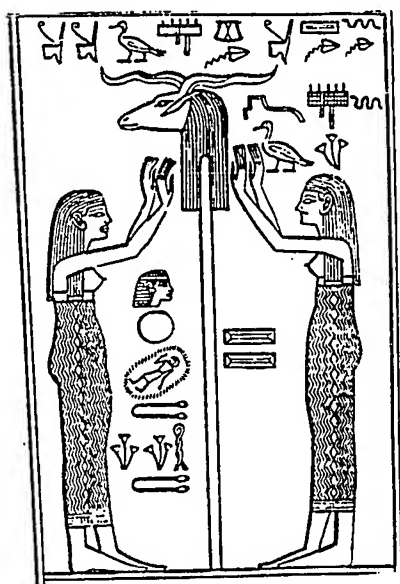
Figure A. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Label, Upper Right.

Figure B. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Far Right, Upper.

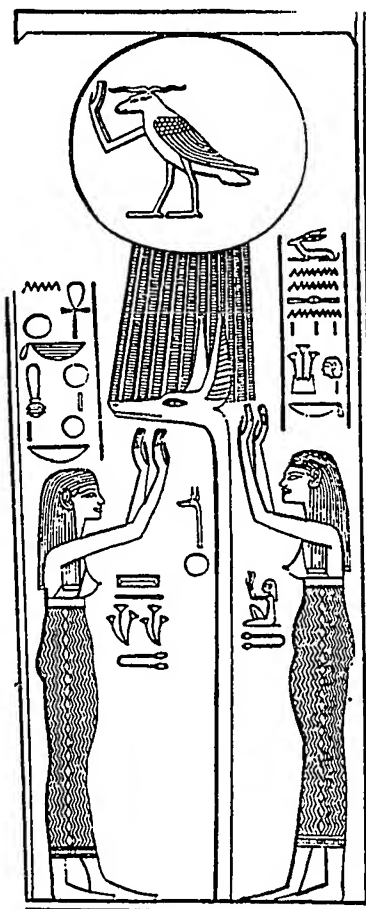
Figure C. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Far Right, Lower. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines
of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 41)



A



B



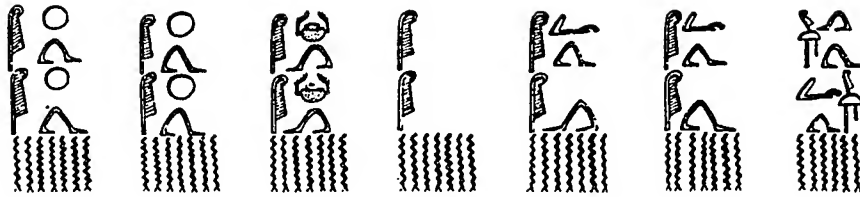
C

Plate 5.

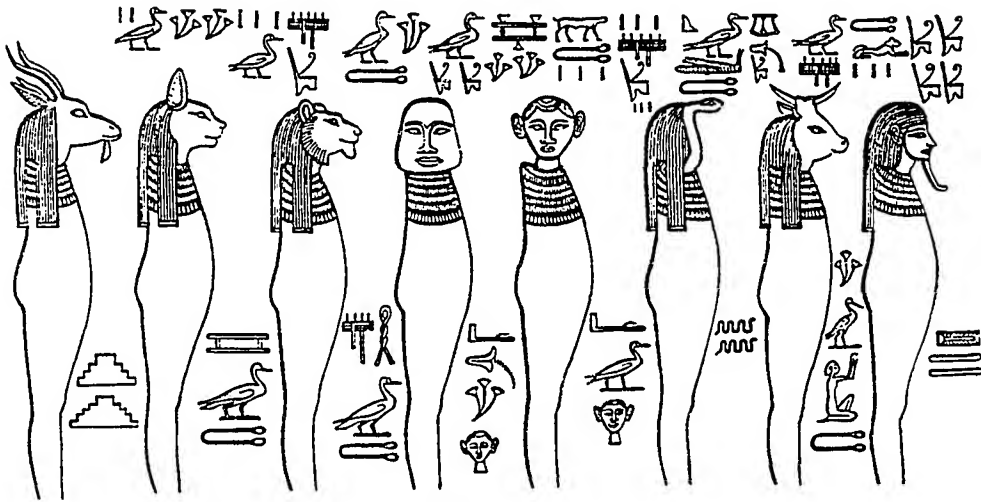
Figure A. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Right, Middle Band.

Figure B. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Right, Upper.

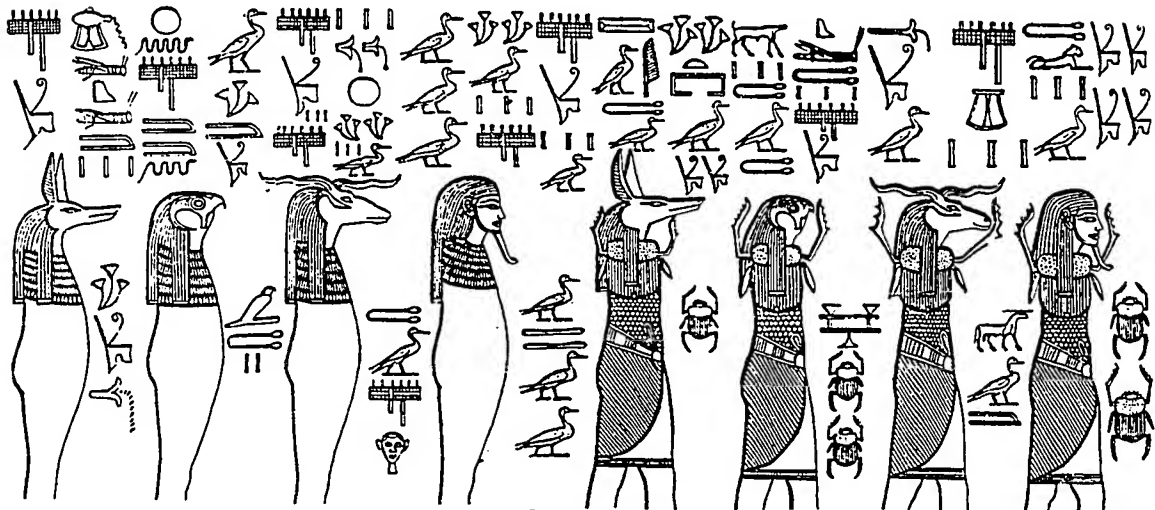
Figure C. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Right, Lower. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of
Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 41)



A



B



C

Plate 6.

Figure A. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Standing Central Figure (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The
Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 41)

Figure B. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two, Far Upper Right (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of
Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 42)

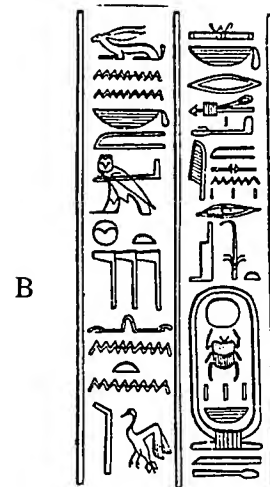
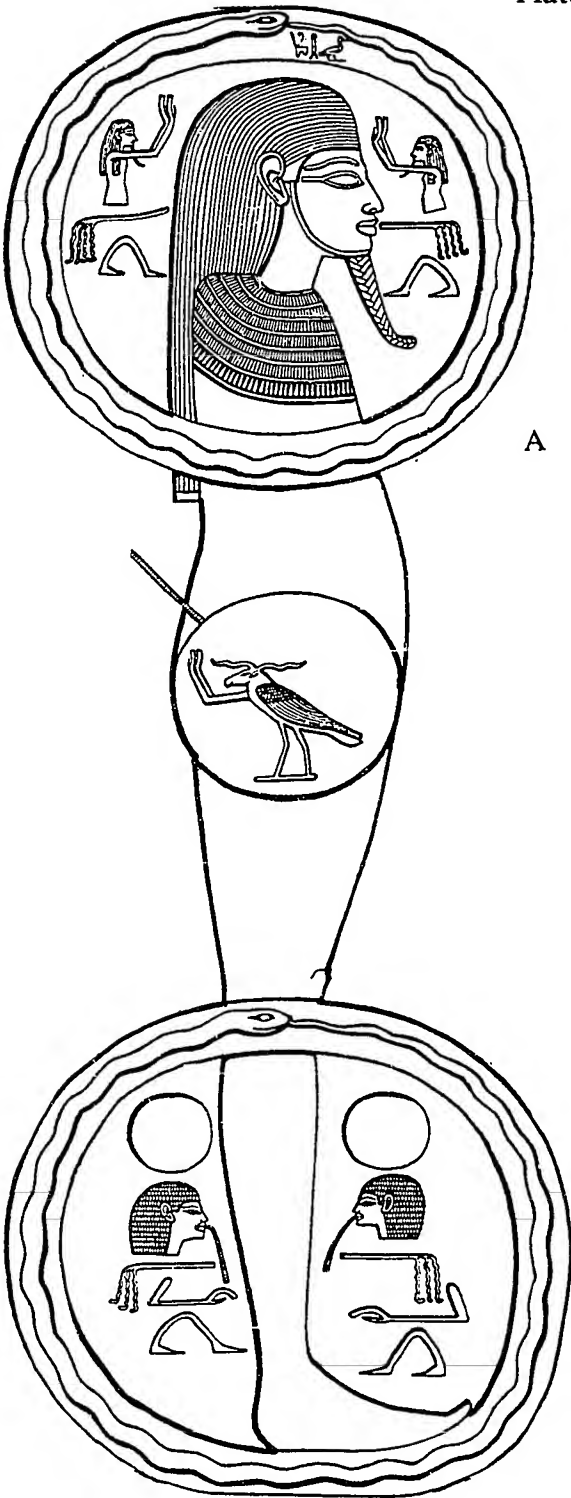
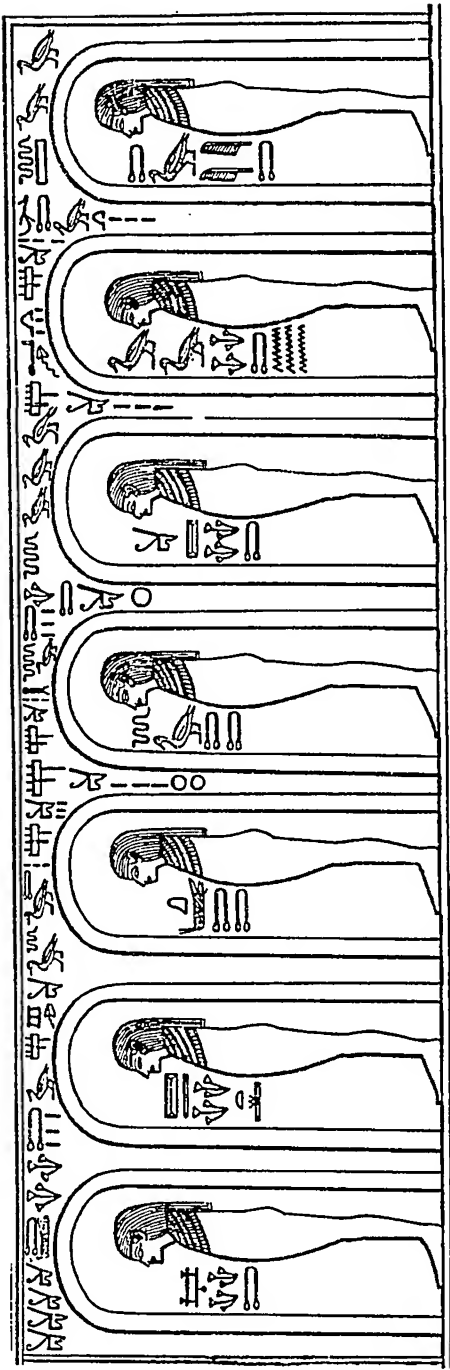


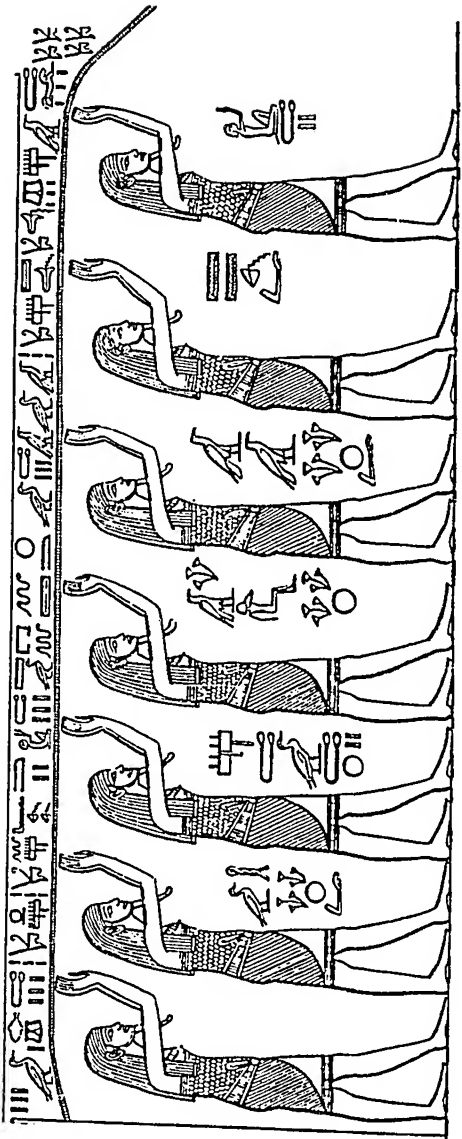
Plate 7.

Figure A. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Left, Upper.

Figure B. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side One, Left, Middle. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of
Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 41)



A



B

Plate 8.

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side One,
Left, Lower. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-
Amon*, fig. 41)

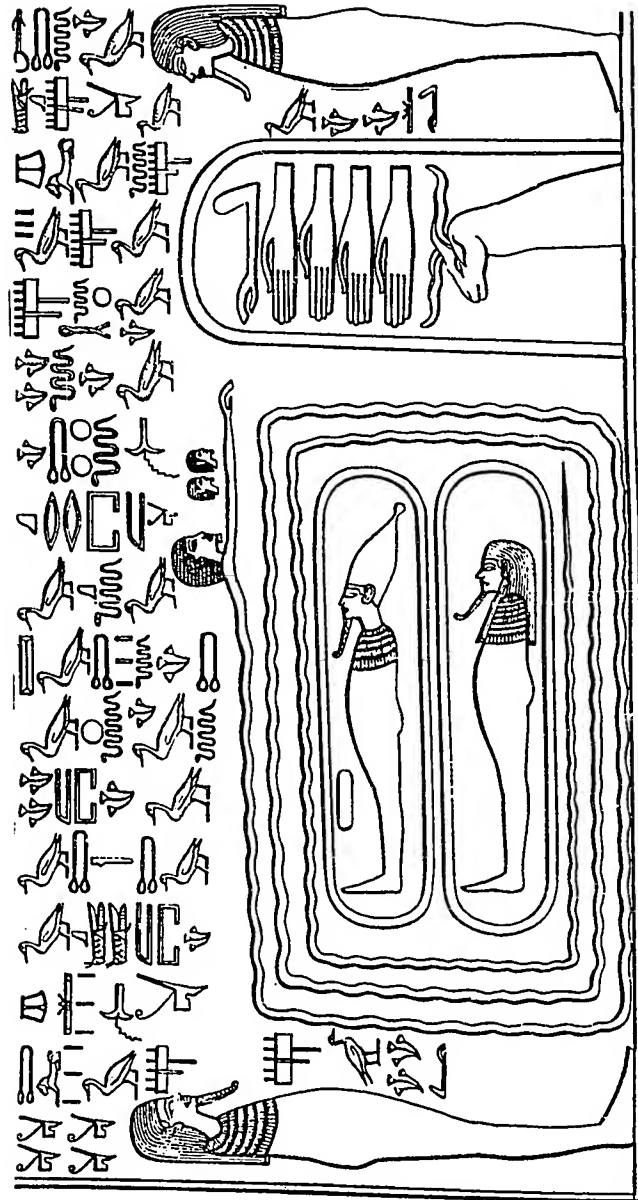


Plate 9.

Figure A. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two, Upper, Left.

Figure B. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two, Upper, Middle. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of
Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 42)

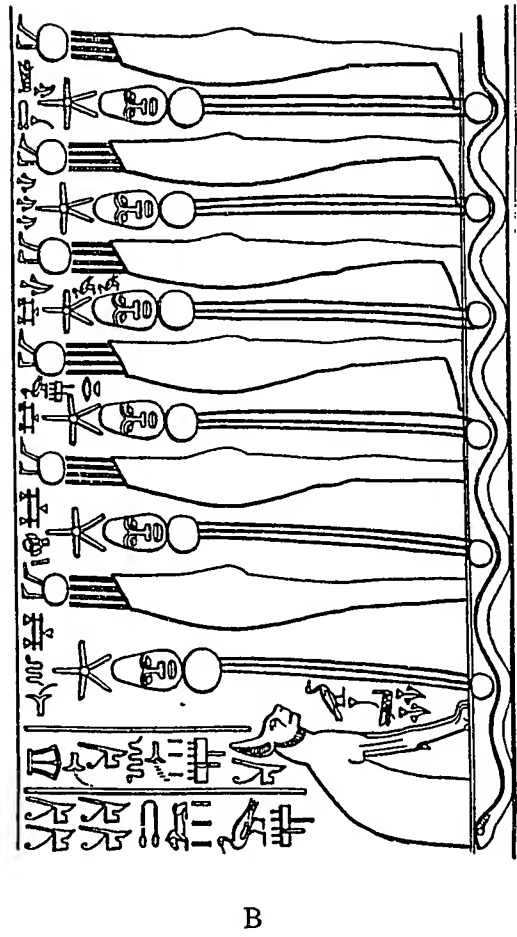
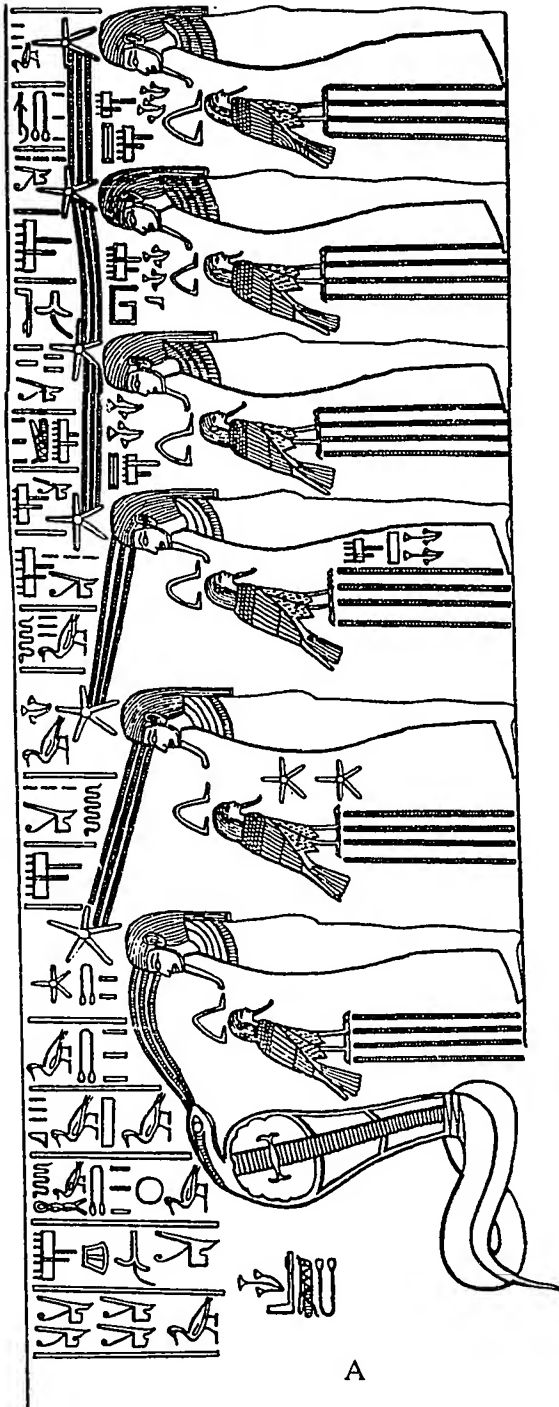
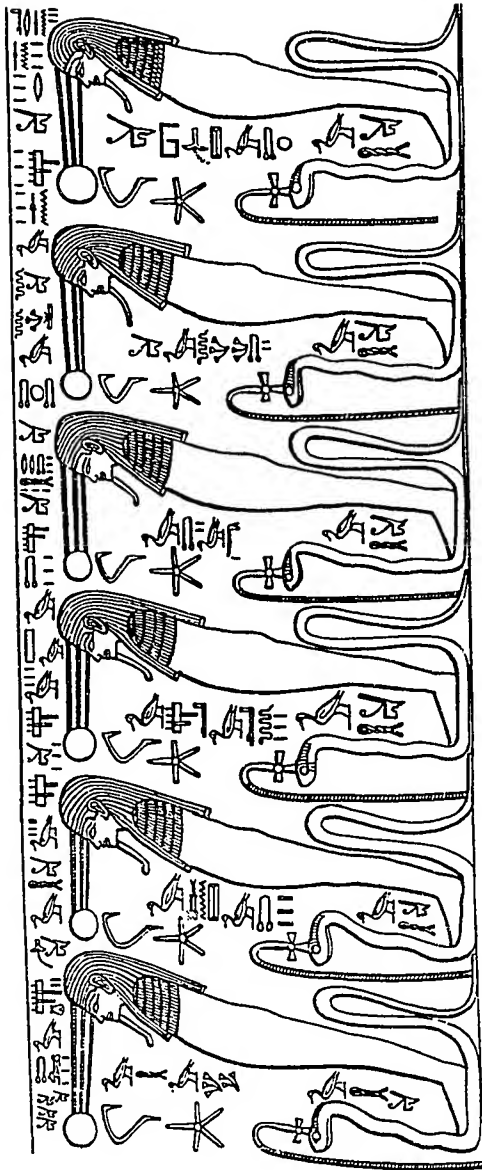


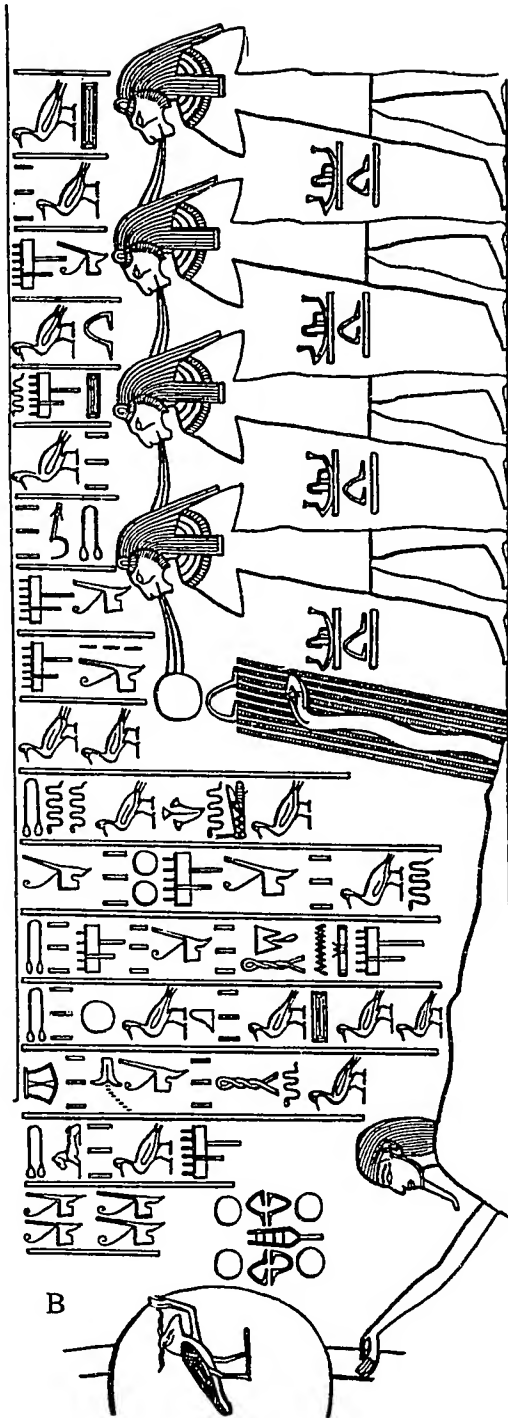
Plate 10.

Figure A. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two, Upper, Right.

Figure B. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two, Middle, Left. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of
Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 42)



A



B

Plate 11.

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two,
Middle, Right. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-
Amon*, fig. 42)

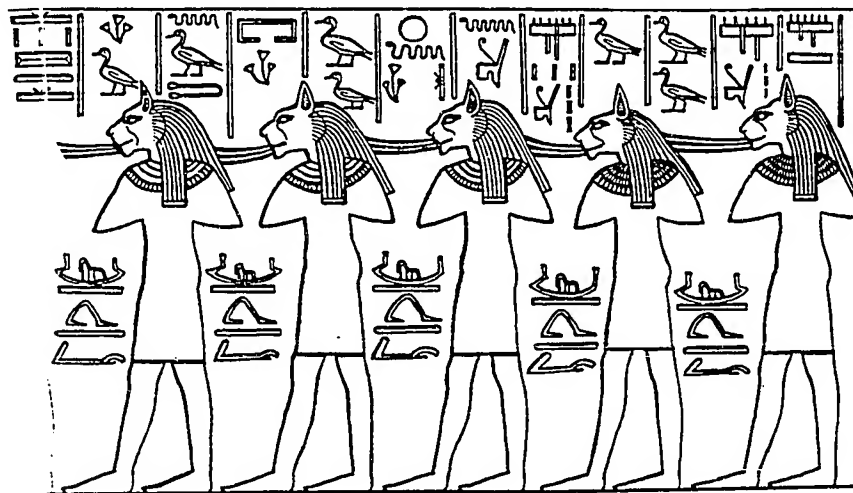
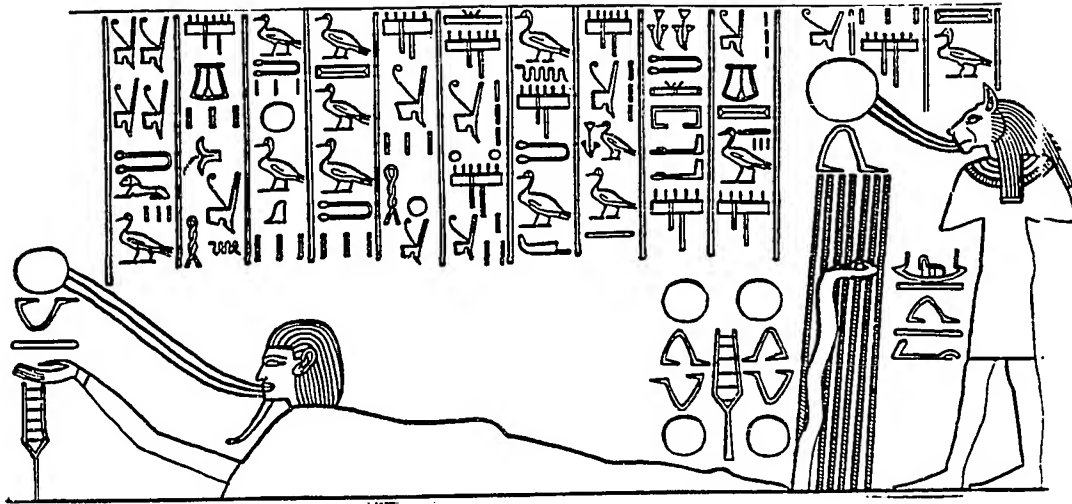


Plate 12.

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two,
Lower, Left (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-
Amon*, fig. 42)

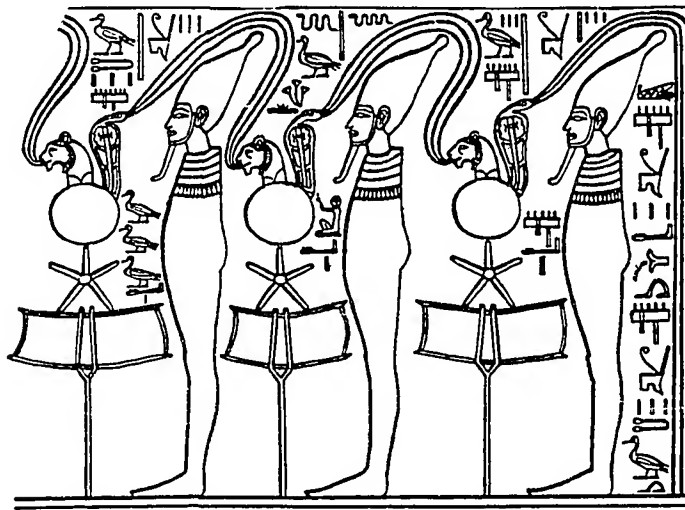
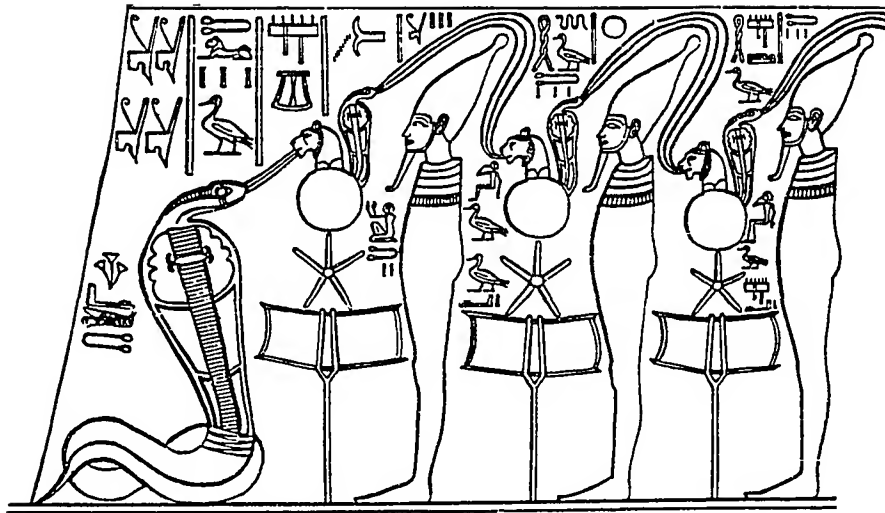
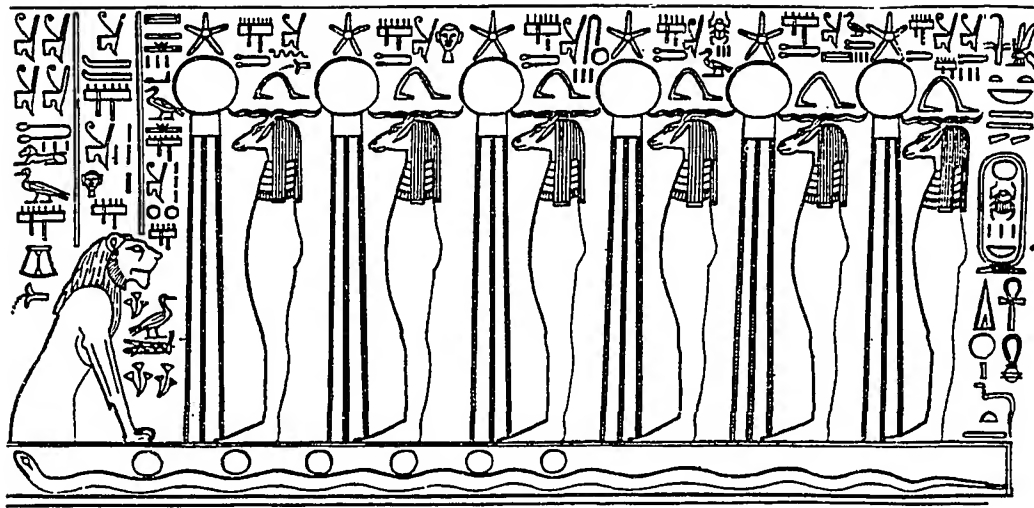


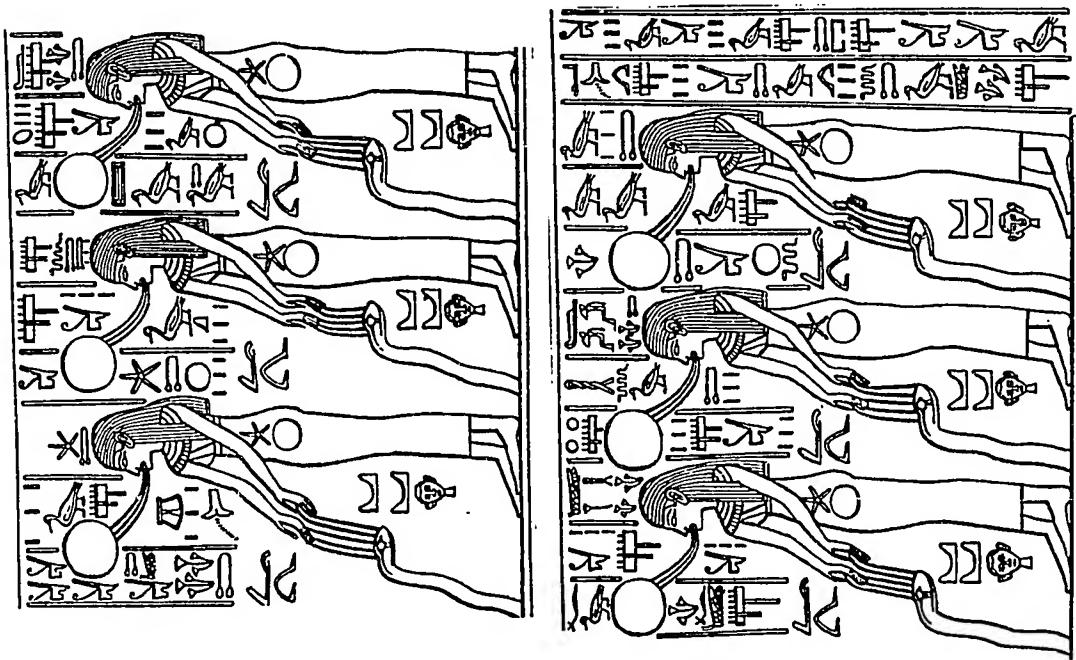
Plate 13.

Figure A. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two, Lower, Middle.

Figure B. Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun,
Side Two, Lower, Right. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of
Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 42)



A



B

Plate 14.

Enigmatic Composition on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, Side Two, Far Left Scene. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, fig. 42)

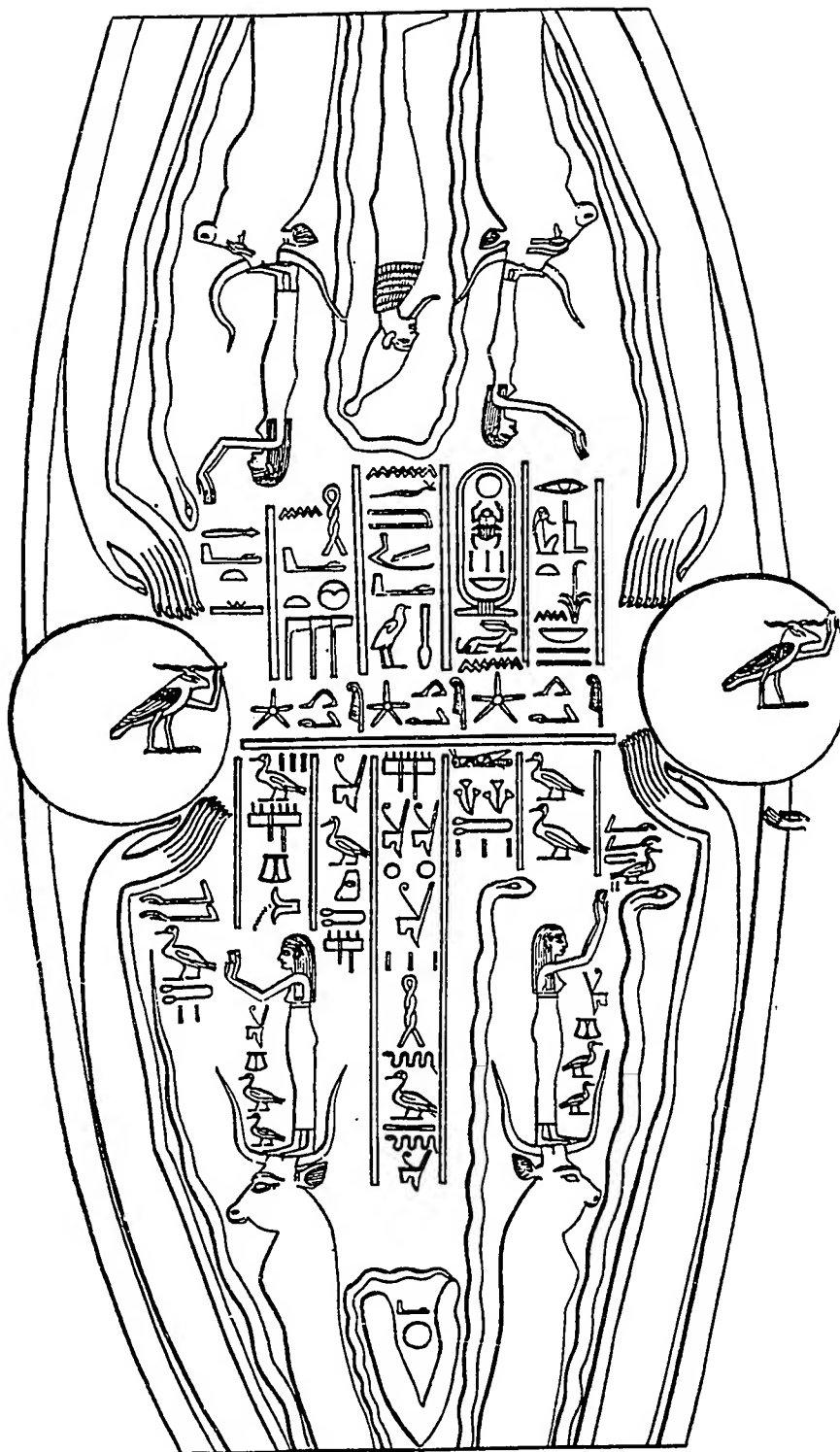


Plate 15.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Left Portion. (From A. Piankoff and N.
Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* [*Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts
and Representations* 1; New York: Bollingen Press, 1954] pl. 179)

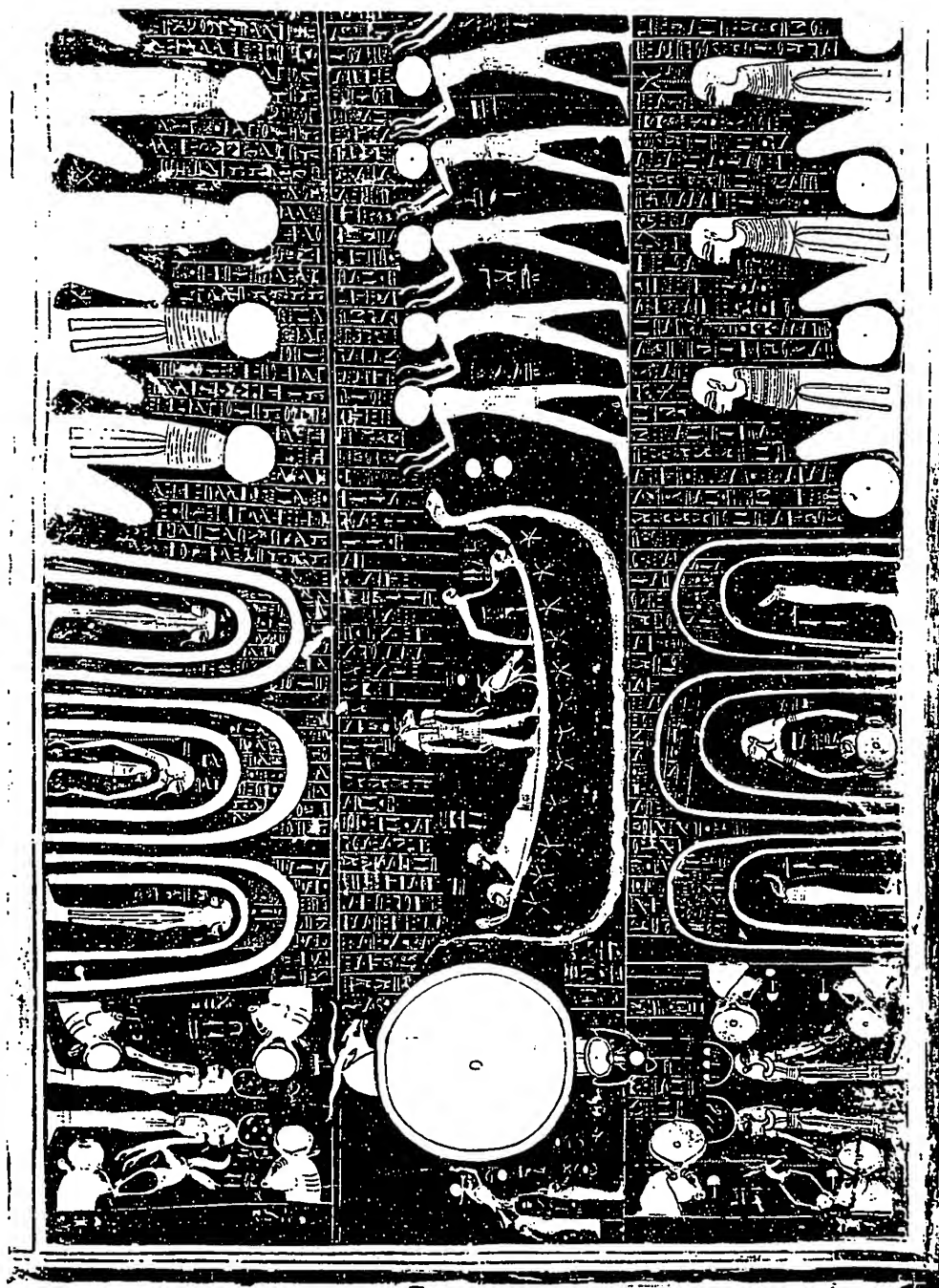


Plate 16.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Right Portion. (From Piankoff and
Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 180)

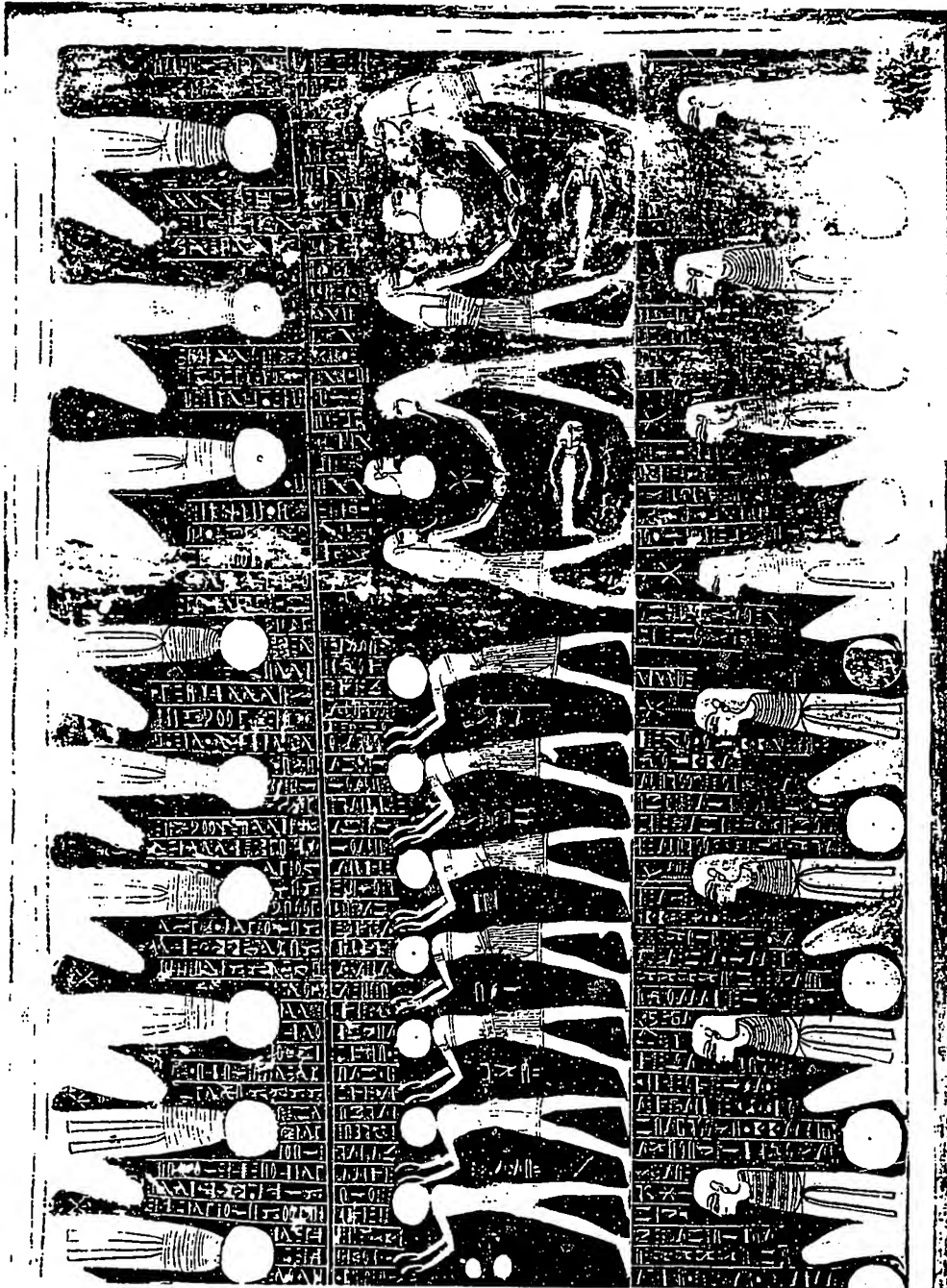


Plate 17.

Figure A. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Upper Register, Introductory Scene.

Figure B. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, Introductory Scene. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 179)

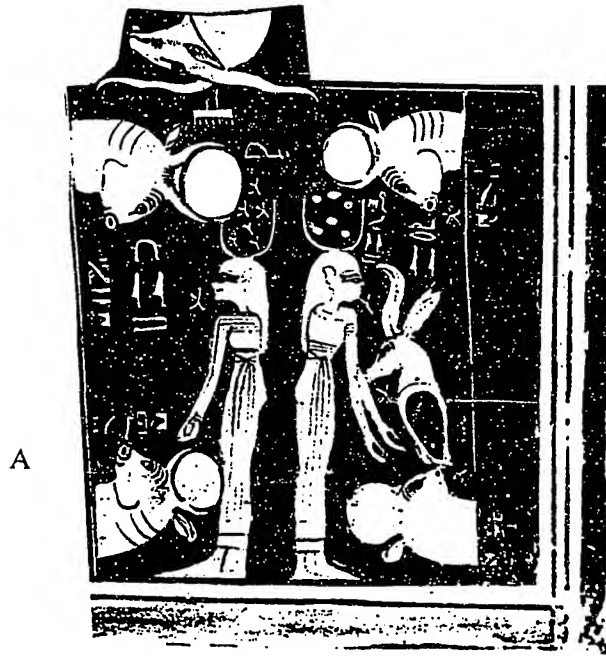


Plate 18.

Figure A. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Upper Register, the Three *Nm.wt*.

Figure B. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, the Three *Nm.wt*.

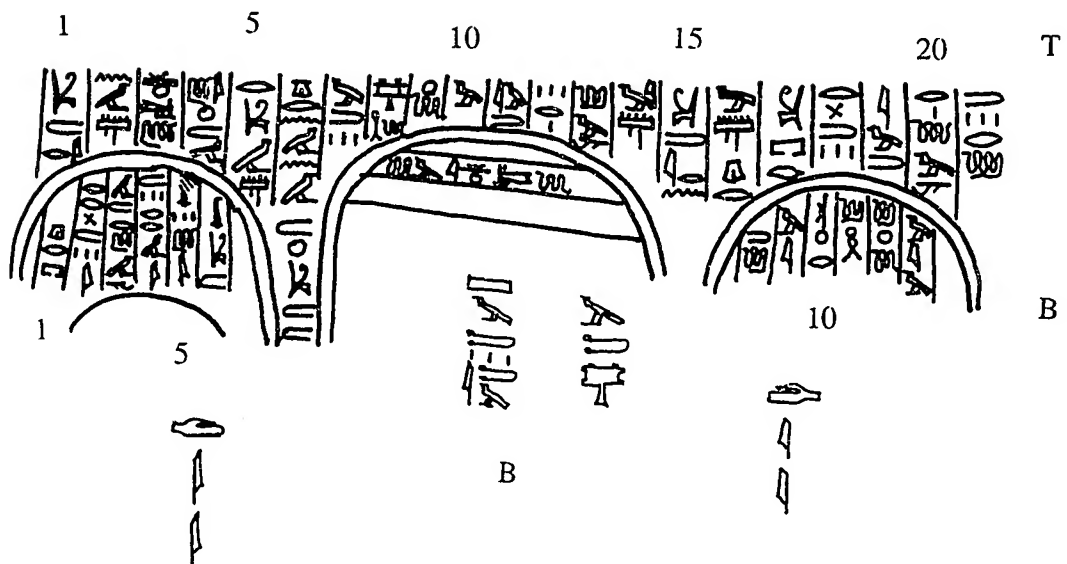
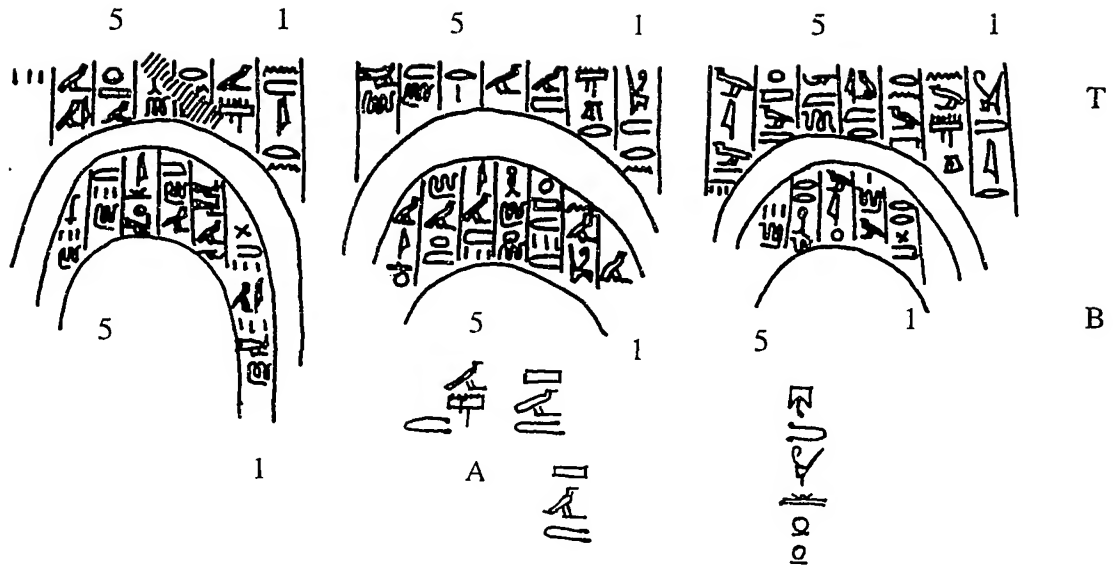


Plate 19.

Figure A. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Upper Register, Text of the right *Nm.t.*

Figure B. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Upper Register, Text of the Middle *Nm.t.*

Figure C. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Upper Register, Text of the Left *Nm.t.*

T 1
 —
 T 2
 —
 T 3
 —
 B 1
 —
 T 4
 —
 B 2
 —
 T 5
 —
 B 3
 —
 B 4
 —
 T 6
 —
 B 5
 —
 T 7
 —

A

T 1
 —
 B 1
 —
 T 2
 —
 B 2
 —
 T 3
 —
 B 3
 —
 B 4
 —
 T 4
 —
 B 5
 —
 T 5
 —
 B 6
 —
 T 6
 —
 B 7
 —
 T 7
 —

B

T 1
 —
 T 2
 —
 T 3
 —
 B 2
 —
 B 1
 —
 B 2
 —
 B 3
 —
 B 4
 —
 T 4
 —
 T 5
 —
 B 5
 —
 T 6
 —
 B 6
 —
 T 7
 —

C

Plate 20.

Figure A. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, Text of the Left *Nm.t*.

Figure B. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, Text of the Middle *Nm.t*.

Figure C. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, Text of the right *Nm.t*.

T1
T2
B1
B2
B3
B4
B5
T3
T4
B6

B6
 T5
 T6
 T8
 T9
 T10
 T11
 T12
 T13
 B7

C

| | |
|------|-------|
| T 15 | _____ |
| T 16 | _____ |
| T 17 | _____ |
| T 18 | _____ |
| T 19 | _____ |
| T 20 | _____ |
| B8 | _____ |
| B9 | _____ |
| B10 | _____ |
| B 11 | _____ |
| B 12 | _____ |
| B 13 | _____ |
| T 21 | _____ |

Plate 21.

**The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Upper Register, Text Number Two.**

20
 15
 10
 5
 1

40
 35
 30
 25

50

45

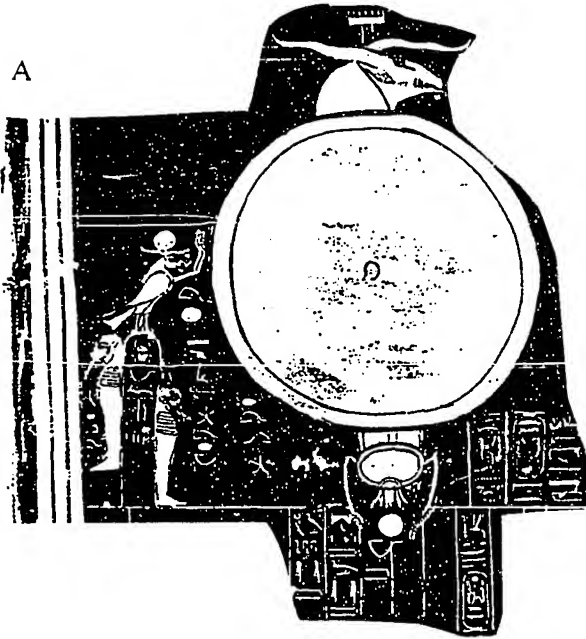
45

Plate 22.

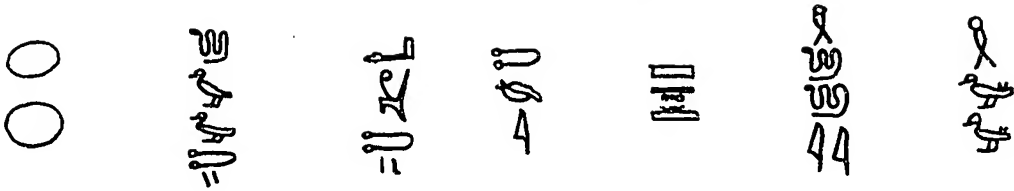
Figure A. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Middle Register, Introductory Scene. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 179)

Figure B. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Middle Register, Names.

Figure C. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Middle Register, First Portion of Main Text.



B



C

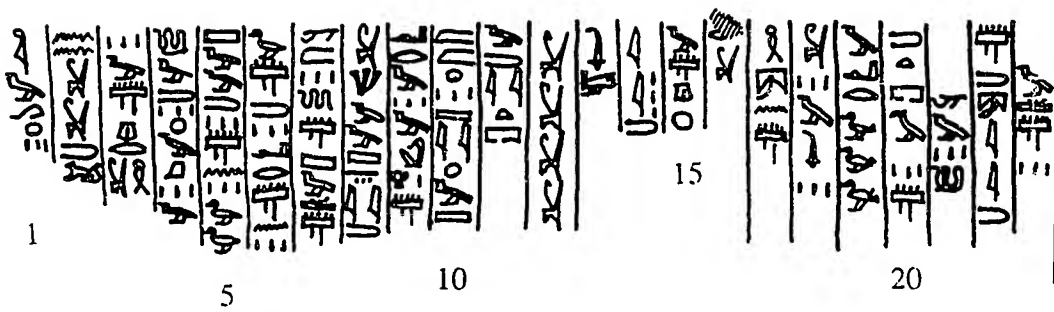


Plate 23.

**The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Middle Register, Remainder of Main Text.**

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚

Plate 24.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, First Portion of Main Text.

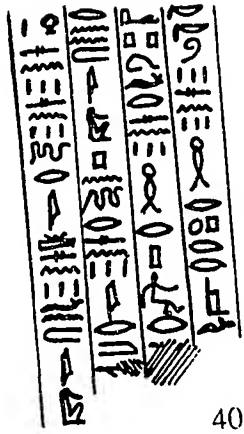
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Plate 25.

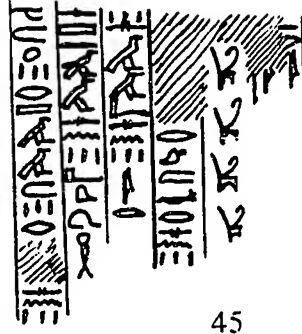
Figure A. The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Main Section, Lower Register, Remainder of Main Text.

Figure B. Enigmatic Annotations, Second Scene, Section D, Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, Tomb of Ramesses III.



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A



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B

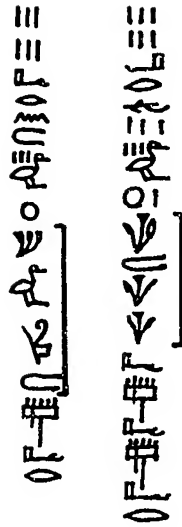


Plate 26.

**Figure A. A Portion of the Titles of Queen Ankhesenamun, East Wall, Opet
Reliefs, Colonnade hall, Luxor Temple.**

Figure B. The Titles of Queen Mutnodjmet, Reused Block, Khonsu Temple.

Plate 27.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Dropped Portion of the Ceiling. (From Piankoff and
Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, pl. 181)

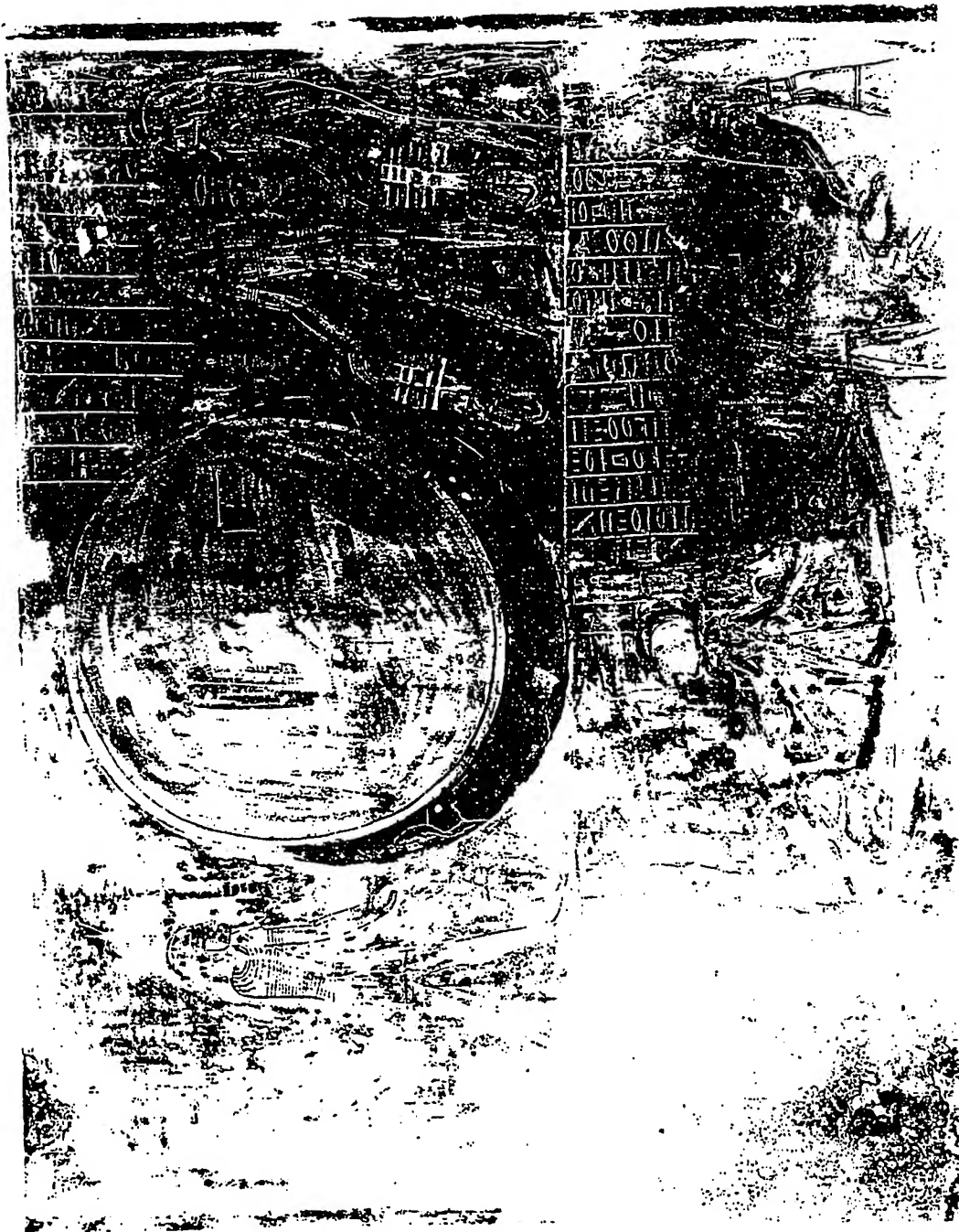


Plate 28.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, Dropped Portion of the Ceiling, Upper and Lower
Enigmatic Annotations.

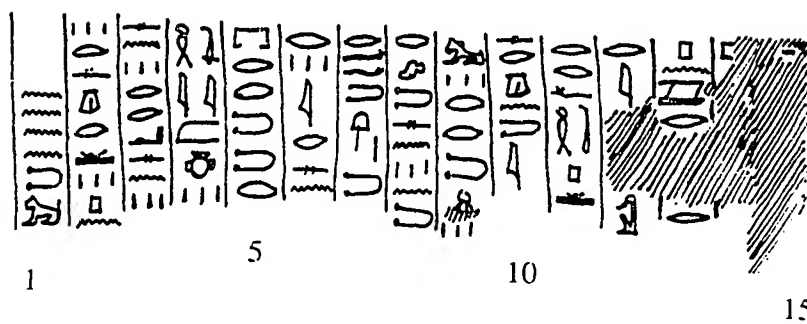
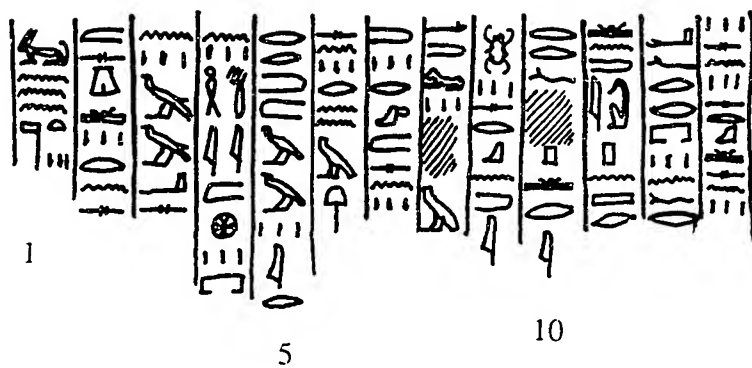


Plate 29.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, the *Schutzbild*. (From Piankoff and Rambova, *The Tomb
of Ramesses VI*, pl. 182)

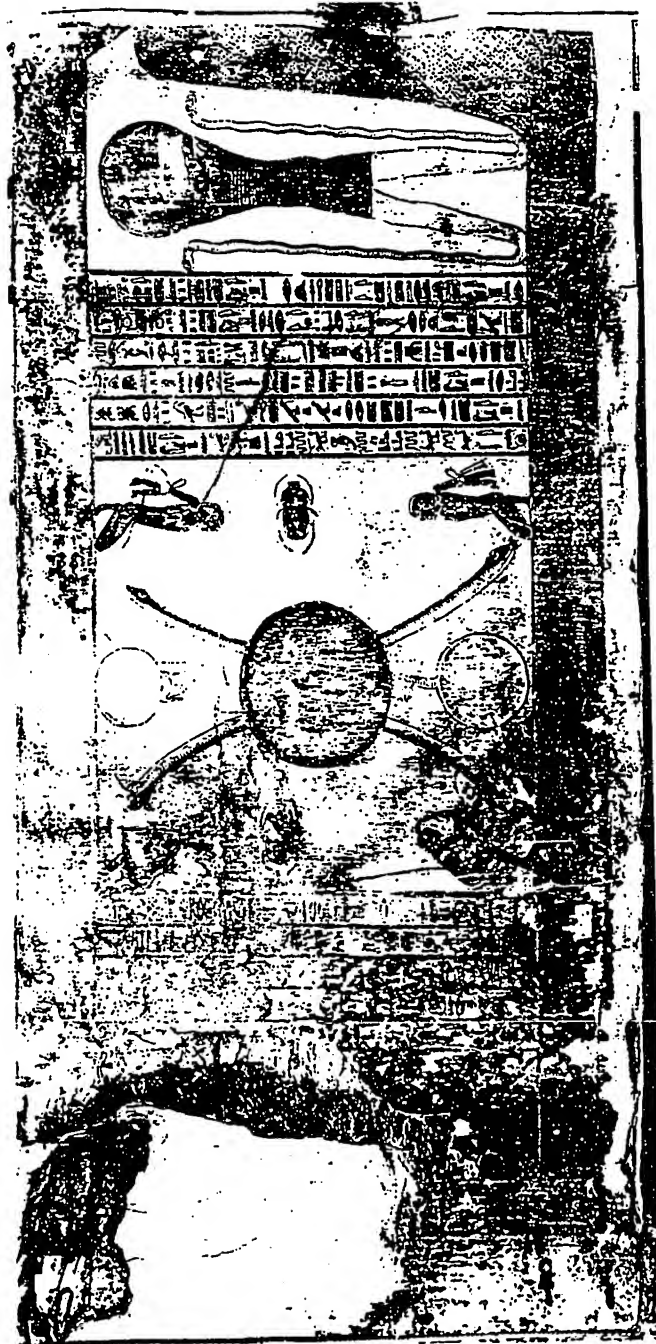


Plate 30.

The Enigmatic Composition on the Ceiling of Corridor G in the Tomb of
Ramesses VI, the *Schutzbild* (hand copy)

Plate 31.

The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Overview. (From F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX* [MIFAO 15; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907] pls. 63, 78-81)

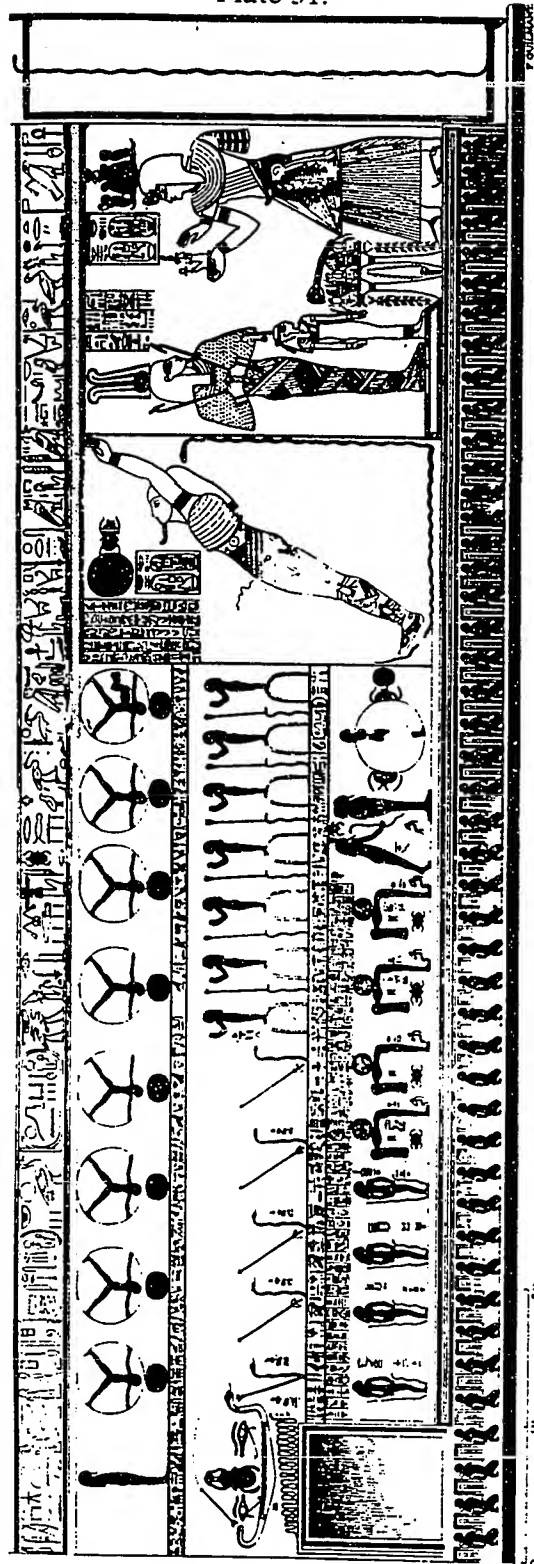


Plate 32.

The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Left Portion, Upper Register. (From Guilman, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 79)

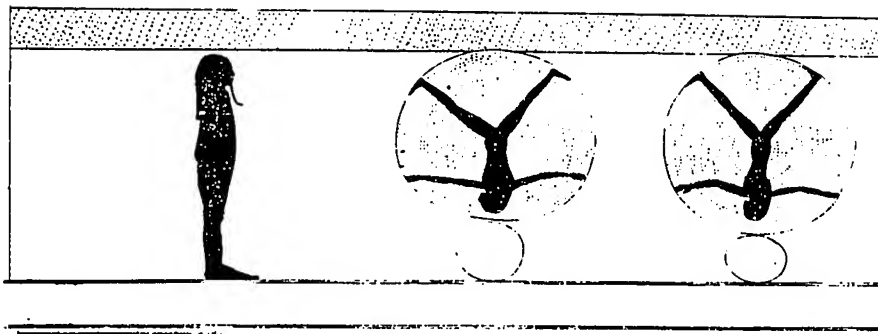
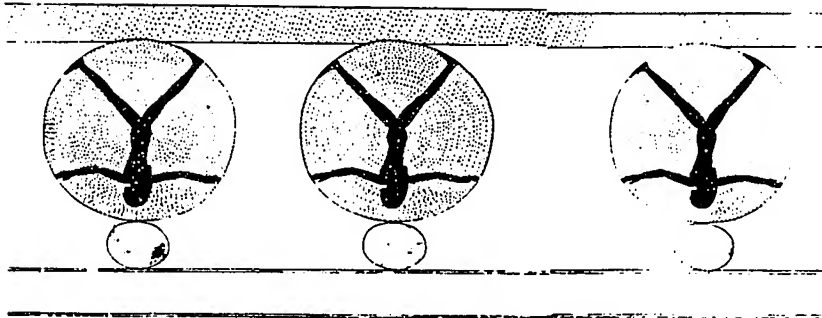
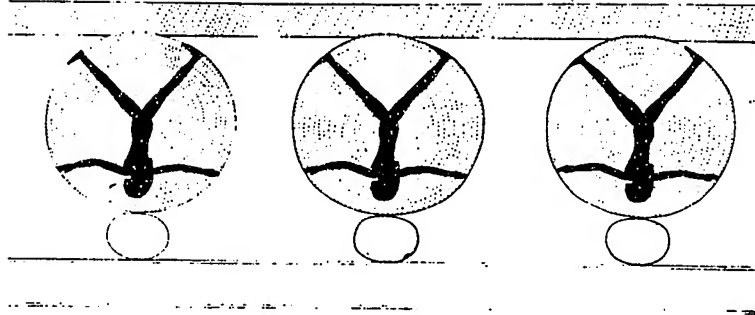


Plate 33.

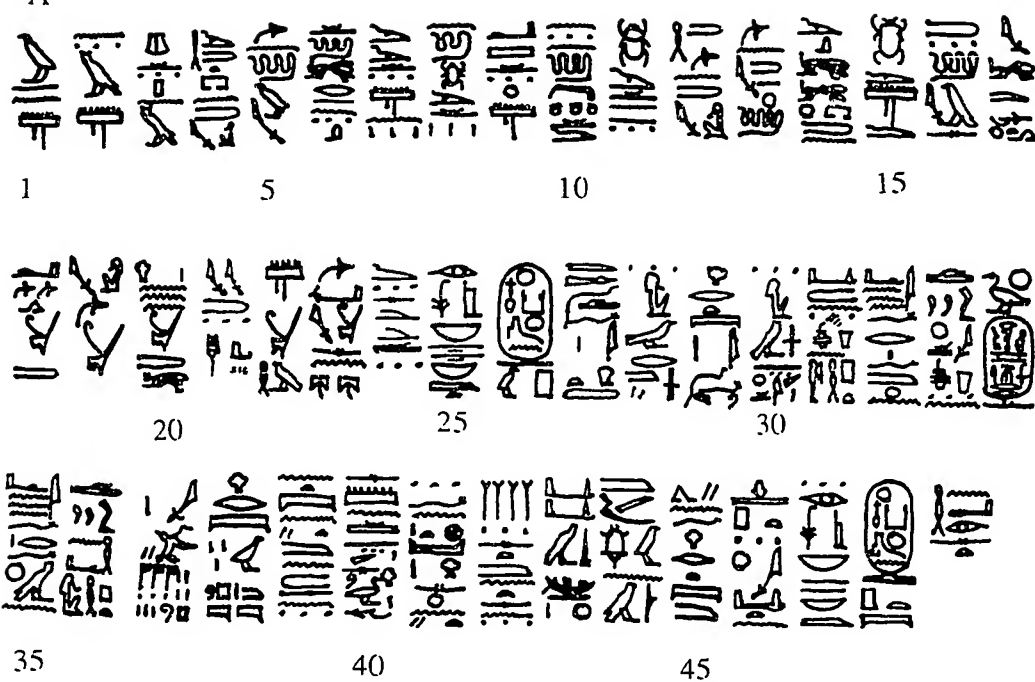
The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Left Portion, Middle Register, Upper Band of Enigmatic Text.

Plate 34.

Figure A. The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Left Portion,
Lower Register, Texts.

Figure B. The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Left Portion,
Lower Register, Names.

A



B

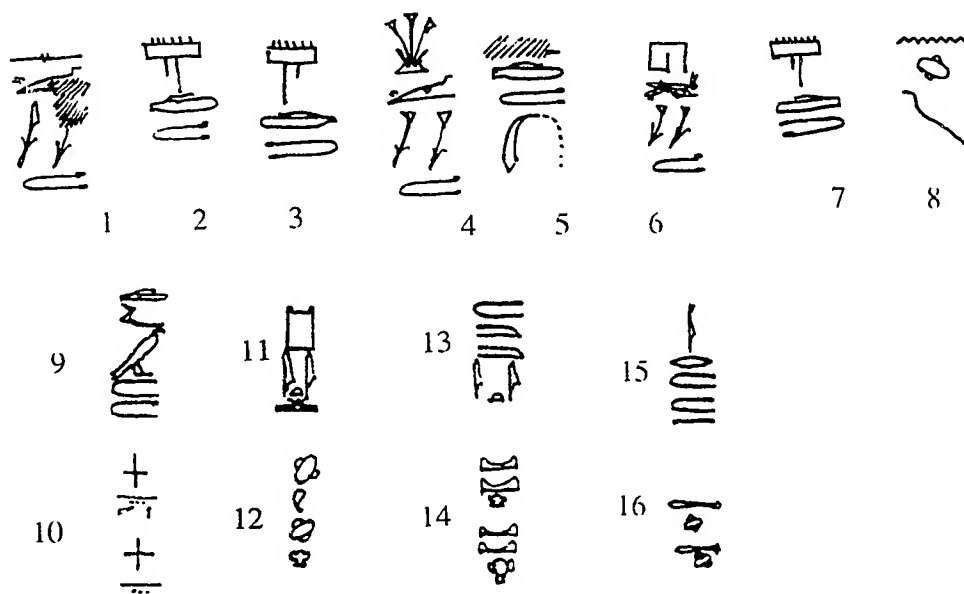


Plate 35.

The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Left Portion, Horizontal
Band of Text between Middle and Lower Registers.

Plate 36.

The Enigmatic Wail in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Scene of the Ithyphallic,
Osiride King. (From Guilman, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 77)

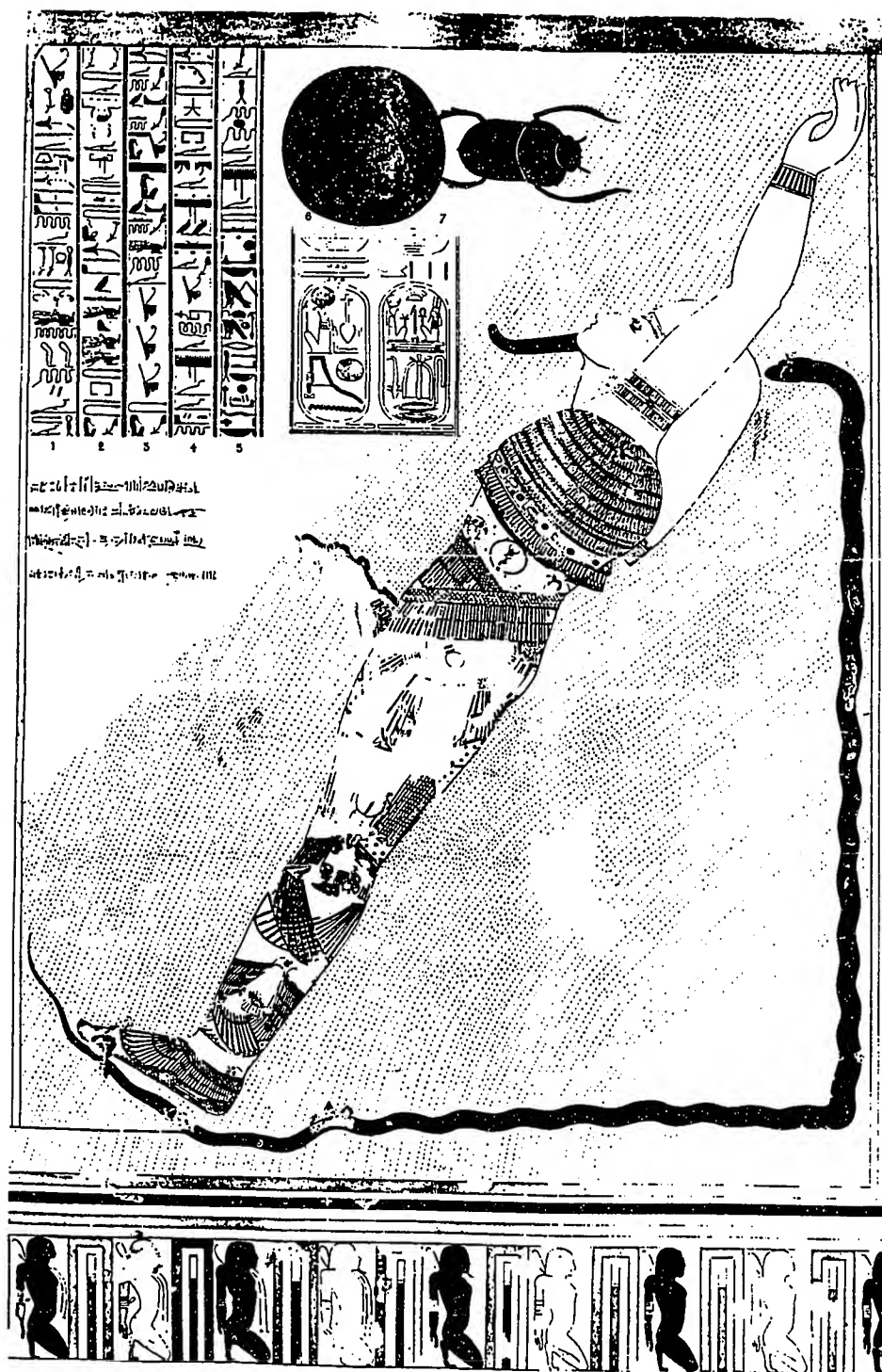
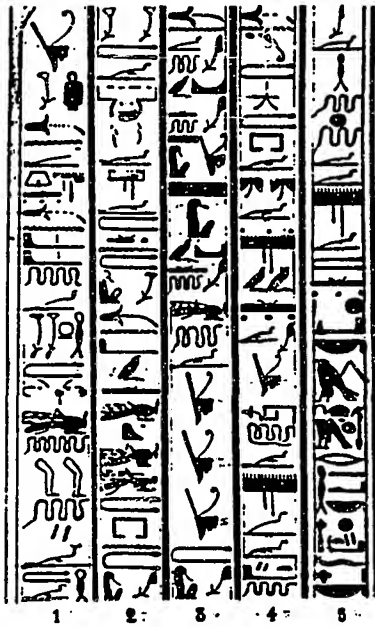


Plate 37.

Figure A. The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Scene of the Ithyphallic, Osiride King, Enigmatic Annotation.

Figure B. The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Scene of the Ithyphallic, Osiride King, Graffito. (From Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 77)

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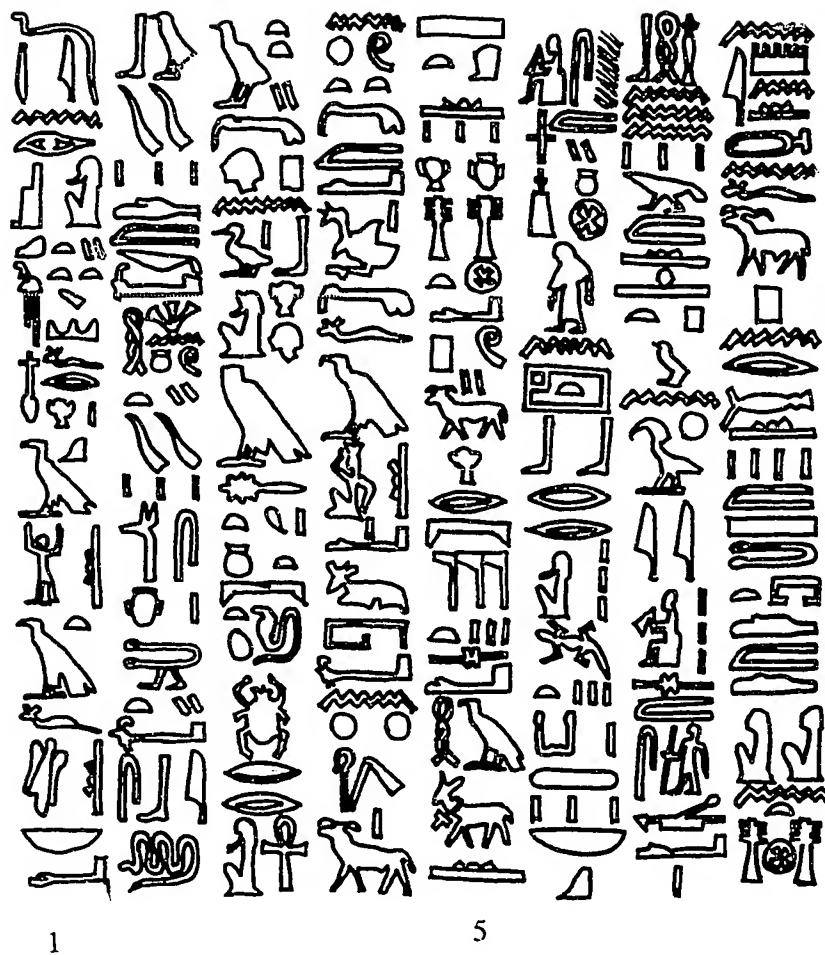
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Plate 38.

Figure A. Hymn to Osiris from the Tomb of Imiseba.

Figure B. Portion of a Painted Enigmatic Text, Small Temple of Medinet Habu.

A



B



Plate 39.

The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, the King Offers Maat to
Maat and Ptah. (From Guilman, *Le tombeau de Ramses IX*, pl. 76)

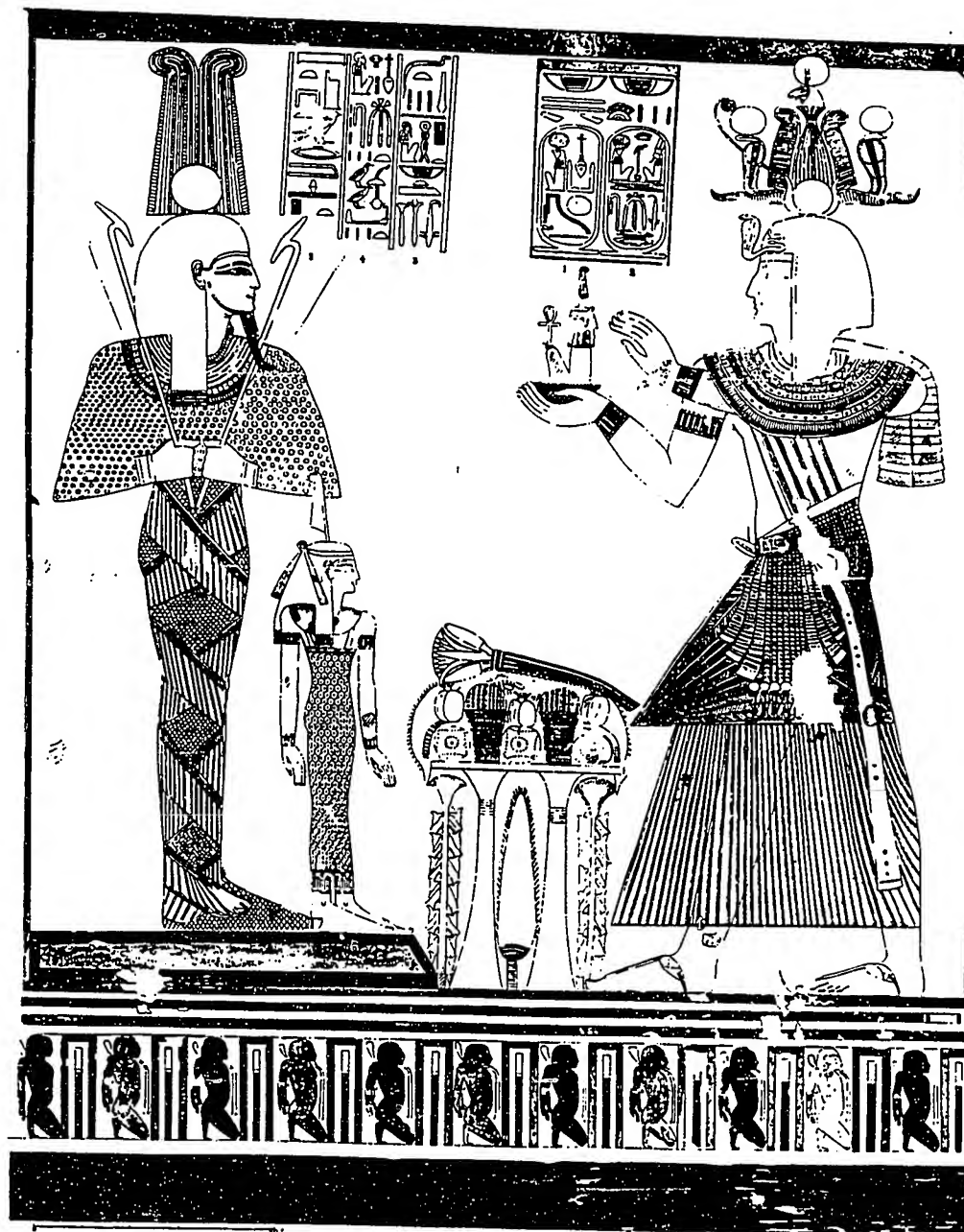


Plate 40.

The Enigmatic Wall in the Tomb of Ramesses IX, Horizontal Text above the
Enigmatic Treatise.

Plate 41.

Detail from the Papyrus of Heruben. (From A. Piankoff, "Les deux papyrus 'mythologiques' de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire," *ASAE* 49 part 2 [1949] 129-67)



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Plate 42.

Detail from P. Virginia Museum 54-10.

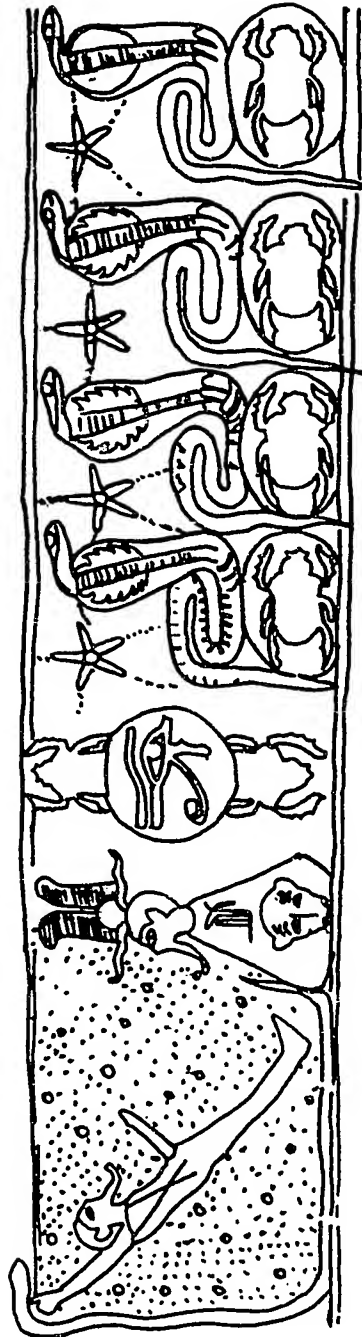
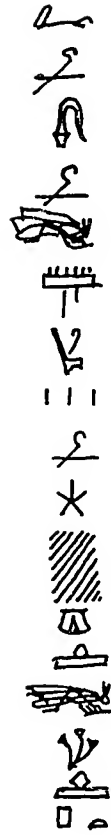


Plate 43.

Figure A. A Portion of an Enigmatic Annotation Accompanying the Second Scene in the Third Register of the 5th Division of the Book of Caverns.

Figure B. Portions of Enigmatic Annotations in the 5th (*a*) and 6th (*b*) Divisions of the Book of Caverns.

A



B

a



b

R VI



P



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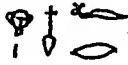
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
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

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


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